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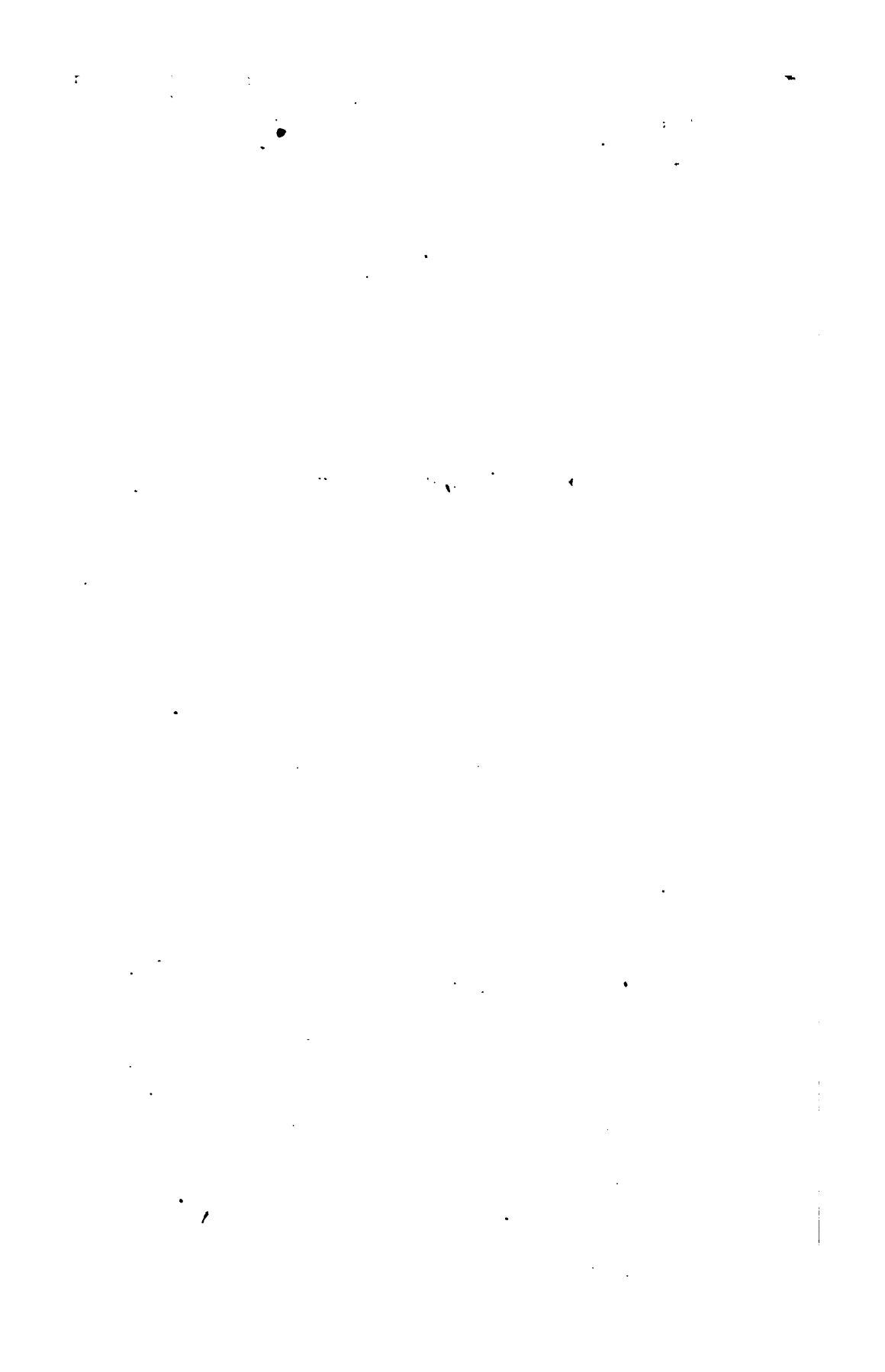
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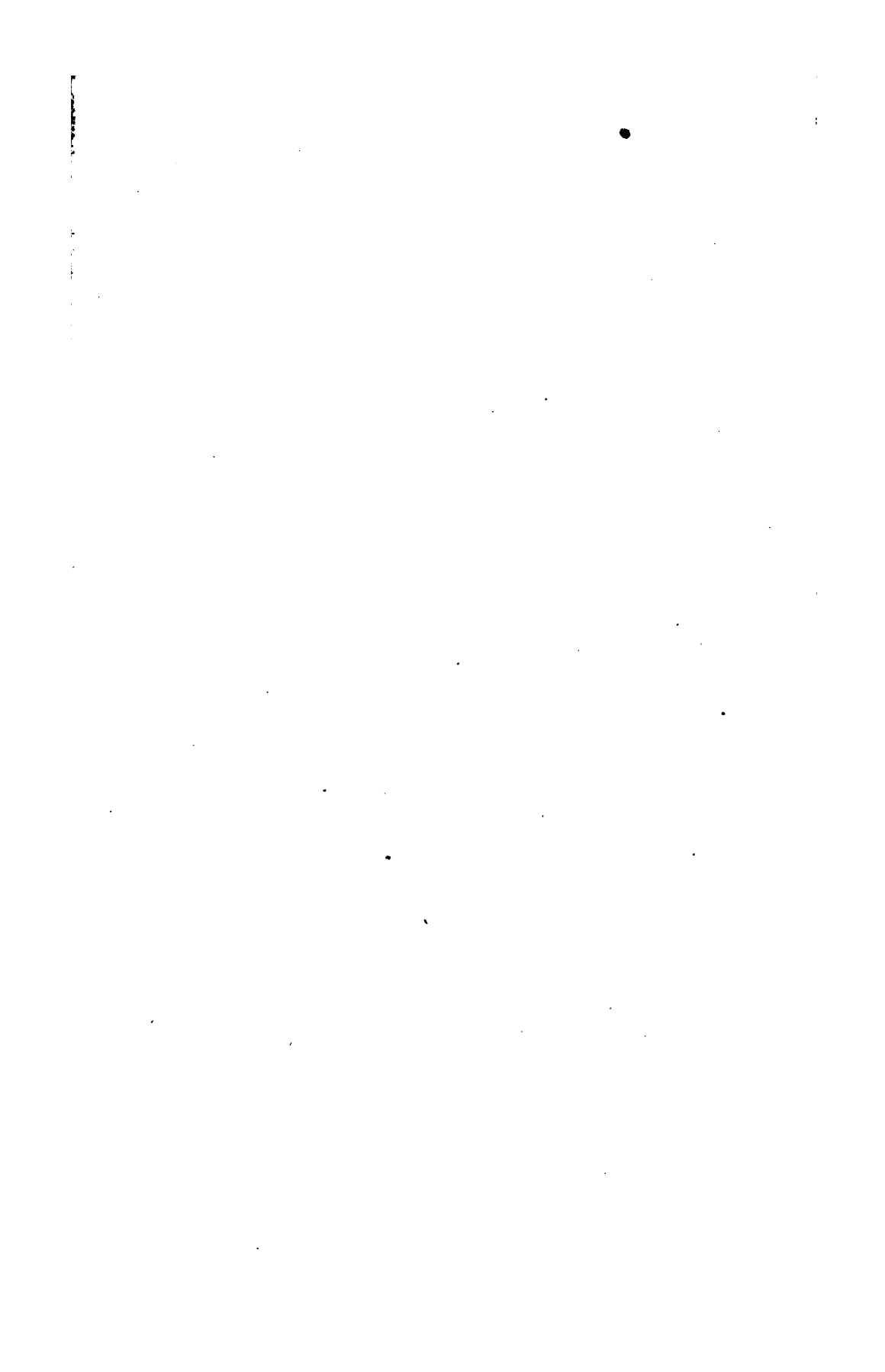


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CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; UNCIALS AND  
CURSIVES.

IN the Introduction to the valuable work whose title we give below,\* we find the following noble and praiseworthy sentiments:—"I have always thought that the researches and labours of the scholar—of the theological scholar above all others—are their own highest and purest reward. Let me plead guilty to having read with sensations akin to scorn, the manuscript note appended by Cæsar de Missy (a person who might have known better) to the copy of Hearne's scarce edition of the *Codex Laudianus* (published in 1815), now preserved in the British Museum. To Hearne's miserable list of just *forty-one* subscribers to his book, De Missy subjoins the sarcastic comment, '*Après cela, Docteur, va pâlir sur la Bible!*' Yet, why should he not have grown pale in the study of God's Word? Why not have handed down to happier times a treasure of sacred learning

---

\* *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis*; a Græco-Latin Manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. To which is added a full collation of fifty manuscripts, containing various portions of the Greek New Testament in the libraries of Cambridge, Parham, Leicester, Oxford, Lambeth, the British Museum, etc. With a critical introduction by the Rev. Frederick Henry Scrivener, M.A., late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, Perpetual Curate of Penwerris, Falmouth. "Quod Potui." Cambridge: Deighton and Co. London: Bell and Daldy, 1859. Large 8vo, pp. 642.

which the princes and prelates of George the First's reign (that nadir-point of public virtue and intellectual cultivation in England) were too slothful to appreciate, too negligent even to despise? The pursuits of Scriptural criticism are so quiet, so laborious, that they can have few charms for the votary of fame, or the courtier of preferment; they always have been, perhaps they always must be, the choice employment mainly of those who, feeling conscious (it may be) of having but one talent committed to their keeping, seek nothing so earnestly as to use that one talent well."

Truth, stern, yet pleasing in its rigid beauty, is contained in these remarks, and a similar sentiment, uttered by one labouring in the same field, is now presented to our mind, and we are tempted to quote it: "In the library of the University of Oxford," says Dr. Dobbin,<sup>b</sup> "and in those of the several colleges, is probably the largest accumulation of unused MS. material in the world, not excepting the stores in Rome, Vienna, or Paris; and that both of a sacred and secular nature. The harvest is abundant beyond parallel; and the fields are white for the sickle, the most liberal access being given to these documents by the authorities of the place. To studious souls, the mere announcement of the fact is an invitation to labour in this field. But we have the additional inducement to offer, that labour expended here will leave the disinterestedness of the student beyond the reach of question; inasmuch as the grain he thus garners, however curious in itself, is so little thought of amid the more practical issues of life, that he must make up his mind to gain little either of reputation or profit from his toil. From the time of Erasmus down through Mill and Wetstein, the collater of MSS. has had his labour as the chief reward of his pains. The Tagus of textual criticism is not used to roll over golden sands. The genuine student will derive his impulse from the very condition of things which we describe, and will thereupon all the more earnestly proclaim his enthusiastic devotion to the pursuits of critical learning."

Now, the hard and unrequited toil spoken of in these extracts, is that employed in the attempt to bring the documents of the Greek New Testament as nearly as possible to the state in which they were left by the inspired writers. This is not a modern study, although it has revived and gathered strength since the Reformation, for the *various readings* of the Holy Scriptures are

<sup>b</sup> *The Codex Montfortianus*; a collation of this celebrated MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, throughout the Gospels and Acts, with the Greek text of Wetstein, and with certain MSS. in the Universities of Oxford. By Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.D., etc. London: Bagster and Sons, 1854.

alluded to by the earliest writers of the Church ; and probably there never was a century, after Christian doctrine came to be stated and defended by documentary evidence, when such discrepancies were not noticed. Who can tell whether the first transcripts of the sacred autographs did not lay the foundation of some of the *veratae questiones* of our day? Indeed, this scarcely admits of doubt, for by no course of argument can it be proved that the earliest copyists were specially guarded against error. Most probably those autographs attracted to themselves much less veneration than we should give them if we now had them, and the fact of their being all lost so as never to be once mentioned in early history, shews that before their full importance to dogmatic and apologetic theology was appreciated they had altogether disappeared. When we take a full and calm view of the early Churches, to which the Epistles were sent, as we find their characters portrayed in the New Testament, we see no reason to conclude that they would treasure the apostolic letters with any deep veneration. If the societies of Galatia and Corinth could so readily forget the teaching and example of St. Paul during his absence, it is clear that they saw, at least, as much of the human element in his character as of the divine ; and the ideas they had of his person they would transfer to his letters. We are not, therefore, allowed to infer that in copying them any very peculiar sense of awe and responsibility would be felt by the scribes, even if they were Christians, which is, of course, a matter of doubt.

We do not present the question as an irrelevant one, and we are certain we are not deficient in proper reverence in so doing, when we ask, Have we reason to believe that the original codices of the Gospels and Epistles were perfectly free from clerical errors? It will be at once seen that the answer given will be in accordance with the opinions entertained of the nature and extent of *Inspiration*, and as that is an open question, it must ever remain undecided. It was never claimed by the sacred writers themselves that they never committed a verbal or literal error, and such a claim was never set up for them by others. But unless it can be shewn without any doubt that the first codices were perfect in every part, there must always be a serious impediment in the way of any attempt to restore our text to pristine integrity. A reading—we will concede that it is a minor one—which is now doubtful, may have taken its rise, if not from apostolic hands, yet from those of an apostolic amanuensis, and thus the restitution of what was *intended* to be written may be simply impossible.

A great outcry may meet such a hypothesis in some quar-

ters, but if we contemplate it calmly it will be seen to be a very fair one, and that it involves no serious consequences. If it is granted, it only places the first readers of the Gospels and Epistles in the same state as the readers of the first transcripts, since we presume no one will contend for *their* miraculous freedom from the least error. Reasoning by analogy, we may conclude, that as Divine Providence never has interfered to give us perfect *copies* of the sacred autographs, so it did not interfere to make them altogether perfect. If it were *necessary* that such perfection should exist in the first instance, when the writers themselves were living, and could be appealed to in any doubtful case, it must have been still more so when they had left the world, and could not be consulted. The plain fact of the case is, that verbal exactness in the documents of the Christian faith has never been *necessary*, for if so it would have been granted and secured. The same Providence which raised up faithful men to succeed the apostles, because they were indispensable to the perpetuity of the Church, could as easily have secured perfect copies of the Scriptures; and the fact that such interference has not taken place, seems to lead to the conclusion that such freedom from all verbal error was not essential.

The bearing of the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament Scriptures is twofold, having a relation, in the first instance, to the history of the Church, and, secondly, to the responsibility of the Church as the "witness and keeper of Holy Writ." Considered from the first point of view, the subject is of little importance, for we find that religious truth has never been impeded by verbal discrepancies, but that in the midst of only a *moral certainty* as to what was written in every case by holy men, the orthodox faith has ever preserved a firm, undeviating, and consistent front. If we put together all the various readings which have been known to exist, from the times of Origen and Jerome to those of Wetstein and Tischendorf, how almost infinitesimal has their influence been on the success or the detriment of Christianity? Broad and catholic statements of Divine Truth, as we find them in the New Testament, and as they were clearly promulgated by the lips of Apostles, could not be made dependent on the small amount of transcriptional error which has been recognized from the beginning. The Word of God could not be bound to the niceties which form the staple of all collations, whether of the great codices A, B, and C, or of the numerous cursive manuscripts, whose value some persons estimate so lightly. We need not therefore attach *much* importance to Textual Criticism in its relation to the welfare of the Church at large, since it is plain that if the variations were even greater

than they are, they could have no important influence on the progress or purity of Divine Truth. Who can shew that the Church has ever really suffered by the marked discrepancies of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures of the Old Testament, or by the equally prominent variations of the Greek and Latin Vulgates of the New? It is natural that men should magnify their office, whatever it may be, and critics are not less jealous for their honour than other men; but with all due respect for them, and with the greatest possible desire to do them honour, as labouring in a field which we love to cultivate, we must protest against its being thought that their greatest exertions and triumphs contribute much, either to the spread or the purity of vital Christianity. Can it be thought that if the *Textus Receptus* of the Elzevirs had been taken as the unquestionable authority from the Reformation to this time, any perceptible effect would have been produced on Christianity at large? Or that there would have been less religious truth or less devout practice in the world?

But the case is entirely altered when we come to consider the responsibility of the Church, either as a whole or in its individual members. Such is the high place occupied in the Christian system by the Holy Scriptures, and such the deep reverence which every good man is bound to pay them, that the preservation of their integrity ought to be considered a duty second to none. To be indifferent on such a subject must be a mark of a careless mind, or of a heart not sufficiently sensible of the claims of Divine Truth. Whatever may be the purposes of Divine Providence in relation to the exact measure of perfection attainable, it is our duty to try and make the Scriptures perfect. Whatever the lapse of time, or human frailty, or wilful misinterpretation may have omitted, we must endeavour to supply; whatever has been added we must aim at taking away. A particle more or less may have no appreciable effect on the truth, but as a portion of a Divine structure, we must strive to place it just where the *artificer* intended it to be in the building. We dare not add to the Word, we dare not subtract from it. Results such as we know nothing of *may* depend on literal correctness, or it may be of no importance; but our duty is plain. We must feel that to labour to remove from the Scriptures all excess, or defect, or error, is a most noble pursuit, and that what is said of it in the quotations given above is only a fair representation of its value and dignity.

At the Reformation, attention was called to the Holy Scriptures, and the art of printing soon made more available the documents which before had existed only in manuscript. The New Testament was first *printed* by the editors of the *Complu-*

*tensian Polyglot*, but first *published* by Erasmus in 1516, and numerous are the disquisitions to which those copies have given rise, as to the Codices used, and their value and authority. Of course, these editors knew well what was the text of the New Testament in general use, and they supplied one in print which came nearest, in their opinion, to the traditional one, and which, although much neglected, had always been in use by the learned. The multiplication of copies by the press, soon, however, caused attention to be drawn to various readings, and it became a worthy task for future editors to attempt the greatest possible correctness ; and it was not long before certain sources of information were recognized as legitimate, the principal being manuscripts, versions, and quotations in Christian writers. At first *conjecture* was resorted to, but it is now given up by all sober critics, at least in the New Testament.

Manuscripts constitute the first and most legitimate source of information, as to what the text of the Greek Testament should be. These are of various ages, and of very different values, though on the latter point critics are not agreed. But we are not going to write on a subject so well understood by our readers, and we will now turn to the department of Biblical criticism to which Mr. Scrivener has contributed so valuable a portion in the volume the title of which we have already given. As manuscripts are perishable, and as they are scattered over the world, and are, therefore, not easy of access, it has always been the aim of scholars to get *fac-similes* executed, so that the precious documents may be perpetuated, and their collation made more easy. Mr. Scrivener, already well known as a labourer in the field of manuscript collation, has here furnished a splendid volume, in which the whole of the *Codex Augiensis* is printed in exact transcript, and we have to thank him for the successful termination of his arduous undertaking. We will now give some account of this document, as the means are furnished to us by the very valuable introduction of Mr. Scrivener.

The *Codex Augiensis* is a Greek and Latin manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, written in uncial letters, probably of the ninth century, deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (B. 17. 1). It is written on one hundred and thirty-six quarto leaves of fine vellum, 9 inches long by 7½ broad, and has a rude binding in wood, such as was common in Germany and the Low Countries some centuries ago ; on the leathern back are stamped the initials of one of its late owners (G. M. W.). Each page contains twenty-eight lines, and is divided into two columns, wherein the Latin version is set alongside of the Greek text, the Latin column being always placed outside.

This copy commences Rom. iii. 19, *μω λεγει*, and the Greek ends, Philem. v. 20, *εν χρω*. There also occur the following hiatus in the Greek; 1 Cor. iii. 8, to ver. 16, *οικει εν υμιν*; *ibid.* vi. 7. to the end of ver. 14; and Col. ii. 1, after *λαοδικια* to ver. 8, *κοσμου*. In all these places, *after* Rom. iii. 19, the Latin version is complete, being carried on to the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but the very same hiatus are found in the Greek text and *Latin Version* of the CODEX BOERNERIANUS (*Matthæi*, 1791), although the latter document contains portions of the Epistle to the Romans before the place where the *Codex Augiensis* begins.

The recent history of the manuscript may be traced by means of the inscriptions and notes at its beginning and end. It was first the property of the monastery whence it derives its name, that of Augia Major, or Augia Dives, Richenau (*rich meadow*) in a fertile island in the lower part of Lake Constance, in Baden; not Augia Rheni, Rheinau (*meadow of the Rhine*) on an island near the cataract of Schaffhausen, as Michælis and others state (Reeves's edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, pref. p. xxii). Bentley's note, "Monasterium Augiæ, in Belgia, ubi institutus est Goddeschalchus," seems to point to Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, and modern department of the Marne, some thirty miles east of Paris. If Wetstein be right in supplying "Concilii" after "Basiliensis" [A.D. 1431] in the earliest inscription, p. 272, the book must have belonged to that monastery in the fifteenth century, whence it came into the possession of G. M. Wepfer, of Schaffhausen, and then of L. Ch. Mieg, who permitted Wetstein to examine it. Wetstein induced Bentley to purchase this Codex, at Heidelberg, in 1718, the German bookseller parting with it at cost price (250 Dutch florins), in consideration of the fame and learning of the prince of English scholars. Bentley, as is seen from his manuscript notes, formed a high estimate of the *Codex Augiensis*, and used it for his projected edition of the Greek Testament. Mr. Scrivener has compared Bentley's collation (consisting of the Greek text only) with his own transcript, and extracted the few notes interspersed with it from the margin of his copy of the Oxford Greek Testament, 1765, now preserved with his other papers and books in Trinity College Library. The first published collation of the manuscript was that of Wetstein, in whose notation it is marked F of the Pauline Epistles; but as this was easily seen to be very imperfect, it was again examined by Tischendorf in 1842, and by Dr. Tregelles in 1845, for their editions of the Greek Testament. The result of Tischendorf's labours appears in his manual N. T. of 1849; but it is obviously impossible, in so small a volume, to do



anything like justice to such a document as this; and to his case Mr. Scrivener fairly applies the language of Matthæi, respecting the kindred Codex Boernerianus; "Etenim nec Kusterus nec Wetstenius satis accuratè omnia hujus Codicis singularia notaverant, nec vero etiam, nisi totum transcribere voluissent, potuerant. Plura enim prorsus singularia nullus inter Codices N. T. habet, nisi fortasse Evangeliorum et Actuum Bezae seu Cantabrigiensis" (*Præf. Cod. Boern.*). Tischendorf was the first to pay attention to the Latin translation in F (denoted by *f*), remarkable, and in some measure perplexing, as it is. "Primus contuli et passim citavi" is his statement (*Nov. Test. Proleg.*, p. 82); yet his citations are comparatively few (no less than eight variations being omitted in Rom. viii.), and convey no adequate representation of its peculiar character. Mr. Scrivener has grounds for asserting that this defect will be supplied in Tischendorf's seventh edition.

In estimating the age and country of this manuscript we are scarcely left to conjecture. The style of writing both in its Latin and Greek columns, its manifest connexion with the Codex Boernerianus, and consequently with the Codex Sangallensis of the Gospels (*Δ*) published in lithograph *fac simile* by Rettig (Turici, 1836), no less than the extraneous matter it contains, all seem to point distinctly to the West of Europe, and the middle of the ninth century. This foreign matter consists of a Latin Prologue to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the only Argument in the Codex Augiensis, and a kind of Epilogue to the same Epistle, having, however, but little reference to it. Both the Prologue and the Epilogue are found in the works of Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, who died A.D. 856. The Prologue is prefixed to that prelate's Commentary on the Hebrews (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. cxii., Paris, 1851; *Rabani Opera*, tom. vi., p. 711); the Epilogue is annexed to Rabanus' Treatise "*De Modo Pœnitentiæ*," comprising the twenty-third and concluding chapter of that work, with the title "*Dicta Abbatis Pinophi*" (Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. cxii., p. 1329); yet, as in the case of the Codex Augiensis, it has no special connexion with the preceding matter, only that it was manifestly familiar to Rabanus, who has employed its sentiments, and sometimes its very words, throughout his own treatise. Now when we consider that *both* the Prologue and the Epilogue are found in the columns of Rabanus, it need not materially modify our estimate of the date of the Codex Augiensis were we to learn that one or both of them has been traced *separately* to an earlier source. The Prologue is read almost verbatim, in the Codex Amiatinus edited by Tischendorf (1850, 1854), the most vener-

able existing MS. of the Latin Vulgate, the date of which is the sixth century; while a marginal note has been affixed by a modern hand to the Epilogue in the *Cod. Aug.* (fol. 139, p. 2), directing our attention to Cumianus, an Irish writer of the middle of the seventh century. On comparing the passage cited (*Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, Lugduni 1677, tom. xii., p. 42) with this postscript, the resemblance between them appears so slight and general that it is hard to believe that the writer of the note could have ever read both pieces throughout: in the few opening sentences alone is there any real similarity. There seems, therefore, at present, no reason for disturbing the general opinion which has assigned the date of this manuscript to the next generation after Charlemagne.

There are no signs of the ordinary breathings and accents in this manuscript. The continuous mode of writing, with no space or division between the words, which prevailed in the elder Greek uncial copies, was by this time laid aside, and the scribe of the Codex Augiensis seems to have intended to place a *middle* point or stop (.) after the last letter of each word he wrote. These points Mr. Scrivener has faithfully retained in the transcript. Two other Codices are treated of in connexion with the one before us, the Codices Sangallensis and Boernerianus; "which," says Mr. Scrivener, "I name together, for no one that has read Rettig's elaborate prolegomena to the former will hesitate to consider them as portions of one and the same document." From a close comparison of these with the Codex Augiensis, Mr. Scrivener comes to the conclusion that they were derived *separately* from some early Greek Codex. But the Latin versions of these documents are different, and on this subject the following extract will be found important:—

"The respective Latin versions are quite independent, and even more interesting than the Greek to a Biblical critic. 'Codex Augiensis latinam interpretationem eamque veterem vulgatam adscriptam habet, Boernerianus vero Græcis superscriptam eamque veterem italicam,' is Tischendorf's decision. Tregelles again terms the Latin version of F a very good copy of that of Jerome, 'far superior to that generally current.' I am not sure that Dr. Davidson has closely examined this subject, as his description of this copy is not quite free from error, yet I conceive his view of the version to be more correct when he regards it as 'patched and mended so as to be a mixture of the old Latin and Jerome's.' But in fact, the internal history of the Latin Vulgate translation, and its relation to the Italic or old Latin, under the various forms wherein the latter has been preserved to us, remain yet to be investigated, nor is this the place to venture on so large a field of inquiry. The Latin portion of the Codex Augiensis, will, I believe, prove very useful to the scholar who shall undertake the thorough investigation of this question."

Mr. Scrivener most minutely describes the document he has now published; what we have given being only a very small portion of the valuable matter he supplies. He mentions, moreover, "the remarkable readings and extraordinary grammatical inflexions which abound in this Codex;" but being "innumerable" he has not given a selection from them, since they will "be sure to arrest the interest and reward the best attention of every one into whose hands the volume is likely to fall." One other paragraph we must quote, shewing as it does how more modern elements of difficulty than ancient MSS. contain are introduced to worry the critic, and render the task of improving the current text more doubtful.

"As the Codex Augiensis exhibits throughout many traces of erasures and corrections, the reader will please, while using it, to make constant reference to the *Annotationes Editoris*, in which these alterations are carefully recorded. I only hope my notes may prove serviceable to others, in some proportion to the pains and anxiety I have expended on them. But no one versed in these studies is ignorant how much doubt and uncertainty often exists, as to whether a change has been introduced by the first penman or by some later hand. I have arranged these corrections into three classes, those *primâ manu*, those *secundâ manu*, and those again *recenti manu*, according as I conceive them to have been made by the original scribe, by a second, yet ancient corrector (*and to him I impute the great mass of these changes*), or by a recent critic, whose judgment should have no weight whatever. Alterations of the last kind are easily detected, but for the others I am sensible that another eye will often decide differently from mine. I have taken no notice of a *mala seges* of Latin annotations scribbled over the earlier leaves of this Codex by some one who must have been profoundly ignorant of its value; from the similarity of handwriting I fear the culprit is Mieg, one of the former possessors of this priceless treasure. Several places are also disfigured by grotesque sketches in ink, such as often offend the reverential student of Biblical MSS. I am inclined to think, however, that they are least frequently found in copies of the Holy Gospels."

A photographed *fac simile* of a portion of the Codex is given with the volume, and it will sufficiently convince those who look at it, of the great toil, the *improbis labor*, of Mr. Scrivener's undertaking, now so happily completed. The type in which the Greek is printed is the common cursive character, which answers every purpose. The work is most elegantly executed by the Cambridge University press, and it will doubtless give satisfaction to the subscribers and the public at large, who may take any interest in such productions.

So much respecting this Codex;—we will now proceed to some observations on the place assigned by Mr. Scrivener to this and similar documents; that is to say, to the uncial manu-

scripts of the Greek Testament, in relation to the Cursives; a subject on which much difference of opinion exists, and is likely to do so. If perfect unanimity existed among all those who are competent to use the *data* furnished for the complete restoration of the text, the task would be even then beset with difficulties; but the entire discrepancy in the opinions they entertain as to the relative value and importance of the materials greatly complicates and impedes the inquiry. The fact is, that there is at present no agreement as to the principles on which a *lucidus ordo* may be expected to arise out of the great mass of documentary evidence for the restoration of the text, and until this *locus standi* is conceded, critics must be content to be mere collectors of the means by which their successors, should they ever agree, may pronounce such a judgment as may amount to a moral settlement of the matter. The pursuit of this object is called Comparative Criticism, which, though it has made great advances, is yet far from having the character of a science. The principles which men in the last generation, such as Griesbach, thought to be true, are now generally discarded, and we have no doubt that some others which are now more popular, will ultimately share the same fate. On this topic, and on Comparative Criticism generally, we quote from Mr. Scrivener.

"The term 'Comparative Criticism' has been happily applied to that delicate and important process of investigation, whereby we seek to trace the relative value and mutual connexion of the authorities upon which the Greek Text of the New Testament is based, whether they be manuscripts of the original, early versions, or citations by the Christian Fathers. Our accurate acquaintance with these authorities is very limited, much that we know about them being due to the exertions of scholars yet living; but we are sufficiently aware of the extent of the subject, and the minute and perplexing inquiries which beset the Biblical student at every step, not to seize with hearty welcome any clue that may promise to guide us through a labyrinth thus dark and doubtful. To this natural feeling, far more than to any external evidence or internal probability of the theories themselves, I would ascribe the favour extended to the schemes of recension promulgated by Griesbach and his imitators in the last generation. *Men wished such compendious methods of settling the sacred text to be true*, and as demonstrated truths they accordingly accepted them. These systems, bold, ingenious, imposing, but utterly groundless, I have elsewhere discussed at length (*Collation of the Holy Gospels*, Introd., chap. i.); it were needless to revert to them, for I believe that no one at the present day seriously entertains any one of them."

But, as Mr. Scrivener well remarks, as Griesbach's scheme and its subsequent modifications were gradually abandoned by critics, a more simple but probably a no less mistaken theory grew up in its place, which, under the seemingly profession of

recurring to ancient authorities alone for the remodelling of the text, deliberately refuses so much as to listen to the testimony of the vast majority of documents that freely offer themselves to the researches of patient industry. Hence the battle between the uncial and cursive manuscripts, or rather between those who do not agree as to the relative values of these two great classes of documents. The Uncials, written in capital letters, are most ancient, but they are few in number; the Cursives, those written in running hand, are mostly more modern, but their name is Legion. The advocates of the superior authority of the former rely on their age; those who defend the latter, take their number and other circumstances into account, and claim for them at least an honourable standing as materials of evidence. Mr. Scrivener defends the Cursives, and in doing so he places himself in opposition to contemporary critics to whom he thus refers. After speaking of those who refuse to listen to the Cursives, he says:—

“This certainly appears a short and easy road to Scriptural science, but, like some other short routes, it may prove the longest in the end; yet it is recommended to us by names I cannot mention without deference and respect. The countenance which Dr. Davidson lends to this principle is neither unreserved nor supported by arguments he can well deem conclusive. Tischendorf practically adopted it in his earlier works, but even then made concessions amounting to nearly all a discreet adversary would be disposed to claim; in Dr. Tregelles, however, it finds an advocate learned, able, and uncompromising. In my endeavour to refute what I conceive to be erroneous in his views on this subject, I trust I shall not be betrayed into one expression which may give him pain. I honour the devotion and singleness of purpose he has brought to bear on these divine pursuits; I am sure that his edition of the New Testament, *by reason of the large accession it will make to our existing store of critical materials*, and of its great accuracy, so far as it has yet been tested, will possess, when completed, what he modestly hopes for it, ‘distinctive value to the Biblical student.’ I am not the less earnest in hailing the fruits of his long and persevering toil, because I fear that, as a clergyman of the English Church, I differ from him on matters of even more consideration than systems of comparative criticism.”

Dr. Davidson states that if the oldest MSS. are thoroughly and accurately collated, all the rest, or the great mass of juniors, may be dispensed with. “They are scarcely needed,” he says, “because the Uncials are numerous; at present they do nothing but hinder the advancement of critical science, by drawing off to them time and attention which might be better directed to older documents.” Mr. Scrivener concedes that the *order* proposed above must be assented to by every reasonable person, for there is a presumption beforehand that the older MSS. written in

uncial characters will prove of more weight than comparatively modern copies in cursive letters, and all these uncial MSS. have been collated and used, as far as they are known to exist. But the statement that the juniors are scarcely needed, "*because the Uncials are numerous*," is severely criticised by Mr. Scrivener, and not without reason, for it evidently was made without due consideration. "Numerous" is indeed a relative term, for "one person will think it a 'long distance' from London to Lancashire, another uses the expression when speaking of the space between this earth and 61 Cygni, some sixty-three billions of miles." But if we come to simple "numerous," what does Dr. Davidson's "numerous" mean? In the Apocalypse the uncial MSS. are three; in the Acts three are very old, and there are, in all nine, some composed of mere fragments; in the Catholic Epistles there are four entire MSS. and one fragment; the Pauline Epistles claim thirteen, not one of which is complete. If Dr. Davidson was thinking more of the Gospels, the state of the case with regard to them is not much better. The list of Uncials extends, indeed, to thirty-two, as the catalogue is supplied by Tischendorf, but only one of these is complete, and serious deductions must be made from the others. This is rather a discouraging state of things for the advocates of the sufficiency of the Uncials, and Mr. Scrivener says, very appropriately, "I cannot imagine that many will judge this *apparatus criticus* so comprehensive as to render further investigation superfluous." Yet Mr. Scrivener softens his dissent from Dr. Davidson, by saying that, on other occasions, the latter expresses himself differently as to the value of the cursive manuscripts, and that his proposal to confine collations to the Uncials, arose from his despairing of a thorough examination of existing materials by the languid students of our age.

With regard to Tischendorf, Mr. Scrivener confesses that in his edition of the Greek Testament, in 1849, the great critic was adverse to him, since his list of authorities in the Gospels is limited to the uncial MSS., and to a few of the cursive, whose variations from the common standard text are most conspicuous. But then the edition of 1849 is now quite superseded by another, now issuing from the Leipsic press. This is far more comprehensive in its plan, and, we are assured by Mr. Scrivener, more accurate in execution than its predecessor. In its compilation he has availed himself freely of the labours of others, has cited the cursive manuscripts more frequently, and his text is far nearer the *Textus Receptus* than it was before. Dr. Wordsworth, in his late volume on the Gospels and Acts, has observed this change in the views of Tischendorf, and although it is denied

in the *Journal of Philology* for March, 1858, the fact is established, we think, by the instances adduced by Mr. Scrivener. He has, therefore, reason to consider Tischendorf more on his side than formerly, and he says, "I cannot help believing this gradual, and (as it would appear) almost *unconscious* approximation to the views I am advocating, into which more exact study and larger experience have led so eminent a scholar, to be no slight assurance that those views are founded in reasonableness and truth." And even when the Prolegomena of Tischendorf's edition of 1849 are examined, his opinions do not seem so discrepant as might seem at first sight, for he only affirms, what all acknowledge, that the true text is to be sought only from ancient witnesses (*antiquis testibus*), and not from the *Textus Receptus*. To this Mr. Scrivener says, "Very true; I, for one, see nothing in the history or sources of the received text to entitle it, *of itself*, to peculiar deference. I esteem it so far as it represents the readings best supported by documentary evidence, and no further. If, in my judgment, the Elzevir text approaches nearer, *on the whole*, to the sacred autographs than that formed by Tischendorf, it is only because I believe that it is better attested to by the very witnesses to whom Tischendorf himself appeals: the MSS., the Versions, and the primitive fathers. I enquire not whether this general purity (for it is but general) arises from chance or editorial skill, or (as some have piously thought) from providential arrangement; I am content to deal with it as a fact." He thinks, on the whole, the best plan to adopt with regard to the text is that of Dean Alford, who, when testimony seems evenly balanced, would give the benefit of the doubt to the *Textus Receptus*.

Mr. Scrivener devotes much more space to Dr. Tregelles, because that critic avows, as a principle, that the cursive manuscripts should be excluded from all real influence in determining the sacred text. Taking the "Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament" as a correct expression of the views of Dr. Tregelles, Mr. Scrivener presumes that his theory may be fairly enunciated in the following terms:—

"The genuine text of the New Testament must be sought exclusively from the most ancient authorities, especially from the earliest uncial copies of the Greek. The paramount weight and importance of the last arises not from the accidental circumstance of their age, but from their agreement with the other independent and most ancient authorities still extant, viz., the oldest versions and citations by the Fathers of the first four centuries.

"To which proposition must be appended this corollary as a direct and necessary consequence:—

“The mass of recent documents [*i. e.* those written in cursive characters from the tenth century downwards] possess no determining voice in a question as to what we should receive as genuine readings. We are able to take the *few* documents, whose evidence is *proved* to be trustworthy, and safely discard from present consideration the eighty-nine ninetyeths, or whatever else the numerical proportion may be’ (Tregelles, p. 138).”

Here Mr. Scrivener joins issue, and disputes the correctness of the critical principle of Dr. Tregelles. And is it not reasonable that he should do so? Is he not right in affirming, that in the ordinary concerns of social life, we should form no favourable estimate of the impartiality of a *judge*, which is the real position of a critical editor, who would feel justified to discard unheard eighty-nine witnesses out of ninety brought before him, unless, indeed, it were perfectly certain that the eighty-nine had no means of information except what they derived from the ninetyeth; for only on that supposition could the judge be thought to act wisely or fairly. “That mere numbers should decide a question of sound criticism never ought to have been asserted by any one; never has been asserted by a respectable scholar,” says Mr. Scrivener. “Tischendorf himself cannot condemn such a dogma more emphatically than the upholders of the general integrity of the Elzevir text. But I must say that the counter proposition, that numbers ‘have no determining voice,’ is to my mind fully as unreasonable, and rather more startling.” What Dr. Davidson asserts as to what *may be* the preferable value of a more modern manuscript to that of an older one is quite correct; for while, *ceteris paribus*, the reading of an ancient document is more likely to be effective than that of a more modern one, yet “the reading of a more modern copy may be more ancient than that of an ancient one.” And why? For the obvious reason, that “a modern copy may itself be derived, not from an extant one more ancient, but from one still more ancient no longer in existence.” Mr. Scrivener thinks that a careful examination of the readings of cursive manuscripts, as represented in any tolerable collection, will bear out this hypothesis of Dr. Davidson; and he justly observes, that it is not essential to the argument that the fact of being derived from ancient sources now lost should be *established*, but that it is enough that such an origin is *possible*. Grant this, and then it becomes unreasonable and unjust to shut them out from a “determining voice,” on questions of doubtful reading.

So far as to principles, *à priori*. But Mr. Scrivener comes to facts, and examines the bearing of the question as illustrated by passages adduced by Dr. Tregelles. We will allow him to



state the case himself, and then give the substance of his conclusions from the premises.

"Now, Dr. Tregelles produces no less than *seventy-two* passages from various parts of the New Testament as a kind of sample of two or three thousand which he reckons to exist there, wherein 'the more valuable ancient versions (or some of them) agree in a particular reading, or in which such a reading has *distinct* patristic testimony, and the mass of MSS. stand in opposition to such a section, (while) there are certain copies which *habitually* uphold the older reading.' Of course I cannot follow him step by step through this long and laboured catalogue; an adequate specimen, taken without unfair selection, will amply suffice to shew my opponent's drift and purpose. I will therefore transcribe all the places he cites from the Gospel of St. Mark (they amount to seven), making choice of that Gospel partly for its shortness, partly because I wish, in justice to Dr. Tregelles, to discuss in preference those texts which remain unmutated in the four uncial codices of the first class; in the following list they are all complete, except C in Mark xiii. 14 alone. As Tregelles, 'for the sake of brevity,' has laid before us those passages 'without any attempt to state the balance of evidence,' I have endeavoured to supply within brackets an omission which I cannot help considering a little unfortunate."

After a careful examination of the texts, Mr. Scrivener passes on to an analysis of the state of the evidence regarding them, so as to try the validity of Dr. Tregelles' principle. First, as to the Uncials, it is obvious that even the earliest of them are much divided in all the passages cited. The Alexandrine MS. (A) and the Codex Vaticanus (B) come first, the former being placed in the fifth, and the latter in the fourth century. Now in each of the seven texts under examination, A sides with the Elzevir text against B. "While I confess," says Mr. Scrivener, "the great importance of B, I see not why its testimony ought, *in the nature of things*, to be received in preference to that of A. I cannot frame a reason why the one should be listened to more deferentially than the other."

In the next rank among uncial manuscripts stand the Codex Ephræmi (C) and the Codex Bezae (D). The latter is generally considered the least weighty of the four great MSS. of the Gospels just enumerated, not so much on account of its later date, about the middle of the sixth century, as from its abounding with violent corrections and strange interpretations. "Its singularly corrupt text," says Dr. Davidson, "in connexion with its great antiquity, is a curious problem, which cannot be easily solved." In relation to the texts before us, the evidence is stated by Mr. Scrivener as follows:—"In the seven passages under consideration, C accords with B in four cases, with A once; once its reading is doubtful, once its text has perished. Codex D agrees with B five times; much resembles it once, and once sides with

A. Thus these documents of the second class favour B rather than A; C, however, less decidedly than B." There remain only the Uncials of the third rank, from the eighth century downwards; with them the case is reversed. One of them, (L of the eighth or ninth century), is here and elsewhere constantly with B; A also supports B five times, A only twice; while all the rest extant unanimously support A.

Mr. Scrivener thus thinks that Dr. Tregelles has failed in shewing that the readings of B, and its adherents, are preferable to those of the received text in the passages cited. On coming from the uncial to the cursive MSS., he affirms that the resemblance of them to A or B, or to each other, is but general. No one who has at all studied the cursive MSS. can fail to be struck with the *individual character* impressed on almost every one of them. It is rare that we can find grounds for saying of one manuscript that it is a transcript of some other now remaining. The fancy which was once taken up, that there existed a standard Constantinopolitan text, to which all copies written within the limits of that Patriarchate were conformed, has been swept away at once and for ever by a closer examination of the copies themselves. "Surely then," continues Mr. Scrivener, "it ill becomes us absolutely to reject as unworthy of serious discussion, the evidence of witnesses (whose mutual variations vouch for their independence and integrity) because their tendency, on the whole, is to uphold the authority of one out of the two most ancient documents against the other."

As Dr. Tregelles lays much stress on the accordance of the oldest Versions with Codex B rather than with A, Mr. Scrivener closely investigates the subject in connection with the same passages from St. Mark. So far as the Latin versions are concerned, it is admitted that he has established his assertion; and there seems also reason to make the same concession as to the Coptic and Armenian, though from ignorance of these languages, neither Dr. Tregelles nor Mr. Scrivener can speak with due authority. But when we turn to "the Queen of the ancient versions, the graceful and perspicuous Peschito-Syriac," there is no ambiguity as to the preference shewn to the Alexandrine MS., or Codex A. Nor is this the case only in the Gospel of St. Mark, the same likeness is steadily maintained throughout the New Testament. Here, then, is a venerable translation, assigned by some eminent scholars to the first century of our era, and undoubtedly not later than the second, which habitually upholds the readings of *one* of the two oldest uncial copies, of the later Uncials, and of the vast majority of the Cursives. We do not wonder that Mr. Scrivener, conscious of the great

value of this authority, should say : " Here I pause ; it is enough that I claim for Codex A and its numerous companions peculiar attention, by reason of their striking conformity with the Peschito-Syriac." We are most glad that this venerable version has thus been so commended ; and we are sure that it would be difficult to speak of it too highly. Yet even this precious document has to be suspected and charged with defects in order to uphold a theory ; for we are not to suppose that Dr. Tregelles has refrained from accounting for the agreement spoken of in a way favourable to his own theory. We will quote the passage in which Mr. Scrivener details this attempt, for it is important and valuable.\*

" How is this divergency of the Peschito version from the text of Codex B explained by Tregelles ? He feels of course the pressure of the argument against him, and meets it, if not successfully, with even more than

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\* Mr. Scrivener had not seen Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels when he wrote his Introduction, but he has the following note on the subject :—

" As this sheet is going to press (July, 1858), Dr. Cureton's ' Remains of a very ancient recension of the four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe,' has at length appeared. The Syriac text had been printed in 1848, but was doubtless withheld by the learned editor, in the hope of finding leisure to write Prolegomena more full, and possibly containing more definite conclusions than those with which he has favoured us. It would ill become me to express a hasty judgment respecting theories, on which so eminent a scholar has bestowed thought and time, and much labour. He will naturally expect Biblical critics to hesitate before they implicitly admit, for instance, the persuasion, which he hardly likes to embody in words, that we have in these precious Syriac fragments, at least to a great extent, the very Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, so long supposed to have been lost, that even its existence has been questioned. But topics like this are sure to be warmly debated by abler pens than mine. I will confine myself to those points that concern my argument, *the relation these fragments bear to the Peschito*. And here I would say, in all humble deference, (for my knowledge of Syriac, though of long standing, is not extensive), that my own hurried comparison of the Curetonian and Peschito texts would have led me to take them so far for quite separate versions. Even Dr. Tregelles, who, through the editor's kindness, has been enabled to use the text for years, and whose bias is very strong, can only venture to say : ' The differences are great ; and yet it happens, not unfrequently, that such coincidences of words and renderings are found, (and that, too, at times, through a great part of a passage), as to shew that they can hardly be *wholly* independent.' (*Tregelles*. Horne's *Introd.*, p. 268). To the same effect, also, Dr. Cureton speaks : ' It seems to be scarcely possible that the Syriac text, published by Widmanstad, which throughout these pages I have called the Peschito, could be altogether a different version from this. It would take up too much space to institute here a comparison of passages to establish this fact, which, indeed, any one may easily do for himself.' I heartily wish that Dr. Cureton had fully investigated the subject : he might have removed the difficulties, at least, of those who love truth, and are ready to embrace it wherever they shall find it. As it is, we can but say with Tregelles : ' Such a point as this can only be properly investigated after the publication of this version shall have given sufficient time to scholars to pursue a thorough investigation.' In the meanwhile neither he nor I are at liberty to *assume* the truth of that hypothesis which may happen to harmonize best with our preconceived opinions."

his wonted boldness. The translation degenerates in his hands into 'the version commonly printed as the Peschito.' Now let us mark the precise nature of the demand here made on our faith by Dr. Tregelles. He would persuade us that the whole Eastern Church, distracted as it has been, and split into hostile sections for the space of 1400 years, Orthodox and Jacobite, Nestorian and Maronite alike, those that could agree about nothing else have laid aside their bitter jealousies in order to substitute in their monastic libraries and liturgical services another and a spurious version in the room of the Peschito, that sole surviving monument of the first ages of the Gospel in Syria! Nay, more, that this wretched forgery has deceived Orientalists, profound as Michælis and Lowth [?], has passed without suspicion through the ordeal of searching criticism, to which every branch of sacred literature has been subjected during the last half century! We will require solid reasons indeed before we surrender ourselves to an hypothesis as novel as it appears violently improbable—and what is the foundation on which our opponent rests his startling conjecture? The reader is aware that besides the Peschito, several other Syriac versions, some grounded upon it, and *therefore implying its previous existence and popularity*, others seemingly independent of it, have been more or less applied to the criticism of the New Testament."

We think Mr. Scrivener disposes of this attempted argument most completely; but we must refer to his volume for the reasoning by which he defends his point. He next proceeds to the Fathers, and makes some valuable observations on their authority in criticism. He observes, that it is not to be wondered at, that the Latin ecclesiastical writers should accord with the Latin versions, for some of them could not read, and none of them familiarly used, the Greek original. As regards the Greek Fathers, he states that no branch of Biblical criticism has been so utterly neglected, as the application of their citations to the discussion of various readings. "The ancient Fathers were better theologians than critics; they often quoted loosely, often from memory; what they actually wrote has been found peculiarly liable to change on the part of copyists; their testimony can, therefore, be implicitly trusted, even as to the MSS. which lay before them, only in the comparatively few places where the course of their argument, or the current of their exposition, renders it manifest what readings they support."

We must now give Mr. Scrivener's summing up, and hasten to close this paper.

"Those who have followed me through this prolonged investigation (which I knew not how to abridge without sacrificing perspicuity to conciseness) will readily anticipate my reply to Dr. Tregelles' 'statement of his case,' comprehended in the following emphatic words: 'It is claimed that the *united* testimony of versions, fathers, and the oldest MSS. should be preferred to that of the mass of modern copies; and farther, that the

character of the few ancient MSS., which agree with versions and fathers, must be such (*from that very circumstance*) as to make their general evidence the more trustworthy.' Unquestionably, I rejoin, your claim is reasonable: it is irresistible. If you shew us all, or nearly all, the Uncials you prize so deservedly, maintaining a variation from the common text, which is recommended by *all* the best versions and most ancient Fathers, depend upon it we will not urge against such overwhelming testimony the mere number of the cursive copies, be they ever so unanimous on the other side. But are we not discussing a purely abstract proposition? Do we ever find the 'united' testimony of the ancients drawing us one way, that of the juniors another? I will not assert that such instances may not occur, though at this moment I can hardly remember one: it is enough to say that principles broad as those laid down by Tregelles must be designed to meet the rule, not the exception. In the seven texts we have been reviewing, in the sixty-five that remain on his list, in the yet more numerous cases he tells us he has passed over, the uncial MSS. are not unequally divided; or when there is a preponderance, it is not often in our adversary's favour. The elder authorities being thus at variance, common sense seems to dictate an appeal to those later authorities respecting which one thing is clear, that they were *not* copied immediately from the Uncials still extant. Such later codices thus become the representatives of others that have perished, as old, and (to borrow Davidson's suggestion) not improbably more old than any now remaining. These views appear so reasonable and sober, that they have approved themselves to the judgment even of Dr. Tregelles; for he does not, by any means, disdain the aid of the few cursive copies (*e.g.*, 1, 33, 69, etc.) which 'preserve an ancient text,' whereby of course is implied one coinciding with his preconceived opinion of what an ancient text ought to be. . . . I have a good hope that the foregoing investigation of the laws of comparative criticism will have convinced an impartial reader, that the cursive or junior copies of the Greek New Testament have, in their proper place and due subordination, a real and appreciable influence in questions relating to doubtful readings. If I have succeeded thus far, it results that the time and pains I have bestowed on studying them have not been wasted: the collations I have accumulated cannot fail to be of some service to the Biblical critic, even though he may think I have a little exaggerated their value and importance."

From what has now been said by us on the subject of the criticism of the Greek Testament, it is plain that much has yet to be accomplished before anything like a settlement can be arrived at, or the harmonious consent of all scholars obtained. We shall be curious to see how Dr. Tregelles will meet the skilful and learned opponent he has found in Mr. Scrivener; but we are sure that, as his only object is to promote the integrity of the Divine Oracles, he will not shut out new light, or refuse to weigh fresh arguments. But it is the nature of all studies zealously and conscientiously pursued, to gain the affections of their

disciples, and thus, by a power almost inevitable, to warp the judgment. But those who stand by, those who have not committed themselves to the Uncials, like Dr. Tregelles, nor to the Cursives, like Mr. Scrivener, may be permitted still to suspend their judgment, and to believe that the time has not yet arrived for the publication of a text of the Greek Testament which shall universally be regarded as a *Textus Receptus*. There are, indeed, a few readings different from those of the Greek Vulgate, which all competent scholars have agreed to admit as the correct ones ; but this is as much as can be granted. The fact that all the available witnesses have not yet been examined, and the ignorance which yet exists as to whether fresh ones may not be discovered, are alone sufficient to prevent a final judgment being given in. And even if everything now existing in the world, bearing on the subject, were put on the record, collated and examined, it is doubtful whether more than a moral probability would be attainable in most disputed cases. The Church of God, for wise reasons no doubt, has hitherto had to be satisfied with this probability, and it may be that nothing farther will ever be vouchsafed to us. Let us be thankful that nothing of essential importance to faith and practice is affected by the doubts existing ; while, at the same time, with love and reverence, we continue our labour to make the Holy Scriptures as perfect as we can. That this desirable end will be best accomplished by giving due weight to *all* the witnesses, would seem to admit of no doubt, and the subject is so important that we shall make no excuse for quoting a passage from a former work of Mr. Scrivener,<sup>4</sup> bearing upon it.

“Whence then, it may well be asked, this deliberate rejection of the great mass of authorities ? Whence this voluntary choice of poverty, when we might freely take possession of a rich harvest which others have toiled to gather in ? ‘Ante omnia,’ Lachmann replies, ‘antiquissimorum rationem habebimus : fine certo constituto recentiores, item leves et corruptos recusabimus.’ Let us endeavour, therefore, to discover the causes why the oldest MSS. should necessarily be the best, while the more recent are to be despised as ‘corrupt and of little consequence.’ Now Lachmann would, perhaps, be slow to assert that the more recent Byzantine documents are but bad copies of the Alexandrine, Vatican, or Paris MSS. ; yet no supposition short of this will answer the purpose of his argument. The remark is so trite that one is tired of repeating it, that many codices of the ninth or tenth century were probably transcribed from others of a more early date than any which now exist ; and the incessant wear of the uncial Constantinopolitan manuscripts in the public services of the church

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<sup>4</sup> *A Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament, etc.* London : 1845.

will abundantly account for their general disappearance at present. We all know the reverential and almost superstitious care with which their synagogue rolls are preserved by the Jews; yet scarcely one of them has been written so long as a thousand years. The Alexandrine copies, on the contrary, having fallen into disuse at the era of the Mohammedan conquests in Egypt and Northern Africa, have been buried since that time in the recesses of monastic libraries, until they were disinterred on the revival of learning, only to be prized as valuable relics, and jealously guarded by their fortunate possessors. Again, it may be observed, that Lachmann claims for his best MSS. no higher antiquity than the fourth century. But we have the strongest proof the nature of the case will admit that no important change has taken place in the received text since the rise of the Arian heresy, and the final recognition of Christianity by the Roman emperors. The deep anxiety to procure correct copies of Holy Scripture, (see Euseb. de Vit. Constat., iv. 36, 37), and the perpetual watchfulness of rival parties, seem to preclude the possibility of extensive alteration from the fourth century downwards. It was far otherwise in the earlier history of the church; when its scattered branches were harassed by persecution, and maintained no regular intercourse with each other. During the cruel reign of Diocletian more especially, when fresh copies of the New Testament must often have been produced in haste to supply the places of those destroyed by the enemies of our faith; when such MSS. were secretly circulating among persons whose lives stood in jeopardy every hour; it is easy to see that many errors may have imperceptibly crept into the sacred text, which the well-meant criticism of subsequent correctors would tend only to aggravate and confirm."

But the publication of the *Codex Augiensis* is not the only contribution to the criticism of the New Testament furnished by Mr. Scrivener in this volume. There is, besides, a full and exact collation of eight manuscripts of the Gospels (three being Evangelistaria in uncial letters); of fifteen containing the Acts and Catholic Epistles; of fifteen of St. Paul's Epistles; and thirteen of the Apocalypse, few of which have been previously used for critical purposes. The variations of these fifty-one documents from the standard text (Elzevir, 1624) have been marked by Mr. Scrivener with a minuteness not before thought necessary by others, or even by himself in his former work, "*A Collation of Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels.*" Not only has he noted the various readings, strictly so called, but every peculiarity of grammatical inflexion or breathing, every erasure or error of the pen, every remarkable change, whether of accent or punctuation. The editor has done this, he says, not so much in accordance with his own judgment as at the earnest desire of several scholars, who have wished his labours to present them with as true an image as possible of the original codices. "Undoubtedly," he says, "the real value of our materials, the degree of care exer-

cised by the respective scribes, together with many interesting and significant peculiarities of each document, may thus be preserved for the curious enquirer; nor, in consulting a book of reference like the present, can any one be seriously incommoded by what he may think an error of excess on my part."

We cannot now describe these Codices, but must be content with extracting a few curious and interesting particulars from Mr. Scrivener's full account of them. One of these Codices is called *Codex Leicestrensis*, and is the property of the Corporation of Leicester, who allowed Mr. Scrivener to remove it to his own house for the purpose of collating it. This is one of the few manuscripts which contain the whole of the New Testament. It is written on vellum and coarse paper mixed together; yet not "*temerè permixtis*," as Wetstein states, but arranged pretty regularly in series of two vellum leaves followed by three paper ones, evidently from previous calculation how far the more costly material would hold out. It is not earlier than the fourteenth century. Mr. Scrivener says:—

"At the top of the first page this codex exhibits in a beautiful hand the words *Εἰμι Περμον Χαρκον*, then in a later hand 'Thomas Hayne.' The book is now well bound, and on the cover in very recent gold letters we read, 'Town Library, Leicester, the gift of Mr. Thomas Hayne, 1640,' under the town arms. William Chark was one of the former owners of the celebrated Codex Montfortianus, and is supposed to have lived in the reign of Elizabeth; some of the later changes in the Codex Leicestrensis were made by him, chiefly however in the margin: I suppose he obtained the book from one of the dissolved monasteries. Wetstein, I believe on John Jackson's authority, states that Thomas Hayne, M.A., of Trussington, in Leicestershire, gave the volume to the Leicester library in 1660. A collation of the MS. was first published by Mill; Cæsar de Missy, in 1748, lent to Wetstein a much more accurate one, made by John Jackson and William Tiffin, which he used for his great edition of the Greek Testament; since that period nothing further has been published on the subject which has not been servilely borrowed from Mill and Wetstein. Yet nothing can be more unsatisfactory than their representation of this important document."

Among the Evangelistaria is a portion of one in a Codex marked (P<sub>2</sub>). *Parham Evangelistarium uncialē*, No. 1. This volume contains many specimens of early writing on papyrus, vellum, and other materials, in Coptic and other languages, which are minutely described in the Parham Catalogue. The only Biblical fragment in Greek among them consists of three leaves of an Evangelistarium in large uncial characters, removed from the binding of a MS. of the twelfth century, found at the monastery of Docheirou on Mount Athos. Mr. Curzon obtained them for



asking. The Evangelistarium must have been of about the ninth century.

*Lambeth 1185, Carlyle I. 11*, is a small quarto of 417 pages, having about twenty-six lines in a page, on bad paper, vilely written, and in a dirty state. "In fact," says Mr. Scrivener, "nothing could be well more unpromising than this MS. on a first glance. Todd assigns it to the fifteenth century: I should be disposed to date it somewhat earlier. It comprehends the Acts and the Epistles in the usual *Greek* order. On pp. 1—5 is a mutilated *ὑποθεσις* to the Acts, the table of *κεφαλαια* being lost; pp. 395—404 exhibit an ill-written synaxarion of the *Praxapostolos*; pp. 405—417 *ὑποθεσις* and *κεφαλαια* of the Epistles, from the Galatians to the Hebrews, much torn. In fact the MS. might almost be considered a series of fragments in several different hands."

We are glad to see a goodly list of subscribers prefixed to this volume; but the number is not sufficient to secure for the learned editor any pecuniary remuneration for his labours. He may feel that the work brings its own reward, and we know it does; yet that is no excuse for the British public allowing him to be contented with what men of business and commerce would consider very unsubstantial fare indeed. We hope what we have written may induce some of our readers to purchase the book, the "getting up" of which equals its intrinsic value. But we may well ask, on looking at the results of years of hard labour here presented in an attractive form, How is it that one who has so long proved his competency to help forward the highest learning, should be only Perpetual Curate of Penwerris, with little more, we believe, than a nominal income, although there is plenty of pastoral duty to be performed? This is a state of things quite foreign to the genius of the Church of England, which has made ample provision for her learned priests, so that they may help on the cause of sacred learning in easy temporal circumstances and without much other toil. There is a fault somewhere in relation to this matter, and we should like to see it rectified.

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### JEWISH SACRIFICES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST.\*

IN the following article it is designed to treat of the origin of sacrifices, the various rites and ceremonies by which they have been accompanied, and especially of their religious significance. The materials for the article have been derived from the celebrated work of William Outram, a divine of the Church of England. This work, composed in Latin, was printed at Amsterdam in the year 1688, and is the storehouse from which a large portion of what has been written since its publication, on the subject of sacrifices, has been taken. In presenting the views of Outram, we are not to be understood as, in all cases, agreeing with them.

1. *Significance of the term "holy."*—Every careful reader of the Scriptures will have noticed a two-fold use of the word *holy*. The word denotes, in some places, the invariable choice, on the part of God, of that which is morally right. It is thus employed in 1 Pet. i. 15,—“As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.” The Scriptures, in the next place, affix the epithet *holy* to Jehovah, for the purpose of denoting the supremacy which characterizes the divine nature, in relation to every species of excellence, whether natural or moral, his supremacy in wisdom, and power, and dominion. As by reason of this supremacy God is worthy of praise and worship, the word *holy* is used to signify this worthiness. This is the significance of the word when God is denominated the Holy One of Israel, when his name is said to be holy and reverend.

From this double meaning of the word *holy*, as applied to Jehovah, arises a double significance of the same word in reference to other objects. In the first sense, as indicative of moral purity, it is used in relation to those who, being endowed with moral powers, are capable of a moral likeness to Jehovah. In the latter sense, the epithet *holy* is given to beasts and inanimate objects, to denote their separation from profane and secular, to religious uses. Not rational beings alone, but all objects, and times, and places, and all rites and ceremonies which, in any special form, pertain to God or to his worship, are to be numbered among the things which are holy. It is easy to see, therefore, how sacrifices, both in respect to the objects which

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\* From the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1859. The paper is valuable; and it is thought that its republication in England will be of use to sound theology at the present time.—Ed. J. S. L.

were used as victims, and the ceremonies with which they were offered, should be denominated holy, sacred rites, inasmuch as they have so special a relation to the worship of Jehovah.

2. *Origin of sacrifices.*—In approaching our general subject, the question of the origin of sacrifices immediately suggests itself. Are we to find their origin in an express command of God, or in the promptings of the mind, independently of any such command? Little more can be done, however, than to state, quite summarily, the considerations which have been urged, by different writers, on the different sides of the question.

Those who attribute the origin of sacrifices to an express divine command, lay much stress upon the consideration, that it is impossible to conceive any other origin. It could never have occurred, they maintain, to the mind of Abel, that the slaughter of innocent animals, the smell of burning flesh, entrails, and fat, could be grateful to the divinity; and that the highest reverence of the mind for Jehovah could be best expressed by rites of this kind. In addition to this argument, the words of the apostle, in the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews: "by faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain," are cited. The faith which is commended in this passage, could be, it is said, nothing else than obedience to a divine command. The obedience rendered by Abel to the divine command was the clearer indication of faith, because the command was so strongly in conflict with the natural convictions of the mind. It could indicate faith only upon this supposition.

It is urged upon the other side, that we are not at liberty to refer the custom of sacrifices to an express command of God, because of the silence which is maintained by Moses concerning it. It ought, however, to be considered, in reference to this, that, if the authority of Moses cannot be cited in favour of a divine command, it cannot be cited against it. He leaves the question of the origin of sacrifices entirely open. A command to offer sacrifices may have been given, though it is not spoken of in the writings of Moses. It is not at all surprising that he should pass over the subject in silence. There must have been many matters of no little intrinsic importance, in which a writer so studious of brevity as Moses was compelled to be, could say nothing. He says nothing, for instance, concerning the prophecy of Enoch; nothing concerning the vexation of Lot's spirit in view of the iniquities of Sodom, nothing concerning the preaching of Noah to the antediluvians. The object which he had in view in relating the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, did not require him to set forth, either all that was true concerning them, or all that he knew to be true. His object is merely to

exhibit the innate hatred of Cain towards Abel, and the detestable murder in which it resulted. The question of the origin of sacrifices was entirely irrelevant.

It is urged, again, in opposition to the idea of a divine command, that the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews concerning the faith of Abel, instead of proving the existence of such a command, proves the opposite. For if Abel offered sacrifices in obedience to an express divine direction, and if his obedience, in this instance, illustrated the depth of his faith, why is not this equally true in respect to Cain? Did not he bring his sacrifice to the altar in obedience to the same command, and did not his act betoken the same faith? We know, however, that he was censured for the absence of such a faith. If, on the other hand, Cain believed nothing of any such divine command, then, at the bare prompting of his own mind, he gave back to the Almighty, in the form of sacrifice, a portion of that which the divine bounty had given to him. And if Cain, an irreligious man, led by the mere call of nature, did this, how much more easily may we suppose that Abel was the subject of the same conviction, and rendered to it the same compliance? The assertion that the idea of sacrifices never would have occurred to the mind of such a man as Abel, is met by the counter-assertion that we, who live at such a distance of time from Abel, and with a culture so different from his, and especially amidst religious observances so diverse, are not proper judges as to what would have been likely to suggest itself to his mind, in respect to the most fitting method of honouring God. The case would be somewhat changed, could we believe that sacrifices were essentially at variance with the laws of our moral nature, and with proper views of God. This we know is not the fact, as, at a subsequent period, in obedience to a heavenly command, the Jewish ritual sprang into existence.

In the judgment of those who thus argue, the faith cherished by Abel was essentially distinguished from the state of mind harboured by Cain. It was, in the instance of Abel, an exalted estimate of Jehovah as the Creator of the universe, and the rightful possessor of universal dominion, such as led to the selection of the very choicest of his flocks and herds, as alone fit to be presented in sacrifice to the Almighty. Nothing else could serve as a proper token of reverence to the divinity, and of gratitude to the unwearied benefactor of the world. The absence of such sentiments from the mind of Cain, occasioned the selection of objects for sacrifice that were of inferior worth. He had no true faith in the infinite God, and hence the sacrifices which he brought were so far from being acceptable to God.

On these grounds it is maintained, that we cannot refer the origin of sacrifices to an explicit command from heaven, but are to refer it to a natural impulse of the soul. It is an instinctive sentiment, that worship should be paid to the Almighty, that his universal dominion should be reverently acknowledged. It is an equally instinctive sentiment, that the fittest form in which this worship can be paid is the sacrificing, with appropriate rites, of whatever each one holds most precious. The words of Moses: "It came to pass, in process of time, that Cain offered," etc., are in agreement with this mode of arguing. The expression, "process of time," refers to the end of the harvest which Cain had gathered, and, in the instance of Abel, to the time in which his flocks were enlarged by fresh births, when each judged that a portion of the gifts bestowed on him by the Almighty should be offered in sacrifice. In the different feelings by which the minds of the two brothers were actuated, we are to find the reason of the approbation and the displeasure with which their sacrifices were respectively regarded by the Almighty.

These considerations in favour of the human origin of sacrifices, seem to have had so great an influence on the mind of a large portion of the church fathers as to lead them to discard the idea of a divine commandment. Chrysostom, for example, commenting on the words: "It came to pass in process of time," etc., affirms that nothing except a suggestion of his own reason and conscience could have led Cain to offer such a sacrifice. In allusion to Abel, it is said, that he had no teacher, no guide nor counsellor, but, prompted by his own conscience and by the wisdom given to men from heaven, he was led to the performance of sacrifices. And yet again, Chrysostom affirms, that not as being taught by any one, not from obedience to any express statute, but by the dictate of his own reason, by the operation of a natural conscience, Abel was persuaded to offer true sacrifices.<sup>b</sup>

Similar views are entertained by Jewish writers. Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson, in commenting on the fourth chapter of Genesis, thus remarks: "Cain and Abel were pre-eminently wise men, and therefore when they reached the end of their labours, each one offered to God a portion of the good things which he had accumulated; and, as it seems to me, the principle on which these sacrifices rested, was this, that God was the Creator and Preserver of everything that existed, and that consequently such sacrifices were a fitting acknowledgment of God's dominion, and a suitable token of gratitude." Isaac Abrabanel affirms, that

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<sup>b</sup> *Homil. 12.*

"Adam and his sons offered sacrifices to God because they judged this a proper mode of honouring and worshipping God."

Eusebius of Cæsarea gives a somewhat modified, but yet not substantially different, view. The origin of sacrifices, he does not think, was fortuitous, nor yet due to mere human reason. Inasmuch, he affirms, as pious men who were incessantly with God, and had their minds illuminated by the Holy Ghost, saw that there was a necessity for some instrumentality by which mortal sins could be expiated, they judged that a sacrifice to God, the giver of life and of the soul, was the true means of reaching this end; and since they had nothing better than their own souls, which they could consecrate to God, they sacrificed beasts in the place of their souls.<sup>c</sup>

3. *Origin of Jewish sacrifices.*—Although the question of the origin of sacrifices in general must be allowed to be still undecided, we may, without any doubt, refer to the command of God the origin of those sacrifices which were in use among the Jews. Into the reason of the divine command, in relation to these sacrifices, we shall now inquire.

And upon this point, the Jewish writer Moses Maimonides pertinently suggests, that there is nothing in the religious rites which accompany sacrifices in itself pleasing to Jehovah. This is sufficiently plain from the words, 1 Sam. xv. 22—"Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings as in obeying the voice of the Lord?" and from the language of Jehovah in the book of Isaiah: "I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts." These passages indicate that there was ground in the nature of things for the requirement of spiritual obedience; there was a factitious reason only for the requirement of sacrifices. Obedience is essentially pleasing to Jehovah; sacrifices, separate from obedience, are not at all pleasing.

Yet the reasons which led to the institution of the Jewish sacrificial ritual, were far from being unimportant. The view taken of this subject by ancient Christian writers was, that this form of religious service had been with the Hebrews, previously to the migration from Egypt, much in use, and that their attachment to it had become very deep. This form of religious service, the sons of Adam, Noah, Abraham, had all employed. Sacrifices had also prevailed among the Egyptians. The fondness of the Israelites for sacrificial observances, thus contracted, could not with safety be at once suppressed. Nor yet, as superstition was ever liable to make inroads among the people, could this fondness be allowed to operate in any other ways than such

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<sup>c</sup> *De Demonstrat. Evangel.*, lib. i., c. 10.

as God should expressly enjoin. If it had been suppressed by statute, so great was the power which it had gained, it would almost inevitably have broken out in sacrifices to false gods. And unless this fondness had been restrained and regulated by divine injunctions, it would speedily be deformed by the admixture of every sort of barbarous and incongruous ceremony. With a view to the prevention of these evils, God directed the transfer, to his own worship, of the custom of sacrifices, as one which could neither be abolished with safety, nor yet be allowed to exist without careful restraint and regulation. Thus God, to a certain extent, indulged the wishes of the people, and, at the same time, aimed to counteract those wayward dispositions by which the people were liable to be drawn aside into degrading and criminal superstitions.

We cite, in confirmation of these remarks, the words of Chrysostom: "God, with a view to the salvation of those who were disposed to err, allowed himself to be worshipped by the Jews in similar modes, by the use of similar rites, to those by which pagan nations were in the habit of adoring their false divinities; modifying, correcting these rites, indeed, in some measure, and designing thereby to conduct his chosen people gradually to a purer and higher wisdom."<sup>d</sup>

The language of Justin Martyr is to the same effect: "God," he says, "accommodating himself to the weaknesses of the people, directed them to offer sacrifices to his name, lest they should worship false gods."<sup>e</sup> So also Tertullian: "The burden of sacrifices, and rites, and oblations, and the scrupulosity attending them, let no one blame," he says, "as if God desired them for their own sake. But let all see, in these things, the care of the Divinity to bind to his worship a people prone to idolatry and to the transgression of his laws, and to guard them from sacrificing to graven images."<sup>f</sup>

The opinions of Jewish writers are to the same effect. They conceive the custom of sacrificing to the Supreme Being to have been of such wide extent, and the propensity to its indulgence so vehement, that God, in accommodation to it, allowed and even commanded numerous sacrificial observances on the part of his ancient people, otherwise the people would have relapsed into idolatrous practices without check. Maimonides, after alluding to the almost universal prevalence of sacrifices, goes on to say, "that on this account God was unwilling to enjoin the entire disuse of sacrifices among his chosen people, men being always

<sup>d</sup> Homil. 6, on Matthew.

<sup>e</sup> *Contra Tryphon.*

<sup>f</sup> *Adversum Marcionem*, lib. ii., c. 18.

reluctant to abandon that to which they have been long accustomed. And indeed a precept of this sort at that time would have been of the same effect as if a prophet, designing the honour of God, should now arise and assert that God forbids men to pray, or fast, or implore his help in time of trouble, on the ground that religion lies wholly in the thoughts of the heart, and is entirely independent of all outward deeds. God, with a better wisdom, retained in use the forms of religious observance which had previously prevailed, and transferred them from created and imaginary objects, such as had in themselves neither truth nor value, to the worship of his own name."<sup>g</sup>

Whatever degree of confidence may be placed in these suggestions, God unquestionably instituted the Jewish ritual with the design of foreshadowing the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Hence the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, comparing these Jewish sacrifices with the sacrifice of Christ, says, that the law had a shadow of good things to come. It was a type. Hence it is that he compares the innermost apartment of the tabernacle with the heaven of heavens, the high-priest of the Jews with Christ the great high-priest, and the sacrifices in general and particularly those in the day of atonement, with the great sacrifice of Christ, as types with their antitype, as earthly things with heavenly. In relation to the principal sacrifices, there were certain rites which were emblematic of the more particular features of the sacrifice of Christ. As Christ was put to death without the walls of the city, of which city the camp of the host in the desert was a designed emblem; so was it enjoined that the principal piacular victims should be burned without the camp. And because Christ did not pass into the heavens without the shedding of his blood, he being at once high-priest and sacrificial victim, so was it carefully provided for that the earthly high-priest should not pass into the holy of holies without the shedding of blood.

4. *On the places appointed for sacrifices.*—In respect to the places in which worship, whether in the form of sacrifice or otherwise, was to be rendered to the Supreme Being, we are to observe that before the sacred tabernacle was built, it was lawful to employ any place for this purpose. This freedom, however, was restrained after the building of the tabernacle. As long as that tabernacle, the receptacle of the ark, was placed either in the midst of the camp, as was the case in the desert, or as afterwards in Palestine, was lodged in any city as a fixed seat, thither all victims for sacrifice were to be led. Jewish writers, Abrabanel

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<sup>g</sup> *More Nevochim*, part iii., c. 32.



and Levi Ben Gerson, thus speak on this subject: "While the Israelites were in the wilderness, it was enjoined in the law that no one should sacrifice in high places. But when the host had reached Gilgal, the strictness of this law was somewhat relaxed, because at that time there was no fixed place assigned to the tabernacle. As soon, however, as the sanctuary was built at Shiloh, the former strictness was revived. Afterwards, the ark being carried to Nob and to Gibeon, it became lawful to sacrifice in high places. Hence we find Samuel doing sacrifice in a high place (1 Sam. ix. 13). But this was never allowed after the building of the temple, the temple becoming the permanent resting-place of the ark of the covenant."<sup>a</sup>

On the structure and arrangement of the tabernacle it is needless to descend to particulars. It was the peculiar seat of the symbolical presence of God; it was the earthly palace of the monarch of Israel. The whole structure seems to have been intended to exhibit this idea. The cover of the ark was God's seat. Above the seat were the two cherubim, an emblem of the servants and attendants of a monarch. The apartment in which these were placed was the audience-room. Here God was in the habit of meeting Moses and giving forth sacred oracles. In the outer apartment was the table of shew-bread, the golden altar, and the golden candlestick. In the court encircling the tabernacle was the altar of incense and the brazen laver. An analogy was meant to be preserved, in all these things, to the structure and furniture of a royal palace. The tabernacle and everything connected with it were, in accordance with this idea, denominated holy. They were wont to be anointed with holy oil, in token of the sanctity with which they were invested.

The tabernacle, which could be moved, comported with the migratory life of the Hebrews in the desert. No sooner, however, had they taken possession of Canaan, than a new institute of worship was planned, suited to the circumstances of a people of ample wealth and dwelling in permanent habitations. Ultimately the temple at Jerusalem was built, in accordance with this idea. It rested in the same principle with the tabernacle. There was an obvious analogy between the two in reference to their structure and arrangement. The great idea pervading both was, that they were the places in which God dwelt in a peculiar sense, as a sovereign in the midst of his subjects. This was the difference between the temple and the synagogue, and between the temple and all places of Christian worship. In the latter, God is only worshipped; in the former, he was not only

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<sup>a</sup> On 1 Kings iii. 3.

worshipped, but in a peculiar sense considered as dwelling. Consider the terms of the command enjoining the building of the tabernacle. "They shall build me," God said to Moses, "a sanctuary, and I will dwell in the midst of them" (Ex. xxv.). On this ground unclean persons were forbidden to remain in the camp. Their presence was unsuitable to the palace of the great King. And as the tabernacle, so the temple, was constructed with the design that it should become the residence of the celestial monarch. Hence the language of Solomon: "I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in for ever" (1 Kings viii. 13).

The sanctity always ascribed to the temple, grew out of the same idea of its being the dwelling-place of the Divinity. A place may be said to be sacred as being consecrated to the worship of God. So Christian churches are viewed as sacred places in this modified and figurative sense. A place may be said to be sacred as being the place of God's special abode. Such was the temple. Such are attempted to be made the churches and cathedrals of the Romanists.\*

In keeping with this idea, God was unwilling sacrifices should be offered to himself anywhere else but in the temple. That was his earthly palace. With this view the priests who ministered in the temple, and all who at any time appeared therein, are said to appear in the presence of God. Whatever was done in the temple was done before God. The figurative use of the word *temple* is derived from the same idea. Christ called his body a temple for no other reason, than that the same divine Power which inhabited the temple dwelt, in all its fulness, in the body of Christ. With a like significance, his flesh is called the veil, a type of the veil which, in the temple, concealed the scene of God's glorious presence. Thus, also, Christians are called the temple of God.

The language employed by Jewish writers is in perfect harmony with these remarks. "God directed such a house to be built for himself," says Rabbi Schem Tob, "as answered to the idea of a palace. In a palace are found those who prepare the food of the monarch, those that watch for his security, those who sing, and play on musical instruments for his entertainment. There is an apartment in a palace set apart to the preparation of food, a place where perfumes are burned, a place where the table is spread, a secret place into which none are permitted to enter but such as stand next in dignity to the king or whom he admits to his peculiar confidence. In the same manner, God

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\* And of other Christians too.—Ed. J. S. L.

designed that all these officers and arrangements should meet in his earthly house, lest in any respect he should be considered as inferior to earthly kings.”<sup>1</sup> We can easily deduce from this idea the propriety of the custom of the priests subsisting from the sacrifices. This answered to the custom of earthly kings maintaining, in the palace, their ministers and servants. All these arrangements were designed to engrave upon the minds of the people the idea that their king, the Lord of Hosts, was dwelling among them in the temple.

[Do we not get an insight, it may be asked in passing, hereby, into the significance of the custom of sacrifices? The significance of sacrifices is analogous to the significance of the temple. The significance of a temple was that of a palace; and the sacrifices, did they not answer to the presents offered to the monarch, on various occasions, by his subjects? May not sacrifices be considered as the appropriate expressions of the feelings of a subject towards his sovereign; When a subject wished to do honour to the sovereign, when he would acknowledge allegiance; when he would appease the anger of the monarch, when he would supplicate forgiveness, when he would appear as intercessor for another, he brought a present. The subsistence of the king's household was derived from these presents. May not the various ideas involved in sacrifices, those of gratitude, of worship, of prayer, of confession, and atonement, be derived from the thought just announced?]

5. *On the priesthood.*—The priesthood, as it existed among the Jews, has been asserted by many writers, both Jewish and Christian, to have been the peculiar birthright of the first-born son. It was a provision of the Levitical law that all the first-born of the Hebrews, if males, should be holy unto the Lord, as those whom God called, in a peculiar sense, his own. This provision is thought to favour the idea of the priesthood's being confined to first-born sons. It is also affirmed that the Levites, who subsequently became God's sacred ministers and priests, were substituted for the first-born, so that the priestly office was conferred on them on the ground of its having previously been among the peculiar privileges of the first-born sons. The fact that Moses is said, on a certain occasion, to have sent young men to offer sacrifices, is adduced in support of this view, on the ground that the young men, thus deputed, were first-born sons (Ex. xxiv. 5). Stress also is laid upon the fact that Esau has become infamous for having sold his birthright, the privilege of offering sacrifices as a priest.

It is maintained, on the other hand, that first-born males

<sup>1</sup> *More Nevochim*, part iii., c. 45.

were holy unto the Lord, not as the prerogative of their age, nor from a prescriptive right to the priesthood, but because they were spared when God smote the first-born of the Egyptians. The sacredness pertaining to them was a peculiarity of the Jewish religion. It did not exist among them before the exodus from Egypt; nor after that event did it become an essential qualification for the priestly office. Its only effect was to convert the first-born into a species of property of the priests, such as could be redeemed only by the payment of five shekels (Numb. xviii. 16). Neither is it an argument of much weight that the Levites took the place of the first-born. Although thus substituted they did not necessarily become priests, but only servants of the priests; nor did they become servants until they had been consecrated by peculiar rites. The argument, derived from the fact that Moses sent young men to offer sacrifices, is inconclusive. It is not at all clear that these young men were first-born sons, nor that they sprinkled blood upon the altar, which was the peculiar office of the priests and the distinctive mark of the priestly character. When the apostle affixed a stigma to the character of Esau for selling his birth-right, it is by no means certain that the right to the priesthood was comprised among the privileges of primogeniture. Paul may have referred only to the double portion of the paternal inheritance, and to the chief authority in the household, which unquestionably were among these privileges. As these privileges were properly regarded as divine benefactions, the slight value placed on them by Esau, indicated signal ingratitude towards God.

In addition to these remarks it may be observed, that in the earliest ages, in such sacrifices as individuals offered for themselves, each was his own priest. Cain and Abel each presented his own offering. This one circumstance makes it apparent that no peculiar qualification for the priestly office was connected with primogeniture. It has been alleged that Cain and Abel merely presented at the altar their respective gifts, which were afterwards offered up by Adam, in his character as priest. For this opinion no valid reasons can be given. It is also contrary to the scriptural narrative. In the sacrifices appointed for families the master of the family had the right of officiating as priest. Thus Noah and Job exercised priestly functions. In the sacrifices appointed for larger communities, it was the rule that the chief of the community, if he chose, should preside as priest. It was in the exercise of this function that Moses, in preference to Aaron, sprinkled the altar with the blood by which the covenant was sanctioned (Ex. xxiv. 6).

Greater pains have probably been taken to establish a con-

nexion between the priestly office and primogeniture, from a desire at the same time to make out an analogy, in this point, between the priestly character and Christ's relation to the Father as his first-born Son. This analogy is far from being without interest; nor is it certain that the sacred writers did not design to suggest it.

We come, after this discussion, to a more particular consideration of the Jewish priesthood. After the Hebrews left Egypt, the priestly office was separated from the civil authority, and transferred to Aaron and his posterity. Besides their strictly priestly functions, certain others were assigned to them as being supposed to be endowed with a full knowledge of the law of God; functions which were sometimes shared with those who were not priests. Among these other functions are enumerated those of giving judgment in cases of litigation, and of the interpretation of the sacred records. The duties peculiar to the priestly office were the performance of sacrifices and giving the benediction to the assembled people.

Two grades were established in the Aaronic priesthood. To the higher, belonged the high-priest alone; to the lower, all the other priests. Besides this, there was a subdivision of the priests into eight ranks; in the first of these, as in the principal division, the high-priest alone was placed. The greatest care was taken to maintain the dignity and purity of this officer. He was forbidden to marry any other than an undefiled virgin. He was not permitted to come into contact with any dead body, nor in any way to defile his person in token of grief for the dead. It was unlawful for him to do this even in the case of deceased parents. The more modern Jewish writers specify numerous other particulars in which the purity of the high-priest was scrupulously guarded. He was required, they say, to excel his brethren in five particulars: in elegance of bodily form, in strength, in beauty of colour, in riches, and wisdom. They considered all these things as indications of a noble and excellent disposition. It was a provision of a more doubtful character, that the high-priest should keep himself from all unnecessary intercourse with the people. He had also the privilege of performing sacrificial rites at any time which he might select, and take into his own hands the duty of any of the inferior priests. [In this permitted absorption of all the functions of the whole priesthood in the hands of the chief, as if he alone were priest, are we to observe anything typical of the *one mediator* between God and man, Jesus Christ?]

A description of the duties incumbent on the other seven classes of priests would be tedious and unnecessary. A some-

what higher interest attaches to the minute details given in the Pentateuch and in more recent Jewish works, in respect to the rites used in the consecration of the priests, the peculiar dress and ornaments which they were to wear. These details sometimes appear to modern readers insignificant and tiresome. To the devout Jews, however, to any one indeed who should examine them with the aid of a thorough acquaintance with the customs and peculiarities of the times, they would by no means appear frivolous and uninteresting. Such students of the subject would see in them much that was symbolical of the priestly and intercessory character of Christ.

6. *Sacrifices, their different kinds and accompanying rites.*—The general name given, in the Scriptures, to the various objects which were brought to the tabernacle and to the temple, to be used in the construction of those buildings or in the sacred services, was oblations, offerings. This term even included the Levites and the priests. Different uses were made of these various objects. Some were sent away into the desert, as the scape-goat. Some were employed in the service of the sanctuary, entire and uninjured. Some were put to death and consumed. The offerings which were put to death, divided in various ways, and consumed in the sanctuary, were sacrifices in the vocabulary of the Jews. All sacrifices, then, were offerings; but all offerings were not sacrifices. The presentation of the victim at the altar, and its division and consumption there, in whole or in part, appear to be the distinctive outward marks of a sacrifice. This definition would exclude certain things which, sometimes, are comprehended under the term *sacrifices*. Among these were the bird used in the purification of the leper; the heifer, offered to expiate a murder committed by a person not known; the red heifer, used to purify those who were defiled by touching the dead; the scape-goat, which, though of a peculiar character, yet being sent away alive into the wilderness, cannot properly be ranked among sacrifices.

Of proper sacrifices, there were two great divisions, animate and inanimate. The former were selected, almost exclusively, from animals judged fit to be used for human sustenance. The animals thus sacrificed are, with the exception of birds, styled *hostiæ* or victims; a name, however, more generally applied distinctively to peace-offerings. All others were denominated simply gifts, bloodless sacrifices.

Confining our attention, for the present, to the bloody sacrifices, we notice the scrupulous care used in the selection of victims. The choice was to be restricted to oxen, goats, sheep, doves or pigeons. One purpose of this restriction doubtless was,

to perfect the separation of the Israelites from the surrounding pagan nations, among whom it was judged fit to exclude no animal, however unclean and savage, from sacrificial uses. Still further, the comparative tameness and gentleness of these animals, the fact that they were used for food and could therefore be considered as costly sacrifices, and also that they were found somewhat plentifully in the land of Canaan, seem to have been among the grounds of the selection of these animals. The greatest care, also, was to be used in the choice of animals for sacrifice from among the prescribed classes. They were uniformly to be perfect in their kind. No animal that was blind, or that had a broken limb, or that was in any way mutilated or diseased, could properly be presented for sacrifice. No animal that had come into the possession of its owner by any unlawful means, could be presented for sacrifice. Pagan nations, though, as above remarked, they did not hesitate to use the most savage and unclean animals for sacrifice, were still careful to select only such as were perfect in their kind. This caution would be prescribed by the natural religious instinct. We should anticipate its operation among a people whom Jehovah had particularly trained for his service. Attention was to be given to the age of the animal, on the principle that all animals were not of the same worth at the same age. Animals of the one or the other sex were to be offered, according to the order to which they belonged, and the particular kind of sacrifices which were to be performed.

Passing from this account of the animals which were deemed proper for sacrificial purposes, we take notice of the divisions of the sacrifices themselves, in relation either to their significance, or the mode in which they were performed. Four divisions are specified: burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, sin-offerings, and trespass-offerings. Of these, burnt-offerings are recorded as having been usual at a very early period. The sacrifices of Abraham, of Noah, and very probably those of Abel, were of this kind. Few traces, indeed, of any other than burnt-offerings are to be found in the Scriptures till a period even subsequent to Abraham. Before the promulgation of the Sinaitic law, however, peace-offerings seem to have been in use. The demand made by Moses of the Egyptian king, indicates this; "Sacrifices and burnt-offerings shalt thou give unto us, which we may offer unto the Lord" (Exodus x. 25). The same is evident in the language used concerning Jethro, who is said to have offered sacrifices and burnt-offerings (Exodus xviii. 12). The word translated sacrifices, in each of these passages, has the meaning of peace-offerings.

The principle on which all sacrifices rested is, that they are essential elements of divine worship. They have the force and meaning of prayers. The peculiar significance of burnt-offerings is the acknowledgment implied in them of God, as the Creator and Preserver of all things. They were peculiarly expressive of the sentiment of adoration. They were presented, also, when the object in view was either to ask for the bounties of Providence, or to render thanks for such as had been already vouchsafed. On both these occasions, the sentiment of adoration would necessarily accompany the petition or the thanksgiving, and burnt-offerings would be its most proper expression. They seem, in short, to have comprehended within themselves, in some measure, the significance of all other forms of sacrifice; as it would be fitting that, when the bounty of Jehovah was implored, when this bounty was gratefully acknowledged, when one would appease the anger of Jehovah, his sovereign power and greatness should also be acknowledged; and on the other hand, when adoration was to be expressed, it was fitting that the favor of God should be asked, his goodness be praised, and his forgiving mercy be implored. For each of these subordinate purposes, however, by the law of Moses, particular sacrifices were assigned, notwithstanding that the import of these other sacrifices was often meant to be expressed in burnt-offerings.

It was a peculiarity of burnt-offerings, that foreigners as well as native-born Jews were allowed to present them in the temple. Particular sacrifices, thank-offerings, peace-offerings, could be received from none but Jews, on the ground that the Jews only had been instructed by the Almighty, that sacrifices of these descriptions would be acceptable to him. Burnt-offerings as embodying that general acknowledgment of God as Creator and Benefactor, and offended Sovereign, which even nature suggests to all men as expressive of the instinctive and universal sentiment of adoration, might be received from all, because in this loose sense they were enjoined upon all.

The class of sacrifices to which our attention is next turned are those denominated peace-offerings. A difference of opinion exists as to the meaning of the word *peace* as applied to these offerings. The term, as is well known, has in the Scriptures two meanings: one, that of mutual concord among friends; the other, a condition of prosperity and happiness. The verb from which the noun *peace* is derived, is used in the two senses, of giving and enjoying peace, in the double signification of that noun already pointed out. It has been supposed, therefore, by some, that the offerings in question are called peace-offerings,



with a reference to the latter signification of the verb, because to each one of the parties, Jehovah, the priests, and the offerers, a certain portion of the victim was given. On the other hand, it is conceived that peace-offerings were meant to be significant of the concord and friendship which subsisted between the different parties in the sacrifice. A common table has always been regarded as a symbol of friendship; and so of the parties represented in the peace-offering, each received and fed upon a portion, in token of a mutual friendship. This is the view of the subject adopted by many Jewish writers. These offerings, says Levi Ben Gerson, are called peace-offerings, as customarily presented whenever one was consciously in favour with God; and their significance lay in the fact, that the offerers, the priests, and Jehovah sat down, as it were, at a common table. The blood and the entrails lay upon the altar, as before God, the breast and the shoulder were given to the priests, and the skin and the remainder of the flesh to the persons who brought the sacrifice.<sup>j</sup> The opinion, in which peace-offerings were viewed as betokening prosperity, seems nevertheless the more simple and rational. These offerings relate to a condition of prosperity. They were either petitions for prosperity, or expressions of thanks for prosperity. This is the view adopted by Philo and the Greek commentators.

Three kinds are included under the general denomination of peace-offerings: freewill, votive, and thank-offerings; the two former are to be considered in the light of petitions; the latter, as an expression of gratitude for prosperity. The judgment, even of those who lived before Moses, was, that the favour of God could neither be implored nor gratefully commemorated in any form so appropriately as by that of a sacrifice. This consideration seems to have given rise to the peace-offerings which, as we have observed, were presented by individuals before the time of Moses. To such an extent did this view prevail among heathen nations, that it was judged improper to commence eating, before the gods had been honored by the offering of a portion of bread and wine. This custom, as readers of the book of Daniel will remember, prevailed among the Chaldeans. Thank-offerings referred, in general, to the actual reception of benefits, or to deliverance from remarkable perils. Other peace-offerings, however, are sometimes included under this designation. The Nazarite, who had fulfilled his vow, was commanded to sacrifice a ram as a token of gratitude. Certain peace-offerings were usual on solemn feast-days set apart for com-

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<sup>j</sup> On Levit. iii.

morating the goodness of God. The sacrifices which had relation to the redemption of first-born males are thank-offerings, because the consecration of the first-born was a symbol of gratitude for the preservation of the children of the Israelites, when the Egyptian first-born were put to death.

Besides the two classes of offerings of which we have now treated, there were in use two others, denominated respectively sin and trespass-offerings, both which may be included under the one designation of piacular. Of sin-offerings, the Jews speak of two varieties: one, appointed alike for the poor and the rich, and consisting always of the same definite objects; the other, consisting of objects of greater or less worth, according to the ability of the persons by whom it was presented. Sin-offerings of the former variety were appointed in the case of transgressions against prohibitory laws, committed ignorantly or thoughtlessly, and which, if they had been designedly perpetrated, would have rendered the perpetrator worthy of death. They must, also, have been overt acts, and not merely designs unexecuted, or words. The greater part of the transgressions, included under this head, appear to have been either acts of ceremonial impurity, or acts of a sacrilegious character. The transgressions for which sacrifices of the second variety were appointed, seem to have been very nearly of the same description. The difference between the two kinds related more to the different circumstances of the offences than to any essential diversity in the sins for which they were presented.

As with sin, so with trespass-offerings; Jewish writers comprehend under this term two specific sorts: one for trespasses suspected, either by himself or others, to have been committed by a particular person; the other, for trespasses known to have been committed by him, known both by himself and by others. The diversity was evidently similar to that existing in the case of sin-offerings; and it referred, not so much to the essential nature of the trespasses, as to the degree of consciousness with which they were committed.

The peculiarity of sins as distinguished from trespasses, it is a matter of some difficulty to state with precision. Jewish writers as well as commentators on the Scriptures, both ancient and modern, have come to conclusions on this point very much at variance with each other. Abrabanel considers sins to have been acts committed in unconsciousness of their illegality. Aben Ezra considers the difference to be, that the one class of acts was committed in ignorance, the other, in forgetfulness of their illegality. Grotius conceives the difference to be the same as that existing between positive and negative faults. Another

writer conceives the difference to be, that sins were acts done in mere thoughtlessness; trespasses, acts done from design and from motives positively malicious. Other writers maintain that sins are acts committed against Jehovah alone, from which men receive no direct injury; trespasses are acts tending directly to the injury of one's fellow-creatures. This latter opinion appears on the whole to be more worthy of adoption than any one of the others. Is not this difference indicated in the fact that, in the case of sin-offerings, the blood of the victim was sprinkled on the sides and on the horns of the altar; that sin-offerings were appointed for the whole congregation; while trespass-offerings were confined to individuals, as most properly capable of that class of acts which we have just defined trespasses to be?

The division of sacrifices into those appointed for individuals and those appointed for the congregation in its collective character, is not undeserving of attention. Besides the sin and trespass-offerings, which, as we have just seen, were prescribed to individuals, the paschal lamb is to be included in the same class. The distinctive features of a sacrifice belonged to this offering. The victim was directed to be put to death in the sanctuary, and its blood to be sprinkled on the altar by the priests.

In the sacrifices prescribed to the whole congregation, the people were regarded as one commonwealth, capable, in a collective capacity, of sin; as the proper object of divine goodness, and often standing in need of blessings and deliverances. The victims offered were procured and presented at the altar by persons representing the commonwealth. In the statutes relating to these sacrifices, it was provided that their efficacy should extend to the entire people, considered as one. Of this class of sacrifices some were presented only when some peculiar circumstances might demand; others were presented at stated times and at regular intervals. Sacrifices of the first kind were offered in case of a national transgression fallen into through ignorance, and consisted of a single bullock. They were also required whenever the people had become guilty of the sin of idolatry. The sacrifice, on such occasions, consisted of a single bullock or goat, with a second bullock added as a burnt-offering. Later Jewish writers add, that in some services of this kind, twelve animals of each class were presented. They describe, with much minuteness, the ceremonies with which these sacrifices were accompanied. A sacrifice of the former kind, that of a single bullock, was specially required whenever the commonwealth, though still retaining much in its character which was morally good, and addicted in general to the worship of God, had ignorantly fallen into some act of the nature of idolatry. The

latter form of sacrifice, in which the piacular goat was added, was appropriate to a period in which there had been a more general and personal relapse into idolatry. As this sacrifice supposed not only the neglect of the prescribed religious rites, but also the introduction of foreign and heathenish ceremonies, the piacular goat was intended to atone for the sin which had been committed; and the bullock, added as a burnt-offering, denoted the resumption of former rites of worship. Thus Hezekiah, after the temple had been for some time closed and many foreign superstitions brought in, offered for the two transgressions, respectively, bullocks and piacular goats (2 Chron. xxviii. 24; xxix. 3). In the same manner the Jews, on their return from the Babylonish captivity and the restoration of the temple and the ancient service, sacrificed, in the name of the entire congregation, both these kinds of victims.

With respect to the sacrifices which recurred at regular intervals, we find daily, weekly, monthly, and annual sacrifices commanded. Such were the morning and the evening sacrifices so frequently alluded to, the sacrifices appropriate to the new moon and to the Sabbath. Such were those which were ordained for the paschal holidays and those of the Pentecost, for the day of propitiation and the feast of tabernacles.

Much of the peculiar significance of sacrifices was hidden in the rites with which they were accompanied. Attention to these is therefore a matter of importance. Whenever a burnt-offering was presented by an individual, it was commanded to be brought before the great altar by him. When there, his hand was to be laid upon the victim and the appointed words of prayer to be uttered. After this, the victim was to be immediately slain and the blood poured round the sides of the altar. The skin was then to be removed and the animal cut in pieces. The thighs and the inwards were to be washed, and these, together with the entrails, were to be taken up the sloping ascent of the altar, and having been there sprinkled with salt, to be laid out on the hearth. The same rites, with the exception of the imposition of hands and the prayers, were observed in the case of all sacrifices for the whole congregation. In the case of other sacrifices, these rites were somewhat varied.

It is to be noted, that the services proper to such sacrifices as were presented by individuals might be, in part, shared between the priests and the individuals offering. There was a portion of these services, however, which no one could properly perform except the priests. The sprinkling of the blood, the kindling of the fire, the laying out of the victim to be burned, was the peculiar work of the priests.

The piacular victims, occasionally presented in the name of

the whole people, it was the duty of all the elders personating the people, to lead up to the altar and place upon them their own hands. A similar division of services took place in the instance of these sacrifices as of those last mentioned. The priests retained, in these, their peculiar functions. There were, moreover, certain sacrifices in which the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar was retained as the peculiar prerogative of the high priest. Such were all those whose blood was to be carried into the holy place, as the piacular bullock and goat, the sacrifice presented for the whole congregation on the day of atonement. Certain points of interest come into view on a more particular examination of the rites observed in sacrifices. In the first place, the victim having been rightly selected, was to be placed before the altar. A command to this effect was virtually embodied in the command to place the victim at the door of the tabernacle, because there the great altar was situated, and God may be supposed to have laid stress on the door of the tabernacle, lest it should be believed that a victim was rightly presented, if the altar was in some other position. By specifying the tabernacle as his own house, the emblematic abode of the Divinity, God would admonish all worshippers that sacrifice must be offered to Him, and not to foreign deities. Everything that was originally directed to be done at the door of the tabernacle, was afterwards appointed to be done at the gate of the temple of Jerusalem.

The placing of the victim before the door of the tabernacle, was identical with the offering which God directed to be performed. This is insisted on to obviate the mistake of those who confound the offering, the oblation, with the slaying of the victim; as if there were no oblation previously to the slaying. Yet, though the placing of the victim at the door of the tabernacle was the same as its oblation, and is wont to be so termed, still it is undeniable that the blood, the inwards, and entrails, when placed upon the altar, are also said to be offered. But the oblation of these parts was not the oblation of the victim itself while yet living. More often, what was done to the separate parts, the sprinkling of the blood and the like, is styled burning, rather than offering.

After the offering of the victim, in the sense just defined, there followed, in the case of peace-offerings and the piacular lamb of the leper, a turning of the victim towards all parts of the world; a designed emblem of the truth that God fills and possesses all things. To this succeeded the imposition of hands, demanded by a sacred law, of all who presented victims at the door of the tabernacle. According to Maimonides, both hands were to be used, and the whole strength exerted. This rite was

to be observed in all burnt-offerings by individuals, in peace-offerings, and in certain sin-offerings. The same is supposed to have been the case with trespass-offerings. It is added, that in piacular sacrifices and burnt-sacrifices, hands should be imposed at the north side of the altar; in peace-offerings, anywhere within the sanctuary; yet still, so that wherever they were placed, the eyes of the worshipper should be turned towards the west or towards the temple. This requirement was the more suitable, because certain prayers were to be uttered when hands were placed, which could not properly be done, unless the face was towards the temple. In regard to sacrifices for the whole congregation, it is agreed among the Jews, that hands were to be imposed only in those of a piacular character. While this judgment is not in conflict with any known law, it is in harmony with the ascertained usage. When, at the command of Hezekiah, burnt-offerings and piacular victims were sacrificed, we are told that only in the latter sacrifices were the hands of the elders laid upon the victims. It is not, however, the unanimous judgment of Jewish writers, that even in all piacular sacrifices were hands to be imposed.

The imposition of hands symbolized the devotion to death of the object, or its commendation to the favour of God, or its being set apart to some sacred use. And certain words were appointed to be used in connexion with this rite, expressive of the particular object to which the imposition of hands was meant to refer; in all cases, however, expressive either of prayer for blessing, or of imprecation of evil. Imposition of hands is sometimes used as an interchangeable term for prayer.

The imposition of hands, therefore, was always required to be followed by the utterance of certain prescribed forms of prayer, always referring, of course, to the precise purpose which the sacrifice itself had in view. Prayer of confession was used in the case of sin-offerings; with free-will offerings, supplication for blessings was joined; with thank-offerings and votive-offerings, expressions of gratitude and praise were used. With all, might properly be combined the deprecation of evil on account of sin, as what suited with the condition of every man as a transgressor. No doubt can be entertained of the invariableness of this custom. Jewish writers uniformly insist, that no sacrifice can be effective in the procurement of pardon, unless it be accompanied by penitent supplication and confession.

The blood of the victim represented its life, and the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar was the most sacred of the sacrificial rites. It was practised in different forms and different parts of the temple, according to the nature and meaning of the

particular sacrifice. In some instances, the blood was carried into the tabernacle. In some cases, it was required to be sprinkled on the sides, or on the horns of the altar; in certain cases, this was to be done in the holy place; in others, in the holy of holies.

The flesh of the victim was, in some cases, to be consumed by fire on the altar. Whenever it was commanded that only the inwards should be burned on the altar, the remaining parts were either to be eaten by the priests and the offerer, or else consumed without the camp. The flesh of the victim was disposed of in this latter manner in most piacular sacrifices. Those who bore the flesh to the appointed place of burning, were regarded as unclean, in consequence of the uncleanness of the victim; and the uncleanness of the victim, as in the instance of the scape-goat, consisted only in this, that the sins, which it was meant to expiate, were supposed to be symbolically laid upon it.

The flesh of all peace-offerings, and of all piacular offerings, except those whose blood was carried into the temple, was to be eaten, yet not by every man, nor at all times indiscriminately. Certain portions of certain victims went to the priests and their families; others were eaten by the persons who offered the sacrifice in token of the peace, the concord, supposed to subsist between God and themselves. The ground on which it was unlawful to eat things offered to idols, lay partly in this consideration: such an act betokened a belief in and affection for the divinity to which the things were sacrificed. The flesh of sin-offerings could not properly be eaten; partly, no doubt, because of the uncleanness they had contracted from the sins symbolically laid upon them, and partly because feasting was judged to be incompatible with the feelings and dispositions indicated in all piacular sacrifices.

7. *The general nature of a type.*—After this discussion of the general characteristics of Jewish sacrifices, we proceed to a consideration of their typical nature. A preliminary question, however, must first be disposed of: What is a type? A type, in the theological sense, may be thus defined: it is a symbol of some future event, designed in its nature and the circumstances of its occurrence, to prefigure that future event. That which is thus prefigured is called the antitype. It is, then, in the first place, an essential feature of a type that it shall actually prefigure its antitype. One thing can thus prefigure another in two ways: either by means of some property or important circumstances actually belonging to it in common with its antitype; in the same manner in which the Jewish sacrifices were

a type of Christ in the putting to death experienced in both instances; or else by means of some property symbolically attached to the type. In this last manner the images of the cherubim, in the holy of holies, were a type of the celerity with which the angels moved; not because the images actually moved swiftly, but because they possessed that which was a symbol of swift motion, namely wings, artificially attached to the body. Yet furthermore, one thing may be the type of another, on the ground of a proper comparison between the two. Melchisedek shadowed forth Christ our eternal high-priest; for though Melchisedek is not in reality an eternal high-priest, yet he has that which may be viewed as an image of eternity, in the absence of any historical record of his descent, of his birth and death.

It is, in the second place, an essential feature of a type, that it is plainly shaped by the Almighty with a view to its representation of a future event. This is the distinction of a type from a simile. Many things resemble each other, between which we are not to suppose any typical relation. All flesh is grass; yet evidently grass is not a designed type of the frailty of man. Sometimes the same name is given to two objects on account of a likeness which the one bears to the other. Yet there is no need of supposing any typical relation in such cases. Herod was denominated a fox. The fox, however, was not a type of Herod, because it was not so designed by Jehovah.

In these statements in reference to the distinctive features of types, the usual sense of the word is regarded as well as the strictly Biblical usage. The Bible recognizes nothing as a type, except such things as God has plainly intended should represent future events. Thus the institutions of Moses, to which the principle of a type belongs, are called the shadow of things to come (Col. ii. 17). The Mosaic law, which was replete with types, is said to have had a shadow of good things to come (Heb. x. 1). There is the same difference between type and symbol as between genus and species. All types are symbols, though all symbols are not types. A symbol may represent a thing as past, present, or to come. Thus rites which were intended to illustrate some trait of character, required to be cultivated by contemporary Jews, were symbols and not types. Some rites may have had both the symbolical and the typical character. Only those, however, which were designed to represent future events were properly types.

From what has been said of the nature of a type, that of the antitype may be easily gathered. The antitype invariably succeeds the type. The existence of the latter ceases when that of the former begins. Still more, the force which belongs to the



antitype is found in the type, either in the form of shadow, mere appearance; or, if really existing, in an inferior degree only. The death which was common to the Jewish victims and to Christ, had in the type far less force in relation to God and men than it had in Christ. The law, it is said, having only a shadow of good things to come, could not make the comers thereunto perfect. The Jewish sacrifices had only a shadow of that virtue which belongs to the sacrifice of Christ, and therefore they could not, of themselves, purge those who trusted in them. As the shadow with the solid body, so the Mosaic law is, in the Scriptures, contrasted with the Gospel. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. It is objected by Socinus, to this view of the subject, that the type never can be considered as entirely destitute of the very property which belongs to the antitype. Always in the type, he says, is found something of the identical nature of the antitype.<sup>k</sup> He asserts, therefore, that there was no force existing in the sacrifice of Christ which did not properly exist in the Jewish sacrifices. This idea is wholly untenable. Nothing is more evident than that a type may have only the appearance or a symbol of the properties of the antitype, but of the properties themselves be wholly destitute. The cherubim had in their wings a symbol of the celerity of the angels. The property itself they entirely wanted. The incense burned in the temple was a symbol of prayer. Had it in itself aught of the properties of prayer?

8. *Sacrifices more particularly typical of Christ, and the points in which their typical character lay.*—Those sacrifices very evidently were intended to be types of Christ, in which the victims were to be burned without the camp. Besides the analogy which lay in their unspotted purity and in their being put to death, these victims were employed as piacular sacrifices, and their flesh was burned without the camp. "We have," says Paul, "an altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which serve the tabernacle. For the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high-priest, for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the camp" (Heb. xiii. 10—12). And this argument, derived from the place in which Christ suffered, would be without force, unless all those victims whose blood was carried into the sanctuary, were a type of the sacrifice of the Redeemer. For Christ would not have suffered without the gate merely because those

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<sup>k</sup> *Prælect.*, c. 22.

victims were burned without the gate. There must be other and higher points of agreement; and this higher agreement can be found only in the relations of type to antitype. All victims, therefore, whose bodies were burned without the camp, were types of Christ; and this in the stronger sense, because they not only prefigured his death in the general, but the place in which it occurred.

Of many of the victims whose flesh was to be burned without the camp, the blood was to be carried into the holy of holies. These, too, were pre-eminently typical of the sacrifice of Christ. They not only prefigured his death in the general, and the place of his death, but also his entrance into the upper sanctuary. "But Christ," says Paul, "being come an high-priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" (Heb. ix. 11, 12). In this passage, the Jewish high-priest and ours, Christ Jesus; the blood of goats and calves and the blood of the Saviour; the most holy place and the sanctuary above; and, finally, the entrance of the high-priest into the former and that of Christ into the latter, are compared together as types and antitypes. Nothing, it may be here observed, can be further from the truth than the confident assertion of Socinus, that no piacular victims were types of Christ except those which were slain at stated times and in the name of the whole congregation.<sup>1</sup> Among the victims thus burned without the camp, were those piacular bullocks of which one was for the congregation and the other for the high-priest alone; both of which were sacrificed only at irregular intervals.

9. *Exclusive reference of sacrifices to God.*—The typical nature of the sacrifices now described, lay in these two points: the first, that they had a specific relation to God; the second, that a vicarious punishment was laid upon the victims. These sacrifices thereby teach us the correspondent truths concerning Christ; that his sacrifice of himself had a reference to God, and that he endured a vicarious punishment. Each of these positions, it is well known, has been denied by Socinus and his school.

In proof of the first proposition, that the Jewish piacular sacrifices had particular relation to God, that they were designed to operate on the mind of God directly, we allude to the place

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<sup>1</sup> *Prælect.*, c. 22.

in which these sacrifices were required to be offered. This, at first, was the tabernacle. Afterwards it was the temple at Jerusalem, which had the same character and uses with the tabernacle. Each was rendered holy by that glory, the cloud, which presented a certain symbol of the presence of God. Each was built with the design of its becoming the dwelling-place of Jehovah. Those who entered the sanctuary are said to appear in the presence of God, and whatever was done in it was done before God. Here God was willing to be approached and consulted; towards the temple prayer was to be offered by travellers or exiles, as we know to have been done by the prophet Daniel. These facts indicate that there was a certain special presence of God in the sanctuary. The inference is an easy one, that sacrifices performed in this place, thus selected by Jehovah as his abode in the midst of the people, and made sacred by his peculiar presence, were meant to have a particular reference to God. There was no reason why they should be performed in the sanctuary, unless they were performed with particular reference to the inhabitant of the sanctuary; nor could they be performed with reference to him, unless their aim had been to affect his mind, just as was the case with the prayers and thanksgivings which were uttered in the sanctuary.

Let it be noted, besides, that of certain victims the blood was to be carried into the holy of holies, the peculiar dwelling-place of Jehovah. The only purpose of this act must have been to win for the worshipper the favour of Him before whom the blood was sprinkled. And if this be conceded, then must it be allowed also, that the virtue of these sacrifices, whose blood was thus sprinkled before God, must have been directed especially towards Jehovah, that God must have been their specific object. Not otherwise are we to judge, in the general, concerning all sacrifices. The whole sanctuary was consecrated to services, in performing which every one drew near to God. If such was the nature and relation of sacrifices in general, this must be the nature and relation of those sacrifices which we have enumerated as specially typical of the sacrifice of Christ.

The consideration of the functions of the priests leads to the same conclusion. These functions are described in the words addressed by Jehovah to Moses: "Thou shalt put them," *i.e.*, the priestly garments, "upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him; and shall anoint them and consecrate them and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office" (Ex. xxviii. 41). To execute the priestly office, therefore, and to minister unto God, were the same thing. They were acts of which God is the great and exclusive object. The

priests, when they ministered unto God, that is to say, when they performed sacrifices, drew near only to God; and all the religious rites and ceremonies, which are connected with the offering of sacrifices, are so arranged as to appear to bear a specific relation to God. We are to observe the distinction existing between the office of the priests and that of the prophets and apostles. It is the office of the latter to transact the business of God with men. It is the office of priests to transact the business of men with God. The prophets and apostles were God's ambassadors to men; the priests are the advocates of men before God. Now then, says Paul, are we ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us. On the other hand, it is said, that every high-priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God (Heb. v. 1).

It has been urged by Crellius, in reply to Grotius, that Paul, as if invested with the priestly office, affirms that he had whereof he might glory through Jesus Christ in those things which pertain to God (Rom. xv. 17). But it will appear by a reference to the verse immediately preceding, that Paul had transferred to himself, figuratively, certain functions of the priests. He had prepared the Gentiles, by the instructions he had given them in evangelical doctrine, to become living sacrifices unto God. In consequence of this he ventures to assume to himself, in this figurative mode, a priestly character, and to say that he had whereof he might glory through Jesus Christ. Though Paul, using this figurative style, though all Christians are sometimes denominated priests, yet it is to be noted that no ministers of the Gospel, whatever rank they may occupy, are in their official character ever spoken of in the Bible as priests. The ministry never should be confounded with the priesthood. The former, as has been affirmed already, is an embassy from God to men; the latter an embassy from men to God. The former has to do directly with men, the latter with God. To the Jewish priesthood, the priesthood of Christ, not the Christian ministry, succeeded; and with Christ the priestly office ceased to exist on the earth.

Again, we take notice of the careful provision made in the Jewish ritual for the preservation of the official sacredness and purity of the priests. Great regard was paid to their descent, their marriage, the healthiness of their body. No foreigner, no unclean person, no one with any personal blemish, no one under the influence of wine or strong drink, no one not clothed in the robes strictly proper to his rank, could perform any priestly function. These regulations grew out of the idea of the singular

sacredness of the priestly office ; a sacredness which had no other basis than the closeness of the connexion of that office with God. The priests were in all things to minister unto God. He was the direct object of every preparation for the work through which they passed, because he was the direct and exclusive object of the work itself.

We advert also to the caution which the Jews were commanded to use in the selection of animals for sacrifice. Not all kinds of animals, of which it was lawful for man to eat, was it lawful to employ for sacrificial purposes ; nor was it permitted to offer, even from among the allowed classes, individual animals that were in any degree diseased or blemished. The reason for this extreme caution is found in the fact, that sacrifices are either an expression of praise to the Almighty for his goodness, or else they are the designed means of conciliating or retaining his favour. No victim that was not perfect in its kind could be considered as a fitting instrument for such purposes, if we assume that the significance of sacrifices is derived entirely from their relation to Jehovah. Sacrifices may be likened to gifts made to a king by his subjects. The dignity and excellence of the monarch, as estimated by his subjects, are in proportion to the excellence of the gifts presented to him. The words of Malachi may be here properly cited : " If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil ? Offer it now unto thy governor ; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person ? " (Mal. i. 8). And as the transgression of the rules given for the selection of sacrificial victims occasioned the rejection, and the careful observance of these rules occasioned the acceptance of the victims by Jehovah, we are to infer that Jehovah was the one great object of all sacrificial observances.

Reflection on the rites which accompanied sacrifices will suggest the same conclusion. The victim was to be properly placed before the altar ; hands were to be imposed upon him ; he was to be slain by the priests, and his blood to be sprinkled. These were rites by which the victim was offered to God. The altar was the table of the Lord. The mercy-seat and the innermost sanctuary were the peculiar dwelling-place of Jehovah. Whatever was presented at either of these places was presented to God. The waving of the sacrifice, in certain instances, to all points of the compass, was meant to indicate its being offered to God as filling all space. In all these rites there was a manifest reference to God. The sacrifice itself must therefore be considered as having such a reference. The priests who attended at the altar directed their activity, not to the altar itself, but to the God to whom the altar was dedicated. For in all worship

rendered to God, the rites by which the worship is performed, and the worship itself, must be conceived of as referring to the same object.

Furthermore, since all worship whether natural or artificially established, relates either to the attainment or the commemoration of the Divine favour, we infer that sacrifices, which are essentially worship, must have tended to the same point. Hence prayers are called the "calves of the lips," for the reason that prayers are sacrifices and sacrifices are prayers. Prayers are spiritual sacrifices, and sacrifices are symbolical prayers. The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to God, while the prayer of the righteous (that is, his sacrifice) is his delight. Prayers, also, were interspersed among the sacrificial rites. It was their intended effect to secure from God the same end as the sacrifices themselves; and the sacrifices must be supposed to refer to the same Being as did the prayers which were mingled with them.

It is instructive to observe the frequency with which the Bible gives the name of sacrifices figuratively to certain actions of men. Prayers and thanksgivings are denominated "spiritual sacrifices" (1 Pet. ii. 5). In the same manner expenses, labors, sufferings, borne for the glory of God, have the name of "sacrifices." Kindnesses done to the needy, brokenness of spirit, are spoken of in a similar way. These are all described as being pleasing to God, and they are figuratively denominated sacrifices, because sacrifices have a similar purpose in view, and refer, like these actions, directly and exclusively to Jehovah. The sacred writers would not give figuratively the name of sacrifices to certain actions on the ground of their being acceptable to God, and being directed exclusively to him unless sacrifices, properly considered, were of the same nature.

The exclusive reference of sacrifices to Jehovah is specially obvious in those which were of a piacular character; and which, beyond all others, were symbolical of the sacrifice of Christ. In these, the relation supposed to exist between him who offered the sacrifice and God, is that of an offender to an indignant sovereign who possesses the power both to punish and to pardon. Piacular sacrifices are to be performed only for the purpose of averting punishment, and no one needs to avert punishment from himself unless he has contracted guilt by sinning. In all piacular sacrifices, the guilty party who offered the sacrifice, and the priest likewise in the same character of sinner, approached Jehovah as one that was offended and possessed the power of punishment and of pardon, and for the purpose of obtaining pardon; the criminal, placing the victim before the altar and performing the other rites incumbent on him, that he might

properly express his contrition for his crime, and render God propitious; the priest, sprinkling the blood of the victim upon the altar, thus symbolically presenting to God the very life of the animal as a ransom for the guilty party; a special reference to God manifestly pervading all these rites and lending to them their entire significance.

All that has now been said in relation to the reference of sacrifices to God, is in harmony with the opinions of Jewish writers. Philo asserts that those who drew near to the altar did so for the purpose either of prayer or of thanksgiving to the Almighty.<sup>m</sup> If any one inquire, he goes on to say, for what reasons men, in early times, performed sacrifices and offered prayers, two will be obvious: one, the majesty of God, as being intrinsically deserving of honor: the other, the advantage of the worshipper, the procurement of good or the removal of evil. Sacrifices having the former end in view, whose chief purpose was to give expression to the sentiment of adoration, are called burnt-sacrifices or offerings; those having the latter object in view, are called either peace or piacular-sacrifices. Both, however, have this feature in common, that they are directed exclusively to Jehovah. In a similar strain Abrabanel speaks of the principle on which all sacrifices rest. They are expressions of gratitude, they are supplications, to God. The law, he says, does not direct that the blood of the piacular victim should be sprinkled on the altar, except for the purpose of appeasing God and obtaining the forgiveness of sin.<sup>n</sup> Another Jewish writer, Isaac Ben Aramah, asserts the affinity between sacrifice and prayer to be so close that each avails to the same purpose and has the same significance; and consequently, if God be the exclusive object of prayer, then also of sacrifices. In a word, it seems to be the unanimous judgment of Jewish writers, that sacrifices not less than supplication and thanksgiving, related alone and directly to Jehovah.

The opinions of pagan writers on this point coincide with those of Jewish writers. Sacrifices are ordered to the gods, says Porphyry, for three reasons: for purposes of adoration, to testify gratitude for benefits conferred, to procure favors.<sup>o</sup> The pagans evidently looked upon sacrifices as acts of worship, of which God was the object. They seem to have identified sacrifices with prayers. The Greek and Latin terms for sacrificing are of like signification to the words supplicate, appease, propitiate. Cæsar relates that among the Gauls of his time, it was a common opinion, that, unless the life of a man was given for the life of a

<sup>m</sup> *De animalibus idoneis sacrificio.*

<sup>n</sup> *Praef in Levit.*

<sup>o</sup> *De abstinencia*, l. 2, c. 24.

man, the gods could not be appeased.\* The language uniformly employed by pagan writers on this subject, points to the same conclusion with that which we have already drawn from writers among the Jews. Early Christian authors teach the same truth. Sacrifices were never to be offered except to the one god. Sacrifices were of the very nature of religious worship, Jehovah is their exclusive object.

10. *Vicarious punishment, implied in piacular sacrifices.*—The typical nature of piacular sacrifices lies, we have said, in these two points: the first, that they have a specific relation to God; the second, that a vicarious punishment was laid upon the victims. We have already demonstrated the peculiar relation of sacrifices to God. We pass to the proofs of the statement, that a vicarious punishment was laid upon the victims.

By vicarious punishment, is meant any evil inflicted on one for the purpose of expiating the guilt of another. It is essential, that it have the effect of procuring the forgiveness of the sin of the offender, and removing from him the punishment which his sin deserves. That is not vicarious punishment, as we design to use the term, which, although it consists formally in evil suffered by another person, is yet in reality punishment to the offender himself. Children often suffer from the sins of the parent. The evil thus endured is penal to the parent; and because it does not have the effect of averting punishment from the parent, it has not the nature of vicarious punishment.

Vicarious punishment may be of two kinds. It may be a punishment of the very same nature with that whose place it is designed to take; as when one suffers death in order to liberate his friend from death. It may be of a different nature. It is, also, to be observed that vicarious punishment inflicted on animals for the sins of men, had its proper effect only as being a condition, as it were, prescribed by the law, without which God was unwilling to forgive the offender. For although it was, for the most part, only the lighter kind of offences that could be expiated in this way, still God was not willing they should be passed over without this species of punishment being inflicted, lest too free a licence should be given to sinful indulgence. Vicarious punishments have a real and intrinsic efficacy in the removal of punishment. They are an exhibition of the justice and righteousness of God, and have a real tendency to arouse and perpetuate a proper regard to the law. Their efficacy does not depend on an arbitrary Divine appointment. They remove guilt or the liableness to punishment, because they answer all the purposes of actual punishment.

For the purpose of proving that piacular sacrifices had the

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\* *De bello Gallico*, l. 6.



nature of vicarious punishment, we observe, that the sacred writers are in the habit of representing sin as a foul spot polluting the person of the offender, and of describing the expiation of sin by terms expressive of purification. God directed, that on the day of atonement the sins of the congregation should, in a symbolical manner, be transferred to the goat, which was afterwards to be led into the wilderness. To deepen the moral significance of this act, the goat was to be considered as defiled by the very sins which were designed to be expiated. This defilement was so great, that the person by whom the goat was conducted into the wilderness, contracted uncleanness. He was not allowed to return into the camp, till he had been purified by water. Sins were symbolically transferred to the goat by the imposition of the hands of the high-priest, and the utterance of certain words of confession. The priest in this transaction was considered as personating the people. In the case of all piacular sacrifices, whose blood was carried into the holy place and the flesh burned without the camp, the same rites were observed as in the case of the scape-goat. Hands were laid upon the head of the victim, and confession of sin uttered. The animals contracted, by means of these rites, the same ceremonial uncleanness. The persons by whom their bodies were carried away to be burned, were supposed to become unclean. We are to infer, therefore, from this similarity in the rites practised in the two cases, that to piacular victims in general, as well as to the scape-goat, the sins of the guilty party were transferred. No better exhibition of the nature of vicarious punishment can be given than that which is here seen. The sins of the party actually guilty are laid symbolically on the victim, and expiation for these sins is then made by the shedding of the blood of the latter.

The objection urged by Socinus, that the punishment due to the sins of a man cannot be laid upon a beast, because man and beast have not a common nature, is of little weight. The sins of men can be symbolically laid upon an irrational animal. We affirm this, because it is explicitly said in the Scriptures to be true in reference to the scape-goat. The Scriptures not less clearly assert that the sins of men can be expiated by the blood of piacular victims. In vain it is urged that this transference of sins to an irrational animal is done only in appearance; that in reality it can never be done. This is admitted. This figurative transference of sins, however, has a significance, which can lie only in this, that the animals on which sins were laid were put in the place of the guilty, and, by the shedding of their blood, expiated the sins of the guilty. And, though we should concede that there was rather the appearance than the reality of vicarious punishment, still should we be warranted in affirming that the

reality existed in the sacrifice of Christ. For it is the law of the type and the antitype, that whatever exists in appearance in the type, exists in the antitype in reality.

It is said, still further, that animals could not endure a vicarious punishment unless they were put to death; but they could not endure a vicarious death, because death is not the punishment affixed to the sins in reference to which these sacrifices were appointed. This objection rests upon the supposition that a vicarious punishment must be of precisely the same nature with that whose place it is designed to take; that animals could not properly be put to death except in those instances where death was denounced against the actual offender. But this supposition is groundless. It is not needful, in order to a vicarious punishment, that it should correspond precisely to the punishment for which it is intended to be a substitute. The kind of punishment, which may properly serve as a substitute, depends upon the will of the sovereign power.

In fine, whoever rightly apprehends the points of agreement and the points of disagreement between vicarious and proper punishments, will have a ready answer to the objections brought forward by Socinus and his followers. All punishments, whether proper or vicarious, go upon the ground of violated law. They are designed to inculcate a proper regard for law. Both are meant to teach that no sin can be allowed to pass unrebuked. But though they possess these points of likeness, there are other points in which they differ. Punishment, in the proper sense of the term, can be inflicted only on the evil doer. Its necessity grows directly out of the nature of the law. Law ordains punishment only on such as have deserved punishment. It is deserved, in no case, by one man for the fault of another. Desert, in a moral sense, originates in the intentions of him of whom the desert is predicated; and there is nothing which is more strictly one's own, nothing less capable of communication with another, than acts of the will or intentions. There is, therefore, nothing which is more strictly one's own and less capable of communication than sin. Punishment, in the strict and proper sense, as inflicted on an individual, relates alone to the sin of that individual, and can rightly be inflicted only on the strength of that sin. But the right by which vicarious punishment is inflicted, originates either in the sovereign dominion of the ruler, in distinction from his judicial character, or else in the consent of him who suffers the vicarious punishment, in conjunction with that sovereign dominion. The latter element is seen in Christ, suffering death of his own accord, in obedience to the will of the Father. The former element is seen in the peculiar sacrifices appointed to the Jews.

It is wont to be alleged, at this point, that vicarious punishment, inflicted on the strength of either of these rights, lacks the essential characteristic of punishment relatively to him on whom it is laid. It does indeed lack this characteristic, if we fail to remember the distinction between proper and vicarious punishment. Proper punishment, provided it be proportioned to the crime, and there be no interposition of pardoning grace, immediately takes away the obligation to punishment by literally and fully meeting the obligation. Vicarious punishment, however, not arising directly from the obligation to punishment created by the law, but from the sovereign power of the ruler, may properly consist in something else than that which the law literally prescribes. And it does not have for its purpose the satisfaction of the law strictly construed, but merely the demands of that sovereign power. Hence it is, that the idea of the remission of sin is altogether incompatible with the idea of proper punishment. The reverse of this is the case with the punishment which is vicarious. With the nature of this, the idea of pardon is entirely congruous. This can have no influence, except such as the pardoning grace of the ruler may see fit to assign to it. It is not viewed by the sovereign as the literal punishment of the evil doer, but only as the indispensable condition of the maintenance of the authority of the law. A condition of this kind may reasonably be exacted at the very moment that grace is exercised in the pardon of the offender. There is no inconsistency between these two things, unless one choose to affirm that the exaction of any condition whatever is at variance with the idea of pardon. Punishment in the proper sense of the term, then, satisfies the law by means of the actual endurance, by the transgressor, of the precise evil appointed in the penalty of the law. In vicarious punishment, that is suffered which the penalty does not contain, but yet that which relates to the same point and effects the same end, the confirmation of the law. It is not of essential importance with what mind proper punishment is borne. If in its formal nature it be proportioned to the crime, it meets the full claim of the law, whether it be endured willingly or reluctantly. But vicarious punishment derives its efficacy from many other sources besides its formal nature. It depends on the voluntariness and innocence of the sufferer, upon the greatness of the evil endured, and upon its tendency to magnify the law.

11. *Views of Jewish, Pagan, and Christian writers on the subject of Vicarious Punishment.*—It is evidently the sentiment of the earlier Christian writers, not only that the sins of men were laid upon victims presented in sacrifice, but that the lives of the victims were given in the place of the souls of the offerers.

Origen asserts, that, as hands were imposed on the head of the animal sacrificed, so the sins of the human race were laid upon Christ, for he is the head of the body of the church. Theodoret, commenting on Leviticus, says, that every one who offered a sacrifice, placed his hands on the head of the animal, and by that means transferred to the animal his own sinful deeds; the hand, by which most deeds of men are performed, being taken for the deeds themselves. The early Christian writers conceived that the lives of the animals sacrificed were substituted for the souls of offenders. The writer just quoted, commenting on Exodus, affirms that the priests did not lay hands on all victims, but only on those which were presented for themselves, and especially on all sin-offerings. In the case of other victims, the hands of the persons sacrificing were imposed. This was intended to signify the substitution of the victim in the place of the offender. Quotations to this effect might easily be multiplied from Eusebius of Cæsarea, Athanasius, and the early Christian writers in general. They uniformly ascribe to the death of Christ, as a piacular sacrifice, the nature of a vicarious punishment.

The coincidence between these views and those expressed by Jewish writers, is worthy of remark. Levi Ben Gerson asserts the significance of the imposition of hands to be the transference of the sins of the offerer to the victim (Exodus xxix. 10). Isaac Ben Aramah teaches that as often as any one sins, whether ignorantly or consciously, he removes the sin from himself to the animal sacrificed, on whose head he places his hand.<sup>†</sup> It is the doctrine of Abrabanel, that after confession, in the instance of the piacular bullock, the sins of the children of Israel were placed on it. If any one doubts whether those who considered sins to be transferred to the victim, also considered that these sins were expiated by the death of the victim as by a vicarious punishment, this scruple may be removed by recollecting the words of deprecation used in respect to a piacular victim: "Let this be my expiation." All Jewish writers conceive these words to be a prayer that the evil feared by the offerer in view of his own iniquities may fall upon the piacular victim.

The most interesting of these testimonies from Jewish writers, are perhaps those which bear upon the doctrine, that the life of the animal slain was substituted in the place of that of the offending party. The Jewish writer Baal Aruch explains the words of deprecation cited in the preceding paragraph, in the following mode. "It is, he says, as if one exclaimed: "Let this animal be regarded as standing in my place, as bearing my

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<sup>†</sup> On Leviticus iv.

iniquities in order that they may be forgiven me." Solomon Jarchi explains this formula in the same manner. It is equivalent, he says, to the prayer: "Let the evil which is due to me fall upon this my substitute." Another writer, Moses Ben Nachman, speaking of sacrifices in general, says, "It would be just that the blood of the offender should be shed and his body be burned; but God, in his clemency, accepts the victim at the hands of the offender as a thing substituted, and a ransom, that his blood may be shed in the stead of that of the transgressor." It is not necessary to multiply quotations.

It only remains to observe that a similar idea in reference to the nature of sacrifices, evidently was spread among the pagan nations of antiquity. Herodotus thus describes a custom prevalent in Egypt. It was usual, he says, to imprecate upon the heads of victims whatever evil was supposed to threaten either individuals or the land, in such a manner that the victim might be made to endure it. A victim thus treated was considered, he adds, as unclean and as not fit to be eaten.\* Servius, commenting on Virgil, tells us, that whenever, in a certain city of ancient Gaul, the pestilence prevailed, one of the poorer inhabitants allowed himself to be led through the streets, and, after the evils infesting the city had been imprecated on himself, to be put to death.† A custom somewhat similar to this, is said to have existed among the Athenians.

12. *The Priesthood of Christ.* The death of Christ embodies in itself the reality to which the various observances that have been described bear the relation of type. The points to be proved in respect to the death of Christ are, that it was a sacrifice and that it had the nature of a vicarious punishment. Previously, however, the priesthood of Christ must be briefly discussed.

By the priesthood of Christ, we are to understand the advocacy which he undertakes on behalf of men in the presence of God. In his office of prophet and king, he has to do directly with men. In his office of priest, he has to do directly with God. As prophet, he is ambassador from God to men. As king, he is the representative of God in his regal character. As priest, he is the ambassador from men to God. This is the same distinction which exists between the priestly and the clerical office; and it is such, that by the very nature of the case, the priestly office, in its real and proper sense, cannot be sustained by any man. In harmony with all this, we are told that "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous" (1 John i. 2). Christ appears before God on our behalf, pleading our cause in that presence.

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\* *Euterpe.*

† *Æneid. 3.*

To what order of priests does Christ properly belong? The Scriptures speak of him as a priest after the order of Melchizedek. Between the priesthood of Melchizedek and the Aaronic priesthood, two points of unlikeliness are to be noticed. The first is, that the priesthood of Melchizedek was not confined to any one family: the Aaronic priesthood was restricted to the family of Aaron. The second difference is, that whoever became a priest after the order of Melchizedek, became a priest for ever: either in a shadowy, symbolical sense, as was the case with Melchizedek; or in a real and substantial manner, as was the case with Christ. The latter is to perform the priestly functions through all the ages of the world. In the Aaronic priesthood, the office was continually transferred from one to another; and, in the general, it was destined to come to an end with the advent of Christ.

The mode in which Christ was inducted into the priestly office differed from the mode used in the case of the Aaronic priesthood. In the latter case, the rites employed were intended to be emblematical of the excellences which every priest should possess. These excellences were given only in an emblematic form. The rites, by which purification was symbolized, could not impart a real purification. In the case of the Son of God, as it was needful he should actually possess the qualifications of a perfect priest, what may be called the rites of consecration were such as, actually and not in the way of emblem alone, imparted these qualifications. To the highest perfection of a priest these three qualities are essential: the first, that he stands in such a relation of favor and influence with Jehovah, as to be able efficaciously to commend unto God those to whom he would render God propitious; the second, that he be of a disposition towards men, so kind and compassionate, as to be willing to exert his priestly power on their behalf; the third, that he be endued with an immortal life. Reason not less than Scripture establishes the necessity of these qualities to the character of a perfect high-priest. It is essential, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, that every high-priest be able to offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins; that he have compassion on the ignorant and on them that are out of the way; that he have an unchangeable priesthood, and be able to save unto the uttermost all that come unto God by him, and ever live to make intercession for them.

These essential qualities met, in the most perfect manner, in Christ. Their impartation to him constituted his induction into the priestly office. The purity of his life and the severity of his sufferings, united with the voluntariness with which they were undergone, were the elements of that favor with God, on

the strength of which he is able to commend unto God those whose cause he undertakes. He is of such a compassionate temper as to banish all reluctance to sustain the burdens and pains, connected with the sacerdotal functions. He was raised up from the grave and ascended to heaven, that he might there perform its closing act.

Such is the nature of the priestly character as predicated of Christ. Was this character actually sustained by him? Every reader of the Bible will take notice that, whatever things are affirmed concerning the priestly character, in the most strict and literal meaning of the words, are affirmed of the priestly character of Christ. It is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that if perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, there was no further need that another priest should rise after the order of Melchizedek and not be called after the order of Aaron. For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity also a change of the law (Hebrews vii. 11). The argument here is, that, if the transference of the priestly character to Christ rendered necessary a change of the law, then it was a real and proper priesthood which was thus transferred to Christ. Priests, in the improper figurative sense of the term, existed among the Jews, while the Mosaic law remained in force. Every one was a priest who offered spiritual service to God; indeed, the whole Jewish nation were priests in this figurative sense. It must have been a real priesthood, then, which was conferred on Christ. Still further, it is said concerning Christ, that "if he were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law (Hebrews viii. 4). Such, according to this passage, is the nature of the priesthood of Christ, that it was forbidden him by the law to exercise its functions on the earth, because the law restricted the earthly functions of the priesthood to the family of Aaron. But if Christ were a priest only in an improper and figurative sense, there was nothing in the law adverse to the exercise of his functions on the earth. As already said, such a priesthood existed under the Mosaic law; it has always existed; its duties have always been allowed to be performed. If Christ, then, be a priest at all, he is a priest in the proper meaning of the word. He performs proper sacerdotal duties, not indeed on the earth, but in heaven, the holy of holies of the evangelical temple. The great difference between his priesthood and that of the Aaronic family, relates to the place in which their respective duties are discharged.

Inasmuch, then, as the title of priest is often given to Christ in the Scriptures, we are warranted in supposing the proper priestly character and functions to belong to him, unless some

adequate reason to the contrary is given. Our adversaries, however, furnish no such reason. They attempt, without success, to show that there is no real distinction between the regal and prophetic offices of Christ and his priestly office; that these are different names for one office. It is to no purpose to allege that the title and functions of priest are but seldom ascribed to Christ. They are as often ascribed to him as are those of prophet and king. No greater weight belongs to the other objections which are set up against our doctrine.

13. *Christ's Death, a Sacrifice and of the Nature of Vicarious Punishment.*—Having thus established the priestly character of the Redeemer, we proceed to remark, that his sacrifice belonged to that class which we have denominated piacular. Its intended effect was to purge away, to expiate, our sins; he is said to offer himself to God as a sacrifice for sin. These things cannot be properly predicated of any other than piacular sacrifices. His sacrifice, it is true, procures for us not only the forgiveness of sin, but also the influences of the Holy Spirit, and whatever else is needful to our salvation. The various classes of sacrifices appointed to the Jews, were designed to procure for the offerers these manifold benefits. The sacrifice of Christ may be conceived to combine, in itself, all the efficacy which was lodged in these others. Its direct effect was that of expiation; its indirect effects were equally extensive with those intended to arise from the entire Jewish ritual.

The class, to which the sacrifice of Christ belonged, being ascertained, we are next to ask in what it consisted? We are to remember, therefore, that those sacrifices in which the body was burned without the camp, more distinctly than others were typical of the sacrifice of Christ; and of these, more especially those whose blood was carried into the most holy place. The sacrifice of Christ, therefore, consisted in the performance of rites similar to those which were observed in the case of victims whose blood was carried into the holy of holies. We are to seek for this similarity in three things; in the voluntary offering up of himself, in the death which he underwent, and in the subsequent entrance into the holy of holies. The language, not less than the deportment of the Saviour, illustrates his offering of himself as a sacrificial victim at the altar. His language as given in John, "for their sakes I sanctify myself" (John xvii.), is equivalent to the phrase, "for their sakes I offer myself." It is so translated by Chrysostom. The prayers by means of which Christ, as it were, consecrated himself to death, are of similar import and effect to those with which the high-priest, on the day of expiation, presented the victims at the altar. Christ's prayer, as given in the seventeenth of John, is particu-



larly to be regarded as one of consecration to death. His deportment was, throughout, in keeping with his language. He went willingly to the place, from which he knew he should be conducted to his mock trial and subsequently to crucifixion.

The death which he underwent corresponded to that appointed for piacular victims. It was required that the flesh of these victims should be burned without the camp; Christ was put to death without the walls of the city. The action of Christ, in which we are to trace an analogy to the carrying of the blood of the victim into the holy of holies, was his ascension to heaven, there to present himself in his double capacity of priest and victim, before the throne of God.

The death which Christ underwent for men, we are to consider more particularly in the light of a vicarious punishment. His death is considered, in the New Testament, in a threefold aspect. It is the death of a martyr, confirming the truth of the doctrines to be inculcated. It is the death of a testator, affording to the heirs the immediate possession of the legacy bequeathed. Finally, it is the death of a piacular victim, by which our transgressions are expiated. Of his death, viewed in this latter aspect, we affirm that it has the nature of a vicarious punishment. As God was not willing to deny to men in view of their sins all hope of forgiveness, and yet could not pass over their sins without exhibiting some clear tokens of his extreme displeasure, some strong proof of his holiness and justice, he determined to give his holy Son as an expiatory sacrifice, that by means of his vicarious punishment men might secure the remission of their sins.—We offer now some of the more prominent reasons why Christ's death should be regarded as a vicarious punishment.

We refer, in the first place, to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. It is here affirmed of Christ that he bare the sin of many. A sense is to be attributed to these words which suits with the character of one who is declared to be numbered with the transgressors. The meaning of this last expression is, that Christ was treated as a transgressor. But when we read of one that he bare the sins of others, and that he was numbered with the transgressors, we can attach no other idea to such declarations than that he endured the punishment which is due to sin. The treatment proper to a transgressor is the infliction of punishment. It may indeed be objected, that Christ was treated as a transgressor by his Jewish enemies. But the force of this objection is removed, when we remember that by the express counsel of God this treatment was practised. Another expression, found in the same chapter, should be considered in this connection. The Lord, it is said, hath laid on Christ the iniquities of

us all. This expression must have the same import with that on which we have just commented. No form of speech more aptly describes vicarious punishment than that which we find in the fifth verse: "He was wounded for our transgressions." To these words Paul may be supposed to refer, and thereby to confirm the view we have taken, when he says that Christ was delivered for our offences. The evident intention of the prophet, in this chapter, is to represent Christ as a piacular victim, offered up for our sins. We have already seen that the piacular sacrifices were symbols of vicarious punishment. This view of the subject is so plain that we find at least one Socinian writer, Brenius, forced to confess that the principle of a piacular sacrifice is the substitution of the life of the animal for the soul of the offender. Nor does Crellius himself stop much short of a similar confession. He admits that sacrifice had, in itself, the principle of punishment; though he affirms that the punishment did not lie in the killing of the animal, but in the things (the sprinkling of the blood and the like) by which the killing was followed. This qualification amounts to but little, because it was in the carrying of the blood into the holy of holies and its sprinkling upon the mercy-seat, that the life of the animal was offered unto God. The killing was comparatively meaningless, except as preparatory to this latter transaction.

We are also to call to mind, here, the fact which has been so often insisted on, that all victims whose bodies were burned without the camp, were considered as polluted by the sins of the worshippers, as were also the persons by whom they were carried out. These victims were specially typical of Christ. They were specially typical of Christ because that which was done to them was specially symbolical of the bearing of sins and the infliction of vicarious punishment.

We may refer, in the next place, to the words of Peter, (1 Peter ii. 24): "Who his own self bare our sins, in his own body, on the tree." It could not be sins, in the proper sense of the word, which Christ bare in his body, but most evidently, the punishment of our sins. It may be conceded that the use of this one phrase does not, of itself, indicate vicarious punishment, as a matter of necessity; but when used concerning Christ, whom we have before, as we think, so plainly proved to be a piacular victim, the phrase can have no other meaning than that which we have assigned to it.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on that numerous class of texts in which Christ is said, by means of his death, to cleanse us from sin, to take away the sins of the world, to ransom, redeem, our souls from sin and its attendant curse. After

what has already been remarked, the proof which these passages afford of the doctrine we have tried to establish, will not easily be misapprehended. The redemption and the purification, mentioned in these passages, it must carefully be observed, are effected by Christ in his peculiar character of a piacular sacrifice. The whole efficacy of a piacular sacrifice consists in its being a symbol of a vicarious punishment.

The death of Christ, it should not be forgotten, redeems no one from eternal death, who fails to render a personal obedience to the gospel. The truth of this is apparent from what has been already said of the nature of vicarious punishment. It was the death of the sinner, and not the death of Christ, which was demanded in the penalty of the law; and consequently the death of Christ cannot, in the proper sense of the phrase, abolish that penalty by its own virtue and aside from the sovereign will of the Father. The sovereign will of God ordains that the death of Christ should be of saving efficacy only to such as exhibit a true faith and a sincere obedience. There is this distinction ever to be observed, that proper punishment, having its origin in the sanction of the law, by its own force and irrespectively of the disposition of him by whom it is endured, meets fully the obligation of the law to inflict punishment. Vicarious punishment has no such effect, except as it procures to the offender an act of grace on the part of the sovereign power. It is hence obvious, that there is nothing in the death of Christ, notwithstanding its being a vicarious punishment, which is at all repugnant to the grace of God; nor aught which at all impairs either the legal or the moral obligation to practise holiness in the case of those by whom its benefits are received.

The death of Christ as a piacular victim was succeeded by his ascension to heaven, there to offer himself unto God, in a manner analogous to the entrance of the high-priest into the holy of holies with the blood of the sacrifice. If Christ were a piacular victim, this was the necessary completion of his work in that character. We should have to infer that it, or something answering to it, took place even if it were not asserted in the Scriptures. It is, however, asserted in the Scriptures with sufficient plainness. "Christ is not entered," it is said, "into the holy place made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us," (Hebrews ix. 24). The office of the high-priest, in this particular respect, was twofold: it was, in the burning of incense, to present unto God the supplications of the people; in his entrance into the holy of holies with the blood of the victim, it was his office to present supplication for the people.

Christ combines these two offices in the one act of presenting himself before God in the upper sanctuary.

The Socinian interpretation of this act of Christ is, that he entered into heaven in order thence to take care of the salvation of our souls, and that we are the direct and the exclusive objects of his labor. They refuse to ascribe to him the office either of presenting our prayers unto the Father, or of interceding on our behalf. But there is no satisfactory ground for denying that the Redeemer, in this final act, had a direct reference to the Father. Such a reference, we have seen, pervades all his previous transactions as Mediator. Why should the reference cease at this particular point? The passage which we have cited in the preceding paragraph, from the ninth of the Hebrews, seems in direct conflict with this Socinian interpretation. In this passage Christ is said to appear in the presence of God; why, unless what he is about to do has a direct relation to God? And as he is said to appear in that presence for us, his intention must be supposed to be to commend us unto God, to offer prayer in our person and on our behalf. And the objects, to which these prayers refer, are exclusively the forgiveness of sin and the bestowment of those spiritual influences and helps which are needful in order to our attainment of eternal life.

[Are we not, then, to regard the whole significance of the active obedience, the sufferings, the death, the ascension of the Saviour as virtually embodied in this final act of his mediatorial work, his appearing in the celestial sanctuary, there to present supplications in our name and in our behalf? Were not all the transactions of his life virtually a prayer? Many things which he did were only indirectly a prayer, it is true. Their designed influence, however, was either to qualify himself to offer effectual prayer, or to remove such obstructions as might lie in the way of the success of his prayer, or else to furnish arguments for a favourable answer to his prayer. They may be all viewed, therefore, with the strictest propriety, as one act of supplication. And what is true of the antitype, in this respect, is true of the types. The various sacrifices, comprehended in the Jewish ritual, whose nature and rites we have endeavoured in the foregoing remarks to unfold, were prayers. This is in conformity with the theory, several times alluded to in these remarks, that prayers are spiritual sacrifices, and sacrifices are symbolical prayers. There is nothing connected with sacrifices which may not, on the whole, be most satisfactorily explained when it is viewed in this light].

### THE ANNALS OF ESARHADDON.

TRANSLATED FROM TWO CYLINDERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THESE curious, though fragmentary, annals, were first given to the world in the volume of inscriptions published by the British Museum in 1851, where they are found at pages 20 and 54. I gave a brief translation of them in 1856 in my *Assyrian Texts*, and I am not aware that any other version has yet been published. But a careful re-examination of the Cylinders themselves has been made by Sir H. Rawlinson, and the amended text has been lithographed. It is beyond comparison better than the one originally published, which indeed was so faulty that in many passages the cuneiform signs printed in the volume have no resemblance at all to those which really exist upon the Cylinders.

The translation which I gave in 1856 of the parts which were legible, was, I think on the whole, tolerably accurate, but whenever the cuneiform signs were partly effaced, I was obliged to have recourse to restorations more or less probable, and some of these, as might have been expected, were not verified by the re-examination of the Cylinders.

But the most important result of Sir H. Rawlinson's revision is the list of the kings of Cyprus and the cities over which they ruled, which was almost wholly illegible in the published text.

I was for some time under the impression that this very curious addition to the history of Greece in the seventh century before Christ had not yet been published by its discoverer, and I therefore felt a scruple about referring to it, but I have since found that it was published by him in the first volume of the Herodotus, p. 483, and I am glad to see that his version of the names agrees very nearly with the one which I was prepared to give. There is a beautiful concordance or agreement between this inscription and one of the cylinders inscribed with the annals of Sennacherib (now preserved in the British Museum). We may suppose fifteen or twenty years to have elapsed in the interval between the writing of these inscriptions, and the changes that had taken place are very much such as might have been expected.

The former inscription names Hezekiah as the reigning king of Judah, and relates a furious war against him. In the time of the latter we find Manasseh on the throne of Judah, in peace and amity with the Assyrian monarch, and as it should seem a conformer to the Assyrian worship—for without that compli-

ance I think he could not have been admitted to the Imperial presence.

Again, the former inscription names Buduel as king of "the land of the children of Ammon," and we find that the same king was still reigning over them at the latter period. But during that period Mitinti, king of Ashdod, who was one of the chief adherents of Sennacherib in the war against Hezekiah, had been promoted to be king over the much more important kingdom of Ascalon, which comprised as its dependencies, according to the cuneiform records, the cities of Beth Dagon, Joppa, and some others on the sea coast.

Again, the former inscription relates the wars of the Assyrians with Merodach Baladan king of Babylonia: but when the latter inscription was written, Merodach Baladan had been gathered to his fathers. His two sons were still maintaining a hopeless contest with the Assyrians, in which at length one perished, the other submitted to Esarhaddon.

#### THE ANNALS OF ESARHADDON.

§ 1. *Preamble*.—(The commencement is fractured on the left side. The words within brackets are a restoration.)

[Esarhaddon king of Assyria] and Mesopotamia.

[Son of Sennacherib] king of Assyria.

[Son of Sargon] king of Assyria.

[The king who in the name of Ashur] San, the sun, Nebo, Marduk, the moon-goddess of Nineveh and the moon-goddess of Arbela, the great gods his lords, from the rising of the sun unto the setting of the sun conquered nations which no one could number.

§ 2. *Conquest and plunder of Sidon*.—Conqueror of the city of Sidon, which is in the sea.\*

Sweeper away of the inhabitants of its towns.

Its citadel and its palace *I pulled down* ?<sup>b</sup> and I flung them into the sea.<sup>c</sup>

The place of its . . . I plunder'd.

Abdiskutti<sup>d</sup> the king, who had fled from my arms into the

\* A loose expression for "maritime city."

<sup>b</sup> *Ashursu*, usually "I carried away."

<sup>c</sup> *Addi*, I threw or flung (first person singular) is the Assyrian form of the Hebrew *idah*, jecit.

The third plural *iddu*, jecerunt, often occurs, as for example, speaking of a captive monarch, *biritu almas iddu*, "catenas ferri jecerunt supra eum."

<sup>d</sup> This name may mean Servant of Religion (so the present Sultan of Turkey is named Abd-ul-Mesjid, Servant of the Mosque). *Eskut*, religion, is a word which occurs perpetually in the inscriptions, but in various senses, difficult to fix with precision, *ex. gr.* religious service; religious war; arms; etc., etc.

middle of the sea, like a fish in the sea I caught him, and I *fettered*? his hands.

. . . . . All his wealth of gold and silver, precious stones called *agarta*,<sup>e</sup> skins and teeth of *amsi*,<sup>f</sup> valuable woods, precious stuffs and cloths—the treasures of his palace—abundantly I carried away.

His men and his women without number, with his oxen, sheep, and other cattle, I sent as spoils to Assyria. Then I dismissed the kings of the Khatti (Syrians)<sup>g</sup> and of the sea coast, all of them, and I built<sup>h</sup> a new city and I called it the city of Esarhaddon. I garrisoned it with my most skilful archers, natives of the lands and seas of the rising sun, and I appointed my secretaries to be officers and rulers over them.

§ 3. *Fate of the king of Sidon and his allies.*—Moreover Sanduarri king of Kundir-sitzu, an enemy and a heretic who paid no observance unto my majesty, and whom the gods had abandoned, trusting to his mountain stronghold, had formed an alliance with Abdiskutti<sup>i</sup> king of Sidon. He had given to his false idols the name of the great Gods of Heaven, and in their vain mysteries he put his trust, while I put my trust in Ashur my Lord, and like . . . <sup>k</sup> in the midst of his mountains I caught him and I *fettered*? his hands. I made a *religious*<sup>l</sup> *feast*? unto Ashur my lord . . . and I cut off the heads of Sanduarri and Abdi-milkutti by the side of those of their principal chiefs, and along with many others of the common people in the neighbourhood of Nineveh I set them up.<sup>m</sup>

§ 4. *A broken portion of the inscription.*—Spoiler of the city Ar . . . in the land of Musri (Egypt) . . .

. . . . Unto Assyria I brought them, and in front of the great eastern gate of Nineveh I placed them<sup>n</sup> on columns? of brick, to remain for ever.

<sup>e</sup> Or *agarut*, perhaps carbuncles.

<sup>f</sup> Elephants?

<sup>g</sup> The campaign being over, he dismissed his allies and vassals, probably with thanks and presents.

<sup>h</sup> Here a fracture occurs and partly obscures the sense. The new city appears to have been built at Sidon itself, on the site of the citadel and palace which he had destroyed, but the ancient name of the place was probably very soon restored.

<sup>i</sup> Here the other cylinder reads Abdi-milkutti, which name would mean "Servant of the kingdom." I suppose that one name was considered equivalent to the other.

<sup>k</sup> *Etzuri*, perhaps some wild animal, possibly "a goat of the rocks," from *w az* or *ez* (goat), Phœnician אצא, Steph. Byz. quoted by Gesenius, and *tzur* (a cliff) צור.

<sup>l</sup> Sense doubtful.

<sup>m</sup> Here again the sense is obscure.

<sup>n</sup> What is here spoken of is uncertain.

§ 5. Moreover Tivaspa<sup>o</sup> king of Gimirra, a warrior, whose country was remote, in the land of Khubsan I conquered both him and his army.

§ 6. . . . . The inhabitants of the land of Kilakki<sup>p</sup> and the land of . . . . . dwelling in the forests which border on the land of Tabal, who, trusting to their mountains from ancient times, had never submitted to the yoke, twenty-one of their cities of strength and smaller cities of their land [without<sup>r</sup> number] I overthrew and destroyed and carried away their women. I ravaged the cities and burnt them with fire. But the best of the people who *submitted*? and had not *done evil*? I allowed them to become subjects of my empire.

§ 7. *Conqueror*? of the people of Barnaki, who are enemies and heretics, dwelling in the land of Telassar, which in their own language the inhabitants call by the name of Mikran Pitan.<sup>r</sup>

§ 8. Conqueror of the land of Manna,<sup>s</sup> . . . . and who the army of Ispakiah, king of Ashguza (rebels who could not save themselves), destroyed in his just vengeance.

§ 9. *Fate of the sons of Merodach Baladan*.—Conqueror of Nebo . . . . son of Merodach Baladan, who trusted to the land of Elamti,<sup>t</sup> but that did not save his life. I sent to Neith-Marduk, his brother, and offered him terms of friendship. From the midst of the land of Elamti he escaped, and came straight to Nineveh, the city of my majesty, and kissed my sceptre. The land of the sea-coast, with all its provinces, which was the inheritance of his brother, I gave to him.

§ 10.\* Conqueror of the city of Beth-Dakshatri, which is in Chaldea, *near to Babylon*? *Subduer*? of Shems-ebni,<sup>u</sup> its king; . . . . who paid no worship unto the name of the Lord of lords,<sup>v</sup> and who had perverted the religion of many subjects of the princes of Babylon and Borsippa. But I *restored*? the religious rites of Bel and Nebo, and made those people again subject to the authority of the princes of Babylon and Borsippa. I placed

<sup>o</sup> Or Tiuspa. The name resembles Teispes who was an ancestor of Darius.

<sup>p</sup> Perhaps Cilicia.

<sup>r</sup> The scribe has carelessly omitted the usual words "without number."

<sup>s</sup> This resembles a Greek name. Can it be μικρον πεδον, or μικρον πεδιον—the Great Plain?

<sup>t</sup> Or Vanna. Believed to be the modern Van. At any rate, it was situate near the Armenian mountains.

<sup>u</sup> Susiana.

<sup>v</sup> This section is rather obscure.

<sup>w</sup> Name means, "the sun created him."

<sup>x</sup> Viz., Ashur. The Babylonians hated Ashur, and those on the sea-coast seem even to have been iconoclasts.



Nebo-shalsi,<sup>a</sup> son of Balatzu, upon the throne, and I made him my vassal.

§ 11. The city of Edom, a strong city of the Arabians, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, my father, had captured. . . . [The rest is destroyed by a fracture.]

§ 12. *A suppliant king is pardoned.*—[Commencement is lost.] . . . bearing great presents, he came to Nineveh, my royal city, and kissed my sceptre. Holding forth his gods as an offering, he approached reverently unto me. I had mercy on him. I took those gods; and I renewed their ornaments,<sup>b</sup> and then I carved upon them the holy emblem of Ashur, my lord, together with the characters of my own name, and I gave his gods once more to him again. A woman of my family,<sup>c</sup> and educated<sup>a</sup> in my palace, I made to be queen over them;<sup>d</sup> and I sent her back, together with her gods, unto her own country. An increase of sixty-five camels beyond the tribute he paid to my late<sup>e</sup> father, I imposed upon him. After<sup>d</sup> Hazael *was dead?* I placed Yahilu, his son, upon his throne.<sup>e</sup> Ten *mana* of gold, one thousand precious stones, called *biruti*,<sup>f</sup> fifty camels, one thousand *kunzi-shimdi*? beyond the tribute which his father paid, I imposed upon him.

§ 13. The lands of Batzu-nagu,<sup>g</sup> whose situation is remote. . . . [The next seven lines are rather obscure; the account then continues.] . . . Into these distant regions the kings, my ancestors, had never penetrated; but in the name of Ashur, my lord, I boldly advanced into the midst of them, and I slew the eight kings who reigned over those provinces, and I carried off

<sup>a</sup> Or Nebo-shallim, which would mean Nebo the saviour.

<sup>b</sup> *Ankhut-tzun uttish*. What were the *ankhut*, so frequently mentioned, is not precisely known. I have rendered it "ornaments."

*Uttish*, I repaired or restored.

*Luttish*, may he restore!

*Muttish*, the restorer.

<sup>c</sup> *Tabua* (my property, or belonging to me).

<sup>d</sup> *Tarbit*: from *erbah* or *rebah*—to raise up, *i. e.*, educate (*élever* in French). Similarly *irbu*—he grew up, or was educated. *Tarbit* is a feminine form.

<sup>e</sup> Apparently she became the wife of the suppliant monarch.

<sup>f</sup> *Makriti*. It is remarkable that the Greeks use the same word—*μακρίτης*. This may not possibly have been originally suggested to the Ionian Greeks by the Syriac term (for many persons in Asia Minor must have spoke both languages) afterwards, no doubt, it was taken to mean "the sainted one," who *gives*, *συν μακαρεσσι θεοισι*. The word *μακρίτης* first occurs in *plus*.

It seems likely that Hazael was the name of the suppliant

(strict) sometimes formed part of the name, as Susinaga for

their gods and all their treasures, together with the inhabitants, into Assyria. Then Layoli, king of the city Yadihu, who had fled before my arms, hearing that his gods were captured, came to my royal city, Nineveh, a suppliant unto my majesty, and kissed my sceptre. I had mercy on him, and . . . . His gods which I had captured, I carved on them the holy emblem of Ashur, my lord, and gave them back to him again. I made him ruler over the land of Batzi,<sup>a</sup> and I imposed upon him a tribute payable to my majesty.

§ 14. Belbasha, son of Bunani, king of the nation Gambuli,<sup>i</sup> who, like fishes<sup>t</sup> in the seas and *waves*? at a day's voyage<sup>d</sup> from the land, have fixed their *island*? dwellings, in the name of Ashur my lord I conquered them, . . . . and made them pay tribute. . . . [The rest is effaced.]

§ 15. [Commencement is lost.] . . . . He kissed my sceptre. I had mercy on him. . . . The city *Karpi-Bel*, his stronghold, I strengthened its fortifications. Himself and his archers in that place. . . . [The next two lines are of doubtful meaning.]

§ 16. The city of Patusarra-nagu, on the frontiers of Beth . . . . which is in the furthest part of Media that belongs to Bikni, the land which produces the precious *zamat*? stone,<sup>m</sup> which, in time of the kings, my fathers, no one ever mentioned the name of their country; Sidan-parna and Eparna, two chiefs of fortified cities, who had not submitted to the yoke; themselves and their men, their horses and their chariots, oxen, sheep, *mules*? and dromedaries;<sup>n</sup> their innumerable spoil I carried off to Assyria.

§ 17. Uppits, city-chief of the city Partakka; Zanasan, city-chief of the city Parratka; Ramatiah, city-chief of the city Uraka-Zabarna; towns in the remoter part of Media, who in the times of the kings, my fathers, never crossed the boundary of Assyria, nor ever even spoke of such a land, now accepted the true religion of Ashur, my lord. Rich presents, namely, those great animals called *Karniski*, and lapis lazuli stone, the *pride*? of their country, they brought with them to Nineveh, my royal city, and kissed my sceptre. Then the chiefs of *seven*? cities assembled themselves, and unto my majesty they reverently

<sup>a</sup> Nagi-Batzi, previously called Batzu-Nagu.

<sup>i</sup> A nation in lower Babylonia, on the coast of the Persian Gulf, very frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon, grandfather of Esarhaddon.

<sup>t</sup> The usual comparison, when maritime nations are spoken of. The Ionian Greek islanders are constantly compared to fishes.

<sup>d</sup> *Twelve kasbu*, probably of two hours each.

<sup>m</sup> According to Rawlinson, the lapis lazuli.

<sup>n</sup> *Uduri* (alibi *utturat*) are, I believe, dromedaries. Persian *ustur*, a camel.

drew nigh, lamenting that ever they had rebelled. I appointed my secretaries to be magistrates over their land, and to overlook them. I *commanded*? the people of those countries to pay homage to them (*to these my lieutenants?*) and I imposed a tribute payable to my majesty.

§ 18. When Ashur, the sun, Bel and Nebo, the moon-goddess of Babylon and the moon-goddess of Arbela, had established me firmly (*on the throne*) by *victories?* over my enemies, I fulfilled my vow.<sup>o</sup> Out of the spoils of foreign kingdoms, which in the name of the great gods, my lords, I had seized with my hands, I built ten<sup>p</sup> temple-cities in Assyria and Mesopotamia; with silver and gold I caused them to shine, and I made them as brilliant as the sun.

§ 19. *Esarhaddon embellishes Nineveh.*—Then the royal palace which is in the middle of Nineveh, which the kings, my fathers who went before me, had built. . . . [In what follows, several words are obscure; but the sense is that he converted it into an arsenal full of war-chariots and horses, and the spoils of enemies obtained in many victories, "*which Ashur, king of the gods, had granted to my arms.*"] . . . captives. . . . I compelled them to make bricks for me. The smaller palace, with all its courts, I . . . I removed from it all its inhabitants; I increased the height of it, and with large stones I completed the mound of it.

§ 20. *Esarhaddon holds a splendid court.*—I assembled the twenty-two kings of the land of Syria, and of the sea-coast, and the islands of the sea, all of them. And I passed them in review. Magnificent cedar-trees and other valuable woods brought from the lands of Serar and Lebanon; *statues of goddesses?* sculptures of *winged female figures?* stone idols or divine images, and slabs of marble, granite, etc., [*seven kinds of stone are here separately named*] they brought me as gifts from the forests and mountains which are in the land of their birth. And for the adornment of my palace, with toil and arduous labour unto Nineveh men brought them home.

[Here the other cylinder which is preserved in the British Museum varies considerably; and instead of the 20th section, it has preserved to us the noble passage concerning Cyprus, which Sir H. Rawlinson was the first to render intelligible. I read it as follows:—]

§ 20. I assembled the kings of Syria and the isles beyond the sea, all of them:—

<sup>o</sup> Or, my intention.

<sup>p</sup> *Ishrat*, ten. By inadvertence I translated it *thirty* in my *Assyrian Texts*. The same error occurs in the Herodotus, vol. i., p. 482.

- Bahilu,<sup>†</sup> king of Tyre.  
 Manasseh, king of Judah.  
 Kadumukh, king of Udumi (Edom).  
 Mitsuri,<sup>‡</sup> king of Mahian?  
 Rub-Bel? king of Gaza.  
 Mitinti,<sup>§</sup> king of Ascalon.  
 Itutzu, king of Amgarrun.<sup>¶</sup>  
 Ishki Asapha, king of Gubal.  
 Kilu-Bahal,<sup>\*\*</sup> king of Arvad.  
 Abibal, king of Ussimiruna.<sup>‡</sup>  
 Buduel,<sup>‡</sup> king of the land of the children of Ammon.  
 Nushku, king of Ashdod.  
 The twelve kings of the sea-coast.<sup>‡</sup>  
 Ekishtuts, king of Edi-hal (probably Ægisthus, king of Idalium, in Cyprus).  
 Pisagurra, king of Kittie (Pythagoras, king of the Citians, in Cyprus).  
 Ki . . . , king of Sillummi (Salamis, in Cyprus).  
 Itu-Dagon, king of Pappa (Paphos, in Cyprus).  
 Erieli, king of Sillu (Euryalus, king of Soli, in Cyprus).  
 Damatzu, king of Kurie (Damasus,<sup>‡</sup> king of Curium, in Cyprus).  
 Rumitzu, king of Tamissi (Temesa, in Cyprus).  
 Damugur? king of Amti-Kadasti (Damagoras, king of Ammochosta, in Cyprus).  
 Unabgutzu, king of Lidni?  
 Buhali, king of . . . .  
 The ten kings of the Ionians, who dwell in the sea.

<sup>†</sup> This name is related to Baal or Bel, and we find several similar names in these inscriptions, such as Tubahilu or Tubal, whom Sennacherib made king of Sidon, and Yahilu, or Jahel, or Joel, who is named in § 12 of the present inscription as being the son of Hazael, and whose history, therefore, was probably connected with Syria.

<sup>‡</sup> This name merely signifies "the Egyptian," and is not his proper name, which was perhaps too difficult to express in Assyrian characters. There are many other instances of this in the inscriptions, such as "the Ionian," king of Ashdod, etc.

<sup>§</sup> There is mention of this king of Ascalon, who was then king of Ashdod, in the inscription of Sennacherib, whose ally he was, and who gave to him some of the cities which he had taken from Hezekiah.

<sup>¶</sup> Believed to be Ekron. *Ακκαρων*.

<sup>\*\*</sup> To Baal, in this name, the sign of "divinity" is prefixed.

<sup>‡</sup> Probably Samarina, the usual cuneiform name of Samaria.

<sup>‡</sup> He was also their king in Sennacherib's time.

<sup>‡</sup> Sidon is absent from the list, perhaps because it had then no king, but was governed by Esarhaddon's lieutenants; moreover, the city was partly lying in ruins. See § 2 of this inscription.

<sup>‡</sup> Damasus is a Greek name.

*Τετραερον Δαμασου παιδα Δαμαστοριδην.—Callimachus.*

Altogether, twenty-two kings of Syria, and the sea-coast, and the islands of the sea, all of them. And I passed them in review, etc. etc. [This cylinder then continues like the other.]

This very curious chapter of ancient Greek geography will doubtless be the subject of many commentaries. I will only add a few remarks here:—

I read, "Pythagoras, king of the Citians;" but, since several kings of Cyprus were named Protagoras and Evagoras, I think that the name Protagoras may possibly have been here intended. The first syllable *Pro*, may have been softened into *Po*, to suit the Assyrian mode of pronunciation; so, in Greek, the preposition *πρὸς* was softened into *ποτί*.

The Citians may have been the Chittim of Scripture. We see that in those days the king of Paphos was a Phœnician, named Itu-Dagon, or Itho-Dagon, which means, "Dagon is with him." A similar name is that of Itho-Bal, or "Baal is with him"—an ancient king of Tyre mentioned by Josephus. The sign of "a divinity" is prefixed to the name of Dagon. The king of Paphos was undoubtedly a worshipper of the deity whose name he bore. And my opinion is, that this deity was the female Dagon whom the Phœnicians worshipped, and whose image—half woman, half fish—was called, in the temples of Syria, Derceto, or Atergatis. She was identical with the sea-born Venus, whose world-renowned temple was seen at Paphos.

It has long been supposed that the Phœnicians introduced this worship into Cyprus, but the name of this king, Itho-Dagon, seems to establish it in an incontestible manner. It has always been a question what city Homer intended by *Τεμεση* in the well-known line—

*Ες Τεμεσην μετα χαλκον . . .*

It was evidently the principal port to which merchants resorted for copper. But in what part of the world was it situated? Strabo says, in Italy; but his opinion has not prevailed. Many writers maintain that it was Temese in Cyprus; and now that our inscription proves the great antiquity of the city of Tamisi, it will probably be conceded that this solution must be the true one. It is a very curious circumstance that there should be such a close connexion between the name of the island of Cyprus, *Κυπρος*, and the name of the goddess there so greatly worshipped, *Κυπρις*, and also that of the metal cuprum (copper), otherwise *as Cyprium* and *χαλκος Κυπριος*. And the alchemists who named the metals after the planets, calling gold and silver *Sol* and *Luna*, and

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The text has literally "in one," or "united."

naming iron *Mars*, gave to copper the name of *Venus*, doubtless guided by a traditional etymology of Cupris and Cuprum. Moreover, Pliny says there were copper-mines at Tamasus, in Cyprus, so that the chain of evidence is complete.

The next city mentioned—that of Ammochosta—was called in the middle ages, by the Venetians, Famagosta, from a mistaken notion that it was built in honour of Augustus (*Fama Augusti*). Neither does the Greek name of Ammochosta (which may be rendered the sand-banks, or sand-hills) appear to be the original. The cuneiform spelling is *Amtikadasti*. It is due to Sir H. Rawlinson to add his version of these names, from the first volume of Herodotus, p. 483. Many of them I had read similarly before I met with his book, such as *Ægisthus*, *Pythagoras*, *Itu-Dagon*, *Tamissus*, etc. etc. The reader may, therefore, place some confidence in the transcription:—

Rawlinson's version is as follows:—

*Ekistuzi* of *Edial* (*Ægisthus* of *Idalium*).

*Pisuagura* of *Kitthim* (*Pythagoras* of *Citium*).

*Ki* . . . . . of *Tsiluimmi* (\* \* \* of *Salamis*).

*Itu-Dagan* of *Pappa* (*Ithodagon* of *Paphos*).

*Erieli* of *Tsillu* (*Euryalus* of *Soli*).

*Damatsu* of *Kuri* (*Demo* . . . . of *Curium*).

*Rummizu* of *Tamizzi* (\* \* \* of *Tamissus*).

*Damutsi* of *Amtikhadasti* (*Demo* . . . . of *Ammochosta*).

*Hunazig-gutsu* of *Liminni* (*Onesi* . . . . of *Limenia*).

*Puhali* of *Upridissa* (\* \* \* of *Aphrodisia*).

§ 21. *Esarhaddon builds a splendid palace*.—In the month named *Ga*,<sup>a</sup> on the day named *Bitgari*, upon that mound I began to build a lofty palace for my royal dwelling; it was a great building, of 95 measures in length and 31 in breadth. What none of the kings, my fathers, who went before me ever did, that I accomplished. A lofty roof of cedar-wood I raised over it. Columns of Shurman wood, which men *had carved*? excellently inlaid<sup>b</sup> with silver and copper, I completed<sup>c</sup> them and placed them at the gates. Divine bulls carved in stone . . . . . [These are described in the six lines following, which are difficult to be understood.]

This palace of wrought stone and cedar-wood, with a large park around it, for my royal residence I grandly constructed. [Other divine images of bronze are then spoken of, but the sense is obscure.]

<sup>a</sup> Or *Taurus*, the Bull?

<sup>b</sup> *Mitsir*, overlaid, or covered over; from *tsir* (over).

<sup>c</sup> *Weshallimu*.

§ 22. *Same subject continued.*—Columns? of lofty cedar-trees I placed before its gates. I made the circuit of that palace with a great . . . . . of stones [of two kinds]. (The next three lines of the description are obscure.)

Ornaments of silver, ivory, and polished brass I added thereto. An *image*? of Ashur, my lord, which in foreign countries . . . . . skilful artificers . . . . . I made its porticoes of Sarmakhu trees from the land of Khamana . . . . . [He then mentions the park, or enclosed fields, in which he kept numerous horses, etc., etc.]

This palace, from its foundation to its summit, I built and I completed it, . . . . . and I called it the Palace of the Pleasures of all the Year.

§ 23. *Esarhaddon holds an assembly of the people.*—Ashur and the moon goddess of Nineveh, and all the gods of Assyria, I worshipped therein. Rare and costly victims unto them I sacrificed. I placed their *images*? upon thrones. Then I assembled the great men of the kingdom, the chiefs and the people of my land, all of them. I *lodged*? them in the *halls*? and *galleries*? and apartments within the palace. (The three next lines are obscure.)

§ 24. *A prayer for his posterity?*—In the name of Ashur, king of the gods, and of all the other gods of Assyria, on lofty seats and splendid thrones, in great splendour and with abundant offspring, within it for ever *may they dwell*? [The next passage contains many obscurities: it seems a prayer for the prosperity of the palace which he had built; that it may always be full of warlike troops, and spoils of the enemy, and of horses and camels able to carry the engines and implements of war. And certain mystical divinities are then invoked (apparently the sacred bulls) as guardians of the empire.]

§ 25. *Conclusion.*—In future days, in the reign of the kings, my sons, whom Ashur and Ishtar<sup>d</sup> shall raise to the royal power, and men shall call upon their name; when this palace shall grow old and decay; then may one<sup>e</sup> repair its ornaments.<sup>f</sup> (An abrupt change of syntax, to the second person, here occurs. The king addresses his successor.) In like manner<sup>g</sup> as I have erected the sculptured tablets of the king, my Father, by the side of those which are sculptured with my own name, do Thou, like Me, first read aloud the records from the sculptures of my name; then build an altar, and sacrifice a male victim, and replace them

<sup>d</sup> The Queen of Heaven.

<sup>e</sup> Viz., the king of that day.

<sup>f</sup> *Ankhit-tsa luttish*, see note <sup>i</sup>, p. 105.

<sup>g</sup> *Ki sha*, in like manner.

again by the side of thy tablets which bear the sculptures of thine own name. And Ashur and Ishtar shall grant all thy prayers!

§ 26. *Colophon*.—In the month of summer heat, day the 18th. (Another cylinder has a different Colophon, viz.) In the month of . . . ., on the feast (or birth-day) of the man Ataran, prefect of the city of Lakhiri.<sup>4</sup>

H. F. TALBOT.

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### THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION COMPARED WITH THE CHRISTIAN.

MANY and wonderful as are the examples of the wise Providence of God, there is perhaps no more striking one than is afforded by a retrospect of the successive dispensations which have been vouchsafed to man. Throughout these we trace a gradual and progressive development of divine truth, and a wise adaption of laws and doctrines to the ideas of the age, and the various circumstances of the parties to whom they were addressed.

Thus, the revelations made to Adam were of the most elementary character, and, although in those given to Noah, and to Abraham and his successors, new truths were exposed, and new ordinances enjoined, a careful attention was always paid to the increasing capacity of man, and he was never burdened with too complicated doctrines.

In all of these announcements, from the covenant of circumcision with Abraham down to its further development in the Mosaic Law, spiritual ideas were conveyed under symbolical figures, and a direct appeal was made to the senses, that through them the mind might be reached. So we find that Moses was constrained to prove by miracles that he was indeed the Divine delegate, and that even our Lord was not exempt from the same necessity. So, also, the terrors and wonders of Mount Sinai, that accompanied the delivery of the Law, were doubtless intended to make an impression upon the gross natures of the Israelites. For their better comprehension, temporal prospects were held out as the immediate motives of obedience, and a covenant was represented as having been concluded between them and Jehovah. The stipulations contained in it were precise and positive. They were to worship God, to obey His laws, to fulfil His ordinances, and to extend his spiritual empire; while He, on the other hand, was to give them prosperity and happiness, and

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<sup>4</sup> This city is often mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions.



to bestow on them certain fixed blessings or punishments, according as they observed the conditions of their compact. The connexion between God and Israel has been beautifully described by Jeremiah, under the figure of a matrimonial alliance;—God has chosen Israel as his eternal companion and helpmate; Israel has consented to aid in spreading on earth a knowledge of Him and an obedience to His laws, and has been consecrated and set apart for this holy mission. As the priests were in one nation so was Israel to be among all nations; it was selected to propagate the worship of God, and to turn away the idolaters from their unholy superstitions. To effect this separation, were the peculiar laws of Moses ordained, together with their various rites and ceremonies, some of which were also intended to prevent the Israelites from lapsing into idolatry, some to commemorate the kindness of God towards them, and others to set forth and typify the coming of Jesus Christ. Among the most important of these institutions were the three great signs of the Covenant, Passover Circumcision and the Sabbath. The first of these was a symbol of the national covenant between God and the whole people of Israel, as distinguished from circumcision, which was the individual covenant between God and each member of the community. This is shewn both by the fact that it was not instituted till the nation that had developed itself out of individuals had begun its political existence by deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and by the strict injunction that a sufficient number in each household should partake of the lamb. Like most of the Mosaic ordinances, its reference is both historical and typical. It was indeed the commemoration of the Exodus, and an emblem of the closer connection into which Israel, as a nation, was then brought with God; but it was also an earnest of the great Christian sacrifice, and of the benefits that were to be obtained thereby. Circumcision, on the other hand, was instituted while the worship of God was confined to individuals, and cannot be taken except as the symbol of an entirely individual covenant. The Sabbath was, after the Passover, the second great national sign of covenant. Its immediate purpose was to imprint, practically, upon the people the theories of Mosaism. It was to strengthen their belief in Jehovah, to keep constantly alive in their hearts the precepts of His Law and the blessings vouchsafed to them by Him, and to typify the rest in Heaven that will hereafter be enjoyed by the saints. Its internal end, however, was the perfect harmonizing and reconciling of the material and spiritual life of man, by setting aside a day on which his mind would be released from worldly cares, and have leisure to turn its thoughts to matters of higher import.

The Decalogue comprises the whole sum of Mosaism. It is the germ of the entire legislation, and from its diffusion may be dated the beginning of the Mosaic dispensation, and the first revelation of a complete code. The other laws and ordinances are but further developments of the general principles here contained, and all the civil and political institutions are impressed with the spirit that here prevails. The precepts comprised in it may be divided into two classes, the first of which affects the supremacy of God, the second the welfare of man. In the former are comprehended the first four commandments, which speak of Divine veneration with the heart, with word, and with deed. At the head of those regarding offences against man stands the fifth commandment, which is the connecting link of the two divisions, and the point where Divine duties end and human ones begin. In these latter we see the same attention paid to thought, to word, and to deed, although the order of their treatment is reversed, thus affording a clear and incontestible proof that Mosaism was not satisfied merely with outward observances and good works, but inculcated purity and holiness of thought as well as of deed. In fact, almost every commandment has a double basis, a natural one and a spiritual one, since Jehovah required faith and a surrender of the heart, not a mere performance of external duties.

Throughout the various political and civil ordinances of Mosaism, we see a regard paid to the general happiness and welfare of the community, in a far higher degree than in any other legislation of antiquity. In the laws concerning murder and homicide, and indeed throughout the whole penal code, severity is admirably coupled with humanity, and an unusual respect and attention is paid to human life. Punishments, with the exception of those cases which come under the *lex talionis*, seem to have been inflicted in order to express the anger of God against wilful transgressions of His law, rather than for the purpose of gratifying any feelings of private vengeance.

Those laws, also, which relate to servitude were singularly mild and considerate. Personal liberty was the great civil principle of Mosaism; for where God alone was Lord and master of all, and all men were children of the same father, perpetual slavery would have been an infringement on His rights, both as king and as parent.

Besides, however, the various laws and precepts that were given to the Jews, it was necessary to create a firm and visible centre of Mosaism, in order to keep the idea of the Lord God of Israel perpetually alive in their minds, and by employing them in constant religious exercises, to prevent the inclination to idol-

atry that would probably have been otherwise felt. For this end the erection of the tabernacle (and afterwards of the temple), as the earthly abode of Jehovah, was commanded, and the daily offering of sacrifices was enjoined with peculiar emphasis.

These last form one of the most important characteristics of Mosaism. They were designed, in some cases, as a means of thanksgiving, but more generally as an atonement for the sins of the people. They were by no means confined to the Jews, but appear to have been offered by all nations of antiquity. In this respect, however, lay the difference between the pagan and Judaical sacrifices—the former were believed to propitiate the Deity, and to procure pardon by their actual offering; the latter, on the contrary, merely signified that when God had been offended by any member of His people He was graciously pleased to accept of the sacrifice of the victim, instead of the death of the offender; and they were intended as an emblem of the universal forgiveness of sins that would be obtained by the sufferings and death of Christ.

The tribe of Levi were particularly consecrated and set apart for the service of the temple and the sacrifices. They formed, in many respects, the medium between God and the people, and, as Jehovah was King as well as God, from being his ministers they became, also, ministers of state. The office of prophecy was a direct consequence of the theocratical form of government, in order that the will of God might be made known unto his subjects thereby. The prophets, however, had no legislative power, nor any fixed political influence; their mission was to make the people adhere to God, and, as His messengers, to assist in preserving the true religion and genuine theocracy; in all other matters they were merely advisers.

Notwithstanding these useful institutions and beneficial doctrines, the law still presents many instances of wise adaptation to the Jewish national mind, and many concessions to human infirmity. It offered joyous rites and ceremonies to make an impression upon the sensuous natures of the people, and to wean them from idolatry; it connived at polygamy, and allowed too easy a system of divorce, "because of the hardness of their hearts;" it tolerated the *lex talionis*, and, "under certain restrictions, permitted avenging of blood. But, however much these points may be urged as defects in the Mosaic ethics, they are in reality but continued exemplifications of the infinite wisdom and the long suffering of God, in choosing that Moses should rather temporize with the errors of the people than make too sudden an innovation upon their ideas and prejudices. The

Jews, indeed, by reason of their peculiar national character, would not have submitted to such an attempt. They were a stubborn and stiff-necked generation, who required to be gently weaned from their faults, and gradually instructed in a better system, not to be violently torn away from the habits and customs to which they were attached. The law was entirely framed out of consideration to their infirmity, "because of transgressions." Its precepts were minute and literal, and, for their better comprehension, all points of duty were enjoined under the form of religious stipulations.

Throughout all the laws and institutions of Mosaism, we see the immediate purpose of founding a theocratical hierarchy. God is to be the only legislator, the supreme and invisible King of the nation, and the one great chief whom all alike are to obey. The law is to be the fixed and unalterable guide of the people, the starting point of their political existence, the code by which all actions are to be measured and judged, and the pure theocratical standard, from which there is to be no deviation nor appeal.

Besides, however, the separation and guidance of the Israelites, Mosaism had a far higher and holier aim. It was to keep up the hope and expectation of the promised Redeemer, and to prepare mankind for the more perfect dispensation that He was to introduce. Israel therefore continued to be the peculiar and chosen people of God only until they had fulfilled His purposes by paving the way for a better system. The resignation of their especial privilege was but the signal of the faithfulness with which they had performed their mission, and the success that had attended it.

The teaching of Christ stands as the connecting link between the two dispensations. During His lifetime, Mosaism had not ended, nor had Christianity begun, but "the kingdom of heaven" was at hand, and a gradual preparation was being made by His ministry for the instruction of the Apostles. From their writings, it is clearly evident that Christianity is not founded, nor dependent on Mosaism. We find no transference to the former of the rites and ordinances of the latter, no resting on any previous dispensation, but an essentially independent and fresh system. No Jewish arguments are ever made use of to Gentiles (although the Jews are met on the ground of the Old Testament, as being the only one they recognized), nor is circumcision enforced, or even recommended, as a means of admission into the Church of Christ; but, on the contrary, we are declared to be entirely removed from the jurisdiction of the law. Indeed, the first step in the foundation of Christianity was

an announcement of the total abolition of the separation between Jew and Gentile. Both were shewn to stand condemned in the sight of God,—the Jew from his violation of the covenant, the Gentile from his transgression of the law of nature, not from the neglect of any special revelation by himself or his ancestors. Both, therefore, being equally condemned, both had to be justified on the same ground, viz., faith in Christ only. This is the grand vital principle of Christianity, upon which the whole system depends, the one point in which all minor distinctions are merged, and the foundation on which alone is built our hope of forgiveness and redemption.

The detailed ceremonies of the Law are now no longer required, and the simple rites that Christianity needs for decent and reverent worship are left to be arranged according to the custom of each country, at the discretion of the members of its church. The Passover, and sacrifices too, are no more needed, since the blood of the Paschal Lamb, that taketh away the sins of the world, has been shed for us. These, moreover, were merely types, and therefore they, together with the other typical institutions of the Law, necessarily ceased at the appearance of the antitype. Still the Lord's Supper has been ordained, for the more thankful commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ, and of the advantages that we derive thereby, and, indeed, fills the same place in Christianity as the Pesach did in Mosaism. It is, however, a far holier and more sacred rite; no historical or worldly ideas are connected with it, but it is simply to keep us in memory of our crucified Redeemer, to impress upon us that by Him, and Him alone, we can be saved, and to aid us in following His example and footsteps. It is the most solemn sacrament of which a Christian can partake, the one that procures the greatest blessings if we receive it with a contrite and repentant heart, and the most awful judgments if we approach it unworthily.

Circumcision has given place to baptism, as the initiatory rite, and as the former symbolized the removal of impurity, so also the latter is intended to represent our death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness, that are consequent upon our admission into the church of Christ.

The consecration of the Sabbath still remains, though that of one day in seven has been substituted for that of the seventh day in the week, as such. For, although we have not been delivered from Egyptian bondage, we have to commemorate the common benefit of the creation, our redemption from the bonds of iniquity, and our new creation to holiness and the blessed hope of everlasting life. The Sabbath, also, is still required to

harmonize our spiritual and our natural life ; we still need leisure for meditation and prayer, and to be constantly reminded of our obligations and our duties to God.

The hereditary ministry of the Levites has been succeeded by a priesthood, whose office lies equally open to all, without any regard to descent. The medium of the prophets is no more needed, since the theocracy has ceased, and with it the special announcements of God, who has himself spoken unto us in these latter days by the mouth of His Son, and revealed unto us all that is necessary for our salvation.

The use and institution of the temple, which was the great centre of the national religion and unity, have obviously been ended by the destruction of Jerusalem and consequent dispersion of the Jews, independently of their requisite cessation at the coming of Christ, by reason of their typical design. God, too, no longer vouchsafes to make His presence manifest among men ; and we are taught that the place of our worship is but of little importance, compared with the state of our hearts and the spirit in which we pray.

The obligations of the civil portions of the Law have likewise been dissolved, simultaneously with the theocracy ; they were binding on Israel as a nation, and on Israel alone. Christianity, too, never attempts, like Mosaism, to lay down any social or political ordinances, nor to control by any fixed laws the outward lives of men, but simply endeavours to take a firm hold of their hearts, and so to form their conduct by forming their dispositions.

Again, the spirit of general love and forgiveness that our Lord so strongly inculcated is in itself a sufficient prohibition of murder and other similar crimes. Christianity, indeed, is a religion of love : we are told to love all, even our enemies, and the *lex talionis* (which, however, appears rather to have been tolerated by Moses than to have been introduced or approved by him) has been abolished by express command ; "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." We find but few actual laws given by our Lord in place of those of Mosaism, but rather new motives for keeping those already established. Spiritual prospects were held out instead of temporal ones, and the promise of a future state (which formed no part of the actual covenant, even if believed in by some of the prophets and the more enlightened Jews) now became the great reward which was amply to repay all dangers and persecutions endured for Christ's sake.

The opinions expressed by our Lord and His apostles con-

cerning the abolition of the Law are various, and apparently very contrary. In the Sermon on the Mount it is declared that "one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law till all be fulfilled;" and St. Paul, on the other hand, assures us that we are justified by faith, without the deeds of the Law. These words have been taken as referring to the ceremonial and civil portions, and not to the moral; but neither Christ nor His Apostles ever distinguished between the different materials of the Law; and in the books of Moses it is always spoken of as a whole, all of whose parts are equally binding. Again, when our Lord said that one jot or tittle should in no wise pass from the Law till all were fulfilled, He could not have meant that the greater portion of it was already abolished; and immediately before He declared that he was not come to destroy, but to fulfil. St. Paul, too, clearly shews that the *moral* law also had come to an end, by specifying several crimes that transgressed *it* and not the *ceremonial* or *civil*, and declaring that those who committed them were restrained by the Law.

The distinction, therefore, must be drawn not so much between the different parts of the Law as between the different manners in which its obligations may exist. Over the Jews the Law exercised an absolute authority. This authority is no longer asserted over us; grace and truth have been added by Jesus Christ to the original forms of Mosaism, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit has been declared superior to the letter of the Law. Again, when we consider the vast interval that has elapsed between the conclusion of the Mosaic covenant and the present day, as well as the great discrepancy of circumstances and social relations, it appears how very little its institutions can ever have been intended to influence us, and how entirely they refer to a long past stage of civilization. They still, however, retain their didactic force, and are to be referred to for example and instruction, although their positive jurisdiction has ceased. Christ and his apostles, therefore, must evidently have meant to declare that the absolute authority of the Law had been abolished, but that its didactic influence continued; not that we had been released from its ceremonial and civil institutions while still remaining subject to its moral ones.

Christianity, indeed, is the reality and substance of what Mosaism only presented the emblem and shadow, and as the type is fulfilled in the antitype, although its cessation is a necessary consequence of this fulfilment, so, also, Mosaism is fulfilled in Christianity, although superseded by it. It is plain, from the Old Testament alone, that Judaism was originally established as the precursor of Christianity, for throughout the Pentateuch,

and the whole body of the prophets, we find intimations of "the promise," which is hinted at as the more perfect revelation which should take the place of all previous and less complete ones.

The typical relation between the two dispensations has been followed up to a great extent, and has been deduced by some of the writers of the early Church between their most trivial points. It seems probable, however, that a great number of the comparisons which were made by the apostles were not intended to be taken in their literal sense, but merely to represent Christian obligations to the Jews by means of analogies from their own recognized scriptures. So St. Paul described the Gospel as a covenant, not meaning that it really was one, since, on the contrary, it is distinctly called a free gift of God, but to impress upon the Hebrews that it stood in the same relation to Christians as the covenant of Moses did to them. Their covenant though was national and temporary, ours is universal and eternal. In Mosaism, accordingly, we find many adaptions to national character, and many concessions to human infirmity, but in Christianity there is no deviation from general principles, no swerving from the pure and elevated standard of morality and truth. All men now are to be regarded as one nation, and the Gospel is the one bond that shall knit them firmly together in unity of religion and love, the instrument that shall thoroughly purge out from their original natures all sin and corruption, and the unalterable and unerring guide that shall lead them to the throne of Christ. Now good intentions are accounted more than even good works, and the outward observances of the Law have given way to the spiritual service of the heart. Christianity recognizes the moral precepts contained in the Law, but elevates their character and establishes them on a firmer basis. Mosaism forbids a crime, but Christianity keeps our hearts from the desire that leads to a crime.

Christianity, as a system, is vastly superior to Judaism, both on account of its greater moral efficiency and the purer tone of its doctrines. Still it cannot be denied that the Law was most admirably suited to the nation to whom it was vouchsafed, and that its political and social institutions were well calculated to further their prosperity and welfare. The Israelites, indeed, did not reap its full benefit, owing to their repeated transgressions, and from their misfortunes we learn a lesson of implicit obedience to the will of God, and perfect submission to whatever he may ordain.

We, therefore, should steadfastly endeavour to avoid their sins, and in our lives and conduct to act fully up to the precepts



of Christianity, knowing that while we do so we do that which is best pleasing to God, and best in accordance with His Holy Word. We are promised, also, that while we so endeavour we shall be aided with the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that we may be enabled to strive manfully against the sin and corruption of our original natures, and the trials and temptations that assail us in the world.

The line of duty that each of us should follow is plainly apparent, and to this alone we are required to keep, taking the Gospel for our guide, and the grace of God for our help. To us the Old Testament is nothing more than a useful teacher; old things and old dispensations have passed away, and new revelations have been made unto us by the Son of God. With these last then lies our only concern, and the Gospel is the only master that we have to serve. Its service is a perpetual one, of reverence and of love, in spirit and in truth.

J. D.

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#### SCRIPTURAL ACCOUNT OF THE CHERUBIM.

BEFORE examining the passages of Scripture which relate to the cherubim, it seems desirable to say a few words on a question which has been mooted among modern theologians, viz., Are the cherubim to be regarded merely as figures of religious symbolism, or have they a personal reality and existence? do they merely represent, in a figurative and poetical manner, the divine omnipresence and omniscience, or are there such beings as the cherubim? In the ancient church, the latter opinion prevailed; in modern times, the former has been adopted by several foreign theologians, and supported not without some shew of plausibility. The grounds alleged in defence of this notion are such as these: in the first place, the manifestly symbolical character of the cherubim, in the tabernacle, in the temple of Solomon, and likewise in the apocalyptic vision of St. John. Here we have a symbolical representation of the divine attributes, and it is unnecessary to suppose that anything more was meant. In the next place, there is a remarkable agreement between the description of the cherubim given us in Scripture and the symbolical or mythical forms of Assyrian, Egyptian, and Indian antiquity. Some have gone so far as to suppose that the idea was borrowed

by Moses from the Egyptian sphinxes.\* And lastly, if we except Gen. iii. the mention of the cherubim, both in the Old and New Testament, is rather in a poetical way, than as the representation of actual existing beings—as serving the purpose of symbolism in worship, or as occurring in prophetic visions. Yet all these reasons are unconvincing. The form, indeed, assigned to the cherubim may be intended to express devotional or poetical ideas, and so far may be symbolical, and yet the beings which are represented in the symbols may be themselves objective realities. The existence of like forms in heathenism may most reasonably be accounted for by the supposition of some one original tradition, from which tradition the pantheistic tendency of all heathenism had withdrawn the idea of personality and reality—just as from the original tradition of a supreme Godhead had been withdrawn the truth of his unity and personality. The second commandment, again, has been adduced as an argument against the actual reality of the cherubim. It has been supposed a direct violation of that commandment that the images and likenesses of any creatures should be set up in the tabernacle and in the temple. But it is quite a sufficient reply to this objection to refer to 1 Kings vii. 25, where we find that the brazen sea, in the forecourt of the temple, rested on twelve brazen oxen, whence we infer that the second commandment does not forbid the making of the images of living actual beings, but the abuse of such images, for the purpose of idolatrous or nature-worship. This perversion, however, was entirely obviated in the case of the cherubim, since they are represented not as in any way the *objects* of adoration, but as themselves in the attitude of worship (Exod. xxv. 50). But the most decided proof against the notion that the cherubim were merely symbols, is the way in which they are mentioned in Gen. iii. Unless we reduce the whole account of the fall to a myth, we cannot maintain the mythical or purely symbolical character of the cherubim. There, at least, we have not a representation, but an actual appearance of them, and an office which they perform. The purely historical character of this account in Genesis being allowed, the reality of these beings will necessarily follow. And we must bear in mind that the subsequent account of them in Scripture always presupposes the fact mentioned in that narrative. They are spoken of as real beings first, which ought to prevent the mistake of imagining that when the same name is used, only symbolism, poetical figures, or prophetic imagery, is to be understood.

Having premised so much as to the reality of the cherubim

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\* See Winer, *Bibl. Wort. B.*, p. 226.

—maintaining this ground, viz., that though they symbolize religious truths, they are not *mere* symbols, just as the history of Isaac and Ishmael is an allegory<sup>b</sup> (Gal. iv. 24), at the same time that it is a real history, let us proceed to make some enquiry into the nature and purpose of the cherubim. First, as regards the name. It must be confessed that none of the attempts to explain etymologically the name of cherub have been successful. Hoffmann has brought forward the old explanation, that the word Kerub is merely a transposition of Rekub, *i.e.*, a chariot—in confirmation of which supposition he refers to Psalm civ. 3, where Jehovah is said to make the clouds his chariot; as also to Psalm xviii. 10, where Jehovah is described as riding on the cherubim; so also, in the vision of Ezekiel, they are described as being the throne-chariot of God. But, not to mention that such a transposition of letters as is here supposed is altogether without precedent, this circumstance decides against it: that the idea of a chariot in the description of the cherubim is not an essential one. It does not occur on all occasions, but is rather an accidental than fundamental idea, and is mentioned only on a particular occasion. In the tabernacle, in the temple, in the vision in the apocalypse, there is no mention of the chariot as forming a part of the figure under which the cherubim are represented; and in their relation to Paradise, in Gen.iii., there may only *possibly be some allusion* to this characteristic. Just as little foundation has another theory, which would derive the Hebrew word from an Indo-germanic root, signifying to seize, to hold—from which we are to imply that the office of the cherubim was to hold, to support the throne of God, since of this notion there is not a word in Scripture. Others have found a derivation, which would indeed be very suitable to the character assigned the cherubim, from the Hebrew word Karob, *i.e.*, ‘near,’ as standing near the throne of God; or from the Arabic, Karama, *i.e.*, “was noble;” but these cannot, we believe, be philologically supported. We must, therefore, be content to leave the word Kerub unexplained. Bähr, despairing to attain to an interpretation of the word itself, observes, however, that both in Ezekiel and in the apocalypse, the cherubim are mentioned by the name of “the living” (Chafoth, ζῶα, creatures), and infers from this that the main idea of the cherubim is that of *life*, and indeed (as is evident from the further description), of *created* life. And so we may suppose that we have, in the cherub-forms, the ideal representation of the very highest life, including in itself all the perfections of created life. But this idea of his

<sup>b</sup> Ἀλληγορούμενα, *i.e.*, are allegorized—furnish an allegory, though a true history.

is not to be pressed too far, since the prophet does not express that the object which he saw was "*the living*," *par excellence*, but that it was a living being. The name does not afford us a clue to the main idea of the cherubim: let us see whether the symbolical form under which they appear will open to us any further insight into their nature and meaning.

The figures under which the cherubim were represented in the tabernacle and in the temple are not minutely told us. We learn this much—that they were winged, since over the wings of the cherubim, which stood on the covering of the ark, the cloud hovered, the symbol of the gracious presence of God. From their posture, which is described as that of suppliant adoration, we may fairly infer this, that the fundamental type of their form was the human figure.

From the poetical passage, Psalm xviii. 10, where Jehovah is represented as riding on the cherub, compared with Psalm civ. 3, where he is spoken of as carried on the clouds as in a chariot, we are led to deduce the comparison with a chariot. But, as has been observed, this is no essential part of the form of the cherubim. On the other hand, the idea of the chariot is carried out in a very sublime and poetical manner in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. i. and x.). A mighty, rushing storm of wind carries by a fiery, glittering chariot. It reminds us of the cloudy and fiery pillar in which Jehovah went before the people of Israel in the wilderness. But all is unspeakably more majestic and grand. Out of the fulness of life which moves in the cloud are first brought to view four living forms, in upright human shape, each with four wings and four faces—namely, that of a man, of a lion, of an ox, and of an eagle. Beneath this, but inseparably united with it, are four double wheels, so arranged, that one wheel is intersected by the other at right angles, in such a way that, without the chariot being turned, they can move to any region of the world they please. There is a living spirit in these wheels, and so they move freely and independently. Their felines are furnished with eyes, as well as the whole body of the creatures—back, hands, wings, etc. An awful fiery radiance shines here and there between the four living creatures. Over their heads, borne by the points of their wings, is as a crystal surface or firmament, which divided the Creator from his creatures—the eternal, uncreated Source of life from the highest created beings. For over the crystal surface or firmament was enthroned, on a sapphire seat, the glory of the Lord, like to the figure of a man, but in most dazzling radiance. The fourfold composition of the cherub, of man, lion, ox, eagle, is intended clearly to declare that the peculiar characteristics

and excellencies of the four creatures are united in the cherub. In the four countenances is represented the union of all created excellence—reason and conscience in that of the man, boldness in that of the lion, strength and endurance in that of the ox, keenness and swiftness in that of the eagle. It has been well observed, too, that the four countenances are taken from the creatures who may be regarded as kings in their several domains. The lion is the king of the wild beasts of the field, the ox the king of cattle, the eagle of birds, and man of the whole earth. The wings denote that the creature can move freely through all space; the eyes with which it is covered, that wherever it moves, all things are equally present to its vision. And that it can, without movement on its own part, be equally present in every part of the space in which it acts, this is represented by the power of the wheels to move to all sides. It always offers the same aspect while through the might of the indwelling Spirit it turns whichever way it lists. The fundamental form in the cherub is the human; but as this alone is insufficient to represent the idea of created excellence, the bodily attributes of other creatures are joined to it.

The description of St. John in the Revelation, is essentially the same as that of Ezekiel. The differences are, that in the Old Testament prophet the glory of the Lord is represented in motion, and hence the chariot throne; while in the Apocalypse the scene is in heaven, where the idea of the chariot is out of place, and instead of it is seen a stationary throne. The cherubim are not under the crystal surface or firmament which bears the throne, but they stand "in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne," by the side of him who sits thereon. But the most remarkable difference is that here, by St. John, each of the four living creatures is not represented as by Ezekiel as having four countenances, but *each* has *one* of the four faces, and yet as furnished with wings. This difference has been explained thus—that in the Apocalypse, the creatures are represented as standing, and not as moving, as in Ezekiel, and so they have united the same aspect, which is preserved by the four-fold countenances assigned to each. In Ezekiel, wherever the cherubim might turn, the four faces presented themselves; in St. John, being immovable, the countenances are seen altogether, though one is only assigned to each of the creatures.

This much is clear, that if the cherubim are real existing beings, they occupy a higher and more perfect position than does man in his present state: if they are merely symbols, then they are the representatives of an idea so exalted, that the most perfect of the forms of life of this earth are required to be

united for its due exhibition, and the idea, which their forms would typify, is very clear. They are the representatives of all created perfection. The figure, therefore, which is intended to convey this idea to man's comprehension, must do so by means of earthly forms, which are well known to him, and which bring before his mind the notion of the utmost created perfection. But is the *human* form alone insufficient for this purpose, since man is the crown and the head of all earthly creation? If man is the king of *all* earthly creatures, what need is there in addition to the human countenance of those of subordinate beings, kings, indeed, in their different spheres—the eagle, the ox, the lion? The answer is given as in Gen. iii. Before the fall, man, created in the image of God, was without any limitation or rivalry, the head and chief of all on earth, the unchallenged king over the whole animal world. But after the fall, he was deposed from this eminence and authority. The animal kingdom has in part made itself free from his dominion. To his great humiliation it is seen, that the animals possess, in the region of physical life, powers and faculties which are denied to man in like perfection. For this reason, therefore, the human countenance alone is insufficient to represent the perfections of those created beings who uphold the throne of God.

But we shall gain a further insight into the object of our inquiry, if we consider *where* the cherubim are represented as moving. In the holy of holies, both of the tabernacle and of the temple, two golden cherubim with outstretched wings formed the throne of God over the ark of the covenant. The gracious presence of Jehovah is symbolized by the cloud which at the consecration filled the sanctuary, and rested between the wings of the cherubim. Levit. xvi. 2; Exodus xl. 34, 35. Moreover, the whole space of the holy, and holy of holies, or the symbolical dwelling of the Most High is represented as peopled by them, since figures of cherubim were woven on the curtains and hangings of the tabernacle, or, in the case of the temple, carved on the panels of the walls. It is continually said of Jehovah, that he is enthroned above the cherubim, (Numbers vii. 89; 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; 2 Kings xix. 15; Isaiah xxxvii. 16); and in Ezekiel they form the chariot throne of the divine majesty and holiness, as in the Apocalypse they surround the throne of his glory. This same characteristic is noted by the Psalmist, (Psalm i. 8). The Almighty in whom he trusts, and upon whom in trouble he has called, comes to his aid with the fullness of his majesty, power, and glory, (v. 8—16), to serve him and to judge his enemies, (v. 17—20). The sacred writer describes in most glowing colours the coming of the Lord to

judge the people. Before him the earth trembled, the foundation of the hills was moved, the heavens bowed, cloud rolled upon cloud; thunder and lightning, storm and hail, fire and vapour, accompany Him, and are messengers of his wrath. But he himself rode upon a cherub and did fly; yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind (v. 10). In all these places the representation is the same, that the cherubim are in the presence of God; that they are the witnesses and the heralds of his presence, whether in his dominion over the universe, or in the grace of his salvation. If we combine this view with that given us in the vision of Ezekiel, we gain the main idea of the cherubim to be this, that God's administration and working in the provinces both of nature and of grace, are carried on in the presence of, and by means of, beings of the most perfect created life. They are not as the angels (*Maleachim*, *ἄγγελοι*), messengers from God to man, but witnesses and ministers of his divine majesty—a majesty which could be shewed to Moses only in a transient glimpse after that itself had passed by (*Exod.* xxxiii. 19), a majesty which Ezekiel could behold only in symbolic vision.

If the question be asked, supposing the cherubim to be real creatures, under what scale of existing beings are they to be ranked? The reply is, that they belong to the order of super-terrestrial creatures, and in the scale of creation occupy a high, if not the highest position.

But are the cherubim angels? Yes and no, according as the notion of angels is taken in a narrower and wider sense, as a specific or a generic name. In the narrower acceptation of the term, the name "angel," messenger, denotes a class of super-terrestrial beings, whose office in respect to the earth, is to be sent forth as messengers of God for the service of those who shall be heirs of salvation. *Heb.* i. 14. But the cherubim have quite another office. They form the company and the train of God himself, when he makes himself known to the world in his majesty and glory; or when he is enthroned as Lord and King in the midst of his creation. If we take the name "angels" in a wider sense as the comprehensive and generic name of all super-terrestrial creatures, then do the cherubim belong to this category. In the division by St. Paul, (*Col.* i. 16), of the heavenly spiritual world into "thrones, dominion, principalities, powers," it seems very probable that by "thrones" (*θρόνοι*) are meant the cherubim. As such they are represented, we have already shewn, in the Old Testament worship, in the Old Testament phraseology, and in the vision of Ezekiel. Both, then, angels and cherubim belong equally to the created super-terrestrial spiritual world,

and both form a contrast to the clouds, winds, and lightning, which in the province of terrestrial nature correspond to the angels and cherubim in the super-terrestrial spiritual world. The cherubim form the chariot on which God is borne in his royal and glorious majesty. But he is in no wise confined to their presence, nor requires their services; he makes even the clouds to be his chariot. In like manner, the angels are his proper messengers from the spiritual world, yet he makes use of the winds and flames of fire, without any diminution of his glory; nay, he thereby magnifies his glory, by making the least of his creatures to be the servants and ministers of the Most High.

To sum up the conclusions from Scripture at which we may arrive on this subject: the cherubim are real creatures, not mere symbols of God's glory and omnipresence; yet the representation or figure under which they appear is symbolical. We are not to suppose that we possess an image of what these beings are in themselves. The four countenances denote the highest characteristics of created beings; the eyes the omniscience, the wheels the omnipresence, etc. of him who is enthroned thereon, and so on. They are beings of angelic nature, and it seems probable of the highest order in the angelic hierarchy. They form the company of God's majesty and glory, being represented as his chariot throne in Ezekiel, as the throne in St. John, the one representing his providence in action, the other his majesty in heaven. The angels are the messengers of his will and mercy to men, hence their more frequent mention in Scripture; the cherubim are the attendants of the divine glory, and hence the representation of them in those places, where his presence is more especially revealed; in the temple and tabernacle, the type of the Christian church, and the figure of heaven, and in heaven itself, the dwelling-place of the Most High.\*

H. D.

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\* The writer of the above feels bound to express the great assistance he has derived, in the composition of this essay, from the very interesting work by Kurz (*Bibel und Astronomie*).



**ON THE COUNTRY AND RELIGION OF THE EMPRESS  
HELENA.**

THE period and manner of the conversion of Constantine the Great and his family to the Christian religion, would appear to form a question of considerable uncertainty, if we are to take the notices on that subject which are afforded by his biographer Eusebius, on the one hand, and those which may be collected on the state of his family from British writers, on the other. Eusebius intimates that Constantine himself, though favourably inclined to the Christians, was still an adherent to the imperial religion, down to the very period of his great contest with Maxentius; and that his first stage of conversion was an acknowledgment only of that God *whom his father Constantius had worshipped*, whom he designates *the one only Supreme Being*. To this God, says his historian, he made supplication on that occasion, with great humility and devotion; beseeching Him to make Himself known to him, and to assist him in the coming war; and it was to that prayer that the miraculous *vision of the Cross* was vouchsafed, as an emblem of his religion and the future standard of his wars.

This reference to his father's God as *the One Omnipotent*, occurs also in the account given by the same author of Constantius himself; of whom he relates, that he was inclined to the true religion, but acknowledged only *one God, the Supreme Being*, whom he honoured all his life, and dedicated his whole house to Him; which, as it has been very justly observed, was in a manner telling us that he was a Christian. Eusebius, however, himself adds enough to induce a conviction that such must have been truly the case; since he relates, that the palace of Constantius, while in Britain, was so thronged with the ministers of God, that it seemed rather a church or an oratory than an imperial palace; and that he selected those Christians who, when the persecuting decree of Dioclesian was published, refused to sacrifice to the gods, and thereby endangered their fortunes for the sake of their religion, as the special guards of his person, and to fill the most important trusts of the public affairs: thus, adds the historian, filling his palace with the pious adorers of *the true God*.

The distinction between the religion of Constantius, and the Christianity of his servants and friends who occupied his palace, may possibly find its true explication in the *Arian* tendencies of the historian, and his obvious purpose of drawing a line of

demarcation between the two; for he wrote his history for the younger Constantius, the son of Constantine, and for the purpose of leading that young emperor to a conviction that his grandfather Constantius was a *Deist*, and that Constantine his father was converted by his prayer to the God of that creed, "the one only Supreme Being." It must have been by persuasions of this kind that the Arian bishop drew the Emperor Constantine himself from the Catholic faith, to which he had constantly adhered till he fell in with the Eastern heretic.

The whole account of Eusebius relative to this family, so far as regards the religious question, must be viewed, therefore, in some degree as colourable. In particular, we must so consider the account he has given respecting the Empress Helena, of whom, while he scrupulously withholds all notice of her country and parentage, he says positively that she did not acknowledge *the true God* till she was induced to do so by her son, on the occasion of his own conversion, which happened only on the eve of his critical combat with Maxentius.<sup>a</sup>

It seems an unaccountable omission of an historian, not to state the origin and descent of a man whom he is engaged in handing down to posterity, for the greatness of his achievements, and the benefits he has been instrumental in conferring on the whole world; yet Eusebius has done this in his history, not only of the Empress Helena, but also of this first Christian Emperor; and we may be well assured, therefore, that that omission did not happen without a reason. That historian does not give any particulars at all of the birth of Constantine; and if it turns out that the mother of that Emperor was a *Christian princess*, though of an obscure province only in the empire, there is sufficient ground for suspecting that the cause of this omission must have existed in the animus of the Arian historian; and in a desire to cast a veil over the early Christianity of the family, from a fear of disturbing the representation he had made of its prolonged heathenism in the case of Constantine himself.

The statement that the mother of Constantine did not acknowledge *the true God* till the period of the war with Maxentius, and only upon the solicitation of her son after his own conversion, is, there is every reason therefore to believe, a direct slander upon her memory. Theodoret gives direct testimony the other way; that the mother inspired her son from his infancy with sentiments of piety<sup>b</sup>—of course he does not mean heathenism; and the testimony of Nicephorus, though mixed up with an absurd and impossible story of the descent of Con-

<sup>a</sup> Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, l. i., ch. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Theodoret, l. i., ch. 17, p. 563.

stantine from an illicit amour of his father with an innkeeper's daughter at Drepanum in Bithynia, is not to be disregarded in that part where he states that the young Constantine, while residing at the court of Dioclesian, was instructed in and embraced the truths of the Christian religion.<sup>c</sup> For this statement by a Byzantine historian shows at least, that the old world did not altogether regard the conversion of Constantine in the same view, as has been represented of it by his Arian historian; and it is a flat contradiction to the statement that he was a heathen till the overthrow of the Dragon, as Maxentius was accounted by the Christians of that day.

The notion of the son's early Christianity is moreover so entirely consistent with that character and conduct manifested in Constantius his father, which is given by Eusebius himself, in his devotion to the ministers of the God of the Christians, as renders it next to impossible that the account of his son's heathenism to so late a period should be true. Constantius lived eighteen years with his first wife Helena, before his political divorce took place. His son Constantine was, at that time, seventeen years old, and was then first taken to reside with the Roman court, as a pledge for his father's fidelity in his new elevation to the dignity of the Cæsars. The new and political wife of Constantius was a relative of the Emperor Maxentius; and certainly not a Christian. Where, then, did Constantine imbibe his Christian predilections? Is it probable these should have arisen in the new exaltation of his father, and with his heathen wife? or is not the other history so probable as to be almost certain, that it must have had an earlier birth, and maintained its hold on him in spite of his new associations—that he imbibed his early attachment to the Christian household in the first springtide relationship of his life, and from his mother's family, in whose religion he was brought up? No doubt, that excellent princess was too staunch a Catholic to be drawn away by the persuasions of Eusebius; and therefore he put a veil over her memory, in his endeavours to mislead her grandson, the young Constantius, into another path.

The difficulties on this subject have been very fully and very fairly stated by the writers of the *Universal History*;<sup>d</sup> though they intimate an opinion against the Empress Helena being of British extraction, or that Constantine was born in this island. They say: "As to the country and parentage of the Empress Helena, no writer before the seventh century mentions either. Those who flourished after that time commonly supposed her to

<sup>c</sup> *Niceph.*, l. vii., ch. xvii.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. vi., p. 230.

have been a native of this country, and the daughter of a king they call Coelus, or Coellus; but that opinion rested upon no foundation, there being a profound silence by all writers, till that seventh century, on the subject.\* As to the birth of Constantine her son, they assign its probable place to *Nissa* in Dardania, of which country his ancestors were natives; and for this they adduce the authorities of 'an anonymous writer of his life,' (published in A.D. 1636 by Henricus Valesius); of 'Stephanus the geographer,' who states it in his account of the town of *Nissa*; of 'Julius Firmius,' who, according to the best-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of Constantine; and of 'Cedrenus;† all of whom expressly affirm that he was born at *Nissa*. This opinion is supported also, they state, by the circumstance that Constantine shewed an attachment to the place, resided there frequently, and embellished the city with many stately edifices; so that the geographer above named, calls it the 'birthplace and work of that Emperor.'"

These are very legitimate grounds for the conclusions which these writers have drawn, in their *prima facie* appearance. But if the supposition of his being born in that place can be shown to be erroneous, and the fact impossible, those conclusions must necessarily fall to the ground; and all the rumours which are referred to, and the circumstances which are adduced as collateral proofs of that birth, may find their proper explanation in a simple attachment of the Emperor Constantine to the place of his paternal ancestry. How many English gentlemen, born in the distant colonies of our land, have in the same way returned to the hearths of their ancestors, and recognized them as the true soil of their nativity? That the family of Constantine came from that region is very probable—but not himself.

Both the country of Helena, and the birthplace of her son, must after all depend therefore upon what the histories shew of the *whereabouts* of Constantius, the husband of Helena and father of the Emperor, at the time of the marriage and birth of that son. Then what do the histories of these periods shew?

First. That the son of that marriage was unquestionably born in the month of March, A.D. 274, for Constantine the Great died in the month of May, A.D. 337, on Whitsunday, when he was sixty-three years and rather more than two months of age.‡ Where was Constantius, his father, in that year of his birth, and the year that preceded it, viz., the years 273 and 274?

Now, in answer to that question, we have very authentic

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\* p. 288.

‡ Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, ch. lxxv., p. 559.

evidence that Constantius was in Britain, and that he came over to this country in the former of those years, and certainly in the early part of the year. For it was on the visit of the Emperor Aurelian into Gaul, to subdue the usurper Tetricus, that he was dispatched by that Emperor into Britain; and that event took place in that year (A.D. 273).

The order of the consulates shews the course of these events as follows:—

	CONSULS.
The year of the death of Claudius, and the succession and Gothic wars of Aurelian, A.D. 270.	Antiochianus and Orphitus.
The year occupied in Rome by Aurelian, building the new walls, &c., A.D. 271.	The Emperor and Numerius Bassus.
The year of the war with Zenobia and the Egyptian Ovinus, A.D. 272.	Quietus and Voldumianus.
The year of the subjugation of Tetricus, and of the celebration of the triumph of Aurelian for both his conquests, both Zenobia and Tetricus being led in triumph, A.D. 273.	Tacitus and Placidianus.
A year occupied in Rome, building the temple of the Sun, &c., A.D. 274.	The Emperor a second time, and C. Capitolinus.
The year of a second visit to Gaul, and thence to the countries of the Danube, and to Thrace to winter; in preparation for an expedition against Persia in the spring of the next year, A.D. 275.	Aurelian the third time, and Marcellinus.
The year of the death of Aurelian, in January, A.D. 276.	

There are several things in this chronological epitome which are quite certain, and one which is not easily reconcilable to the general tenor of the histories we have to refer to.

For first it is certain, that the year of the war with Zenobia was 272, and that the subjugation of Gaul and Britain from the usurpation of Tetricus was the year after that Palmyrene war; for the triumph, at the latter end of the Gallic war, embraced the trophies both of the Eastern and Gallic conquest.

Trebellius Pollio, in his *History of the Thirty Tyrants*, says that the conquest over Tetricus took place in the fourth year of the Emperor Aurelian's reign,<sup>s</sup> which is such as the succession of consulates shews it to have been. But all the writers on the history of the reign of Aurelian state that the death of Aurelian took place in January, A.D. 275; some say after a five years' reign, and some after a six years' reign. Whereas, it is clear,

<sup>s</sup> *Trig. Tyrann.*, ch. vii., p. 187.

that the consulates cannot err in pointing out the year 276 as the year of his death; and the reign to have been a six years' reign. For as Trebellius Pollio, who wrote only thirty-six years after his death, states positively that the war in Gaul against Tetricus was in the fourth year of that Emperor's reign;<sup>a</sup> and as there were two full consulates afterwards, and the first few days of a third, there is no doubt the reign might be counted as six consular years. The truth is, Aurelian touched upon the years of seven consulates, but reigned not quite six full years; for he came to the throne in the spring of the year 270, and died early in the month of January, A.D. 276; the consulates of both which years were within the limits of his reign—though of the latter he could not even have received intimation of the new appointments before his death. According to the list of consuls, the year of his accession was in A.D. 270, in which he was fully occupied, with part of the ensuing year, in repressing the inroads of the German and Vandal armies, that beset the northern provinces of Italy and Illyrium. In the ensuing year 271, he took the consulate on himself, as was usual with the emperors; but, intending to follow up the designs of Claudius his predecessor in the next year, A.D. 272, by an expedition against Zenobia, other consuls were appointed for that year, and he set off in the early spring for that war. From that conquest he passed into Egypt to subdue some commotions there, and he is found in the ensuing year engaged in his Gallic war with Tetricus, without any notice of his having even visited Rome on his way thither. In that year, Tacitus and Placidianus were the consuls, and that was the fourth year of his reign. Towards its end the Emperor returned to Rome, and celebrated his double triumph, for the conquest of Palmyra and its courageous queen, and for that of Tetricus the Western usurper.

Of the fact there appears to be no doubt, that upon the subjugation of Tetricus, who was the last of what are called "the Thirty Tyrants," the island of Britain, which had been deeply involved in that revolt, became an immediate object of the emperor's solicitude; and having decided the fate of Gaul by his victory over Tetricus, he sent Constantius the father of Constantine into Britain, to re-establish his authority in that island.<sup>i</sup>

It is evident that this event must have occurred as an immediate result of his victory in Gaul; and as Aurelian was somewhat celebrated for his early campaigns, and the winter months were never fairly complete ere he was in the field, it cannot be doubted that the completion of that campaign, which was de-

<sup>a</sup> *Trig. Tyrann.*, ch. vii.

<sup>i</sup> *Trebel. Poll.*, in *Trig. Tyrann.*—*Eumen. Paneygr.*, ix. and x.

cided by a single battle, must have taken place in the spring of that year, A.D. 273.

It is pretty clear then, that the mission of Constantius into Britain, as the lieutenant of Aurelian, would have happened in the first half of the year he was sent there; and as his son was born in A.D. 274, there is a very cogent inference to be drawn that he was both begotten and born in this island. His birth is assigned to the 26th February, A.D. 274; so that a marriage before the month of June would have sufficiently antedated that event. Now, according to the chronicles from the seventh century, that marriage arose from a *sudden impression* on the youthful lieutenant, such as British beauty is very apt to inspire; for it is said that Helena was the daughter of Coellus a British king, and that she married Constantine, who was charmed with her beauty when he first came into Britain. If these facts are certain; first, that Aurelian re-conquered Gaul from its usurpers in the spring of A.D. 373; and next, that after his victory he sent Constantius into Britain as his lieutenant; and thirdly, that Constantine was born in February following, how can we doubt that the records as to the British birth of Constantius are true.

The facts above deduced, however, are not drawn from modern or provincial authors, but from Roman and contemporary records; and they prove to demonstration that Constantine was born in Britain. The panegyrist of Constantine appears indeed to refer to this descent, when he declares that Constantine had ennobled Britain by having proceeded from it, *illic oriendo*; for though it is certainly possible to assign that expression to the fact of his having been first proclaimed Emperor in Britain, it is hardly applicable to the circumstances of his association with the island in that way; for he was a mere visitor to his father in Britain, and not in any way actively engaged in the concerns of its government. Such a notion had attached itself to the Emperor Vespasian, that he was the prophetic king who was to proceed out of the East, because he was saluted Emperor in Judæa; but the circumstances were altogether different, and the conqueror of the people, out of whose soil the promised king was expected, was obviously open to that expectation, that he would be the founder of a dynasty that was to succeed the theocracy of the old people, which he had destroyed. But that that expression was applied to the birth of Constantine in Britain is shewn by Father Alford to have been the prevailing opinion, from above seventy authors of different countries, whom he refers to.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to be admitted that Aldhelmus, who flourished in

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Alford, *Britain Illustrat.*, p. 140.

the seventh century, was the first who wrote in express terms that Constantine was born in Britain,<sup>\*</sup> an opinion which it has been presumed was probably founded upon the authority of some historian, whose works have not reached our times, but which we see no reason for not attributing to the better authority of a prevailing tradition which that writer has faithfully preserved. The general acknowledgement of such a tradition, by the numerous churches dedicated to the name of this celebrated Christian Empress, which it cannot be pretended arose after the seventh century, ought to have satisfied the writers that, notwithstanding the flattery of a Roman geographer to a provincial town of the older country, the greater probability rests with the claims of the British island. But this tradition, it is said, was not recognized by the Roman writers; and may not that omission be ascribed to the want of all notice on the subject of the Emperor's birth by the peculiar historian of his own family; for such Eusebius must be accounted, who wrote under the particular sanction and patronage of the younger Constantius, the grandson of Helena. That historian had an obvious reason for suppressing the facts of the true maternity of the great Emperor, as we have shewn; but other writers may have observed the same silence from a mere distrust of a fact, which was omitted to be noticed by so prime an authority on the subject. The fact too of his father Constantius having another wife, who was imposed upon him as the political partner of his imperial estate, and who was related to the reigning Emperor Maximian, from whom he took the adoption of Cæsar, would be sufficient to have put the claims of the true wife into the shade, as the partner only of an obscure marriage, as Eutropius affirms of it.<sup>†</sup>

These causes have combined to cast a great historical uncertainty over the life of this Empress, and slander itself did not hesitate to instil its venom into the reports that were circulated; so that many authors, probably from the first fable of Nicephorus,<sup>‡</sup> handed down the imputation that she was not the lawful wife of Constantius at all, but his concubine. This imputation, however, is completely refuted; and the anomalous position of the divorced Empress, who was put away solely for a political cause, and without a stain upon her character, may account for the invidious reports which arose about her.\*

An all-sufficient proof, one would think, of the legitimacy of Constantine, is afforded by his acknowledged title to the throne as the son of Constantius; and another, by the rank assigned to

\* *De Laude Virg.*, ch. xxiii.

† *Eutrop.* p. 587.

‡ *Niceph.*, l. vii., ch. xvii., xviii.

\* See *Aur. Vict.* p. 524; *Vict. Epist.* p. 542.



his mother as soon as he had power to grant her her true position. Eusebius, in speaking of the accession of Constantine, says expressly that it was his "birth-right,"<sup>o</sup> and Aurel. Victor, who wrote under the reign of Constantius the younger, and other authors, expressly state that both Constantius and Galerius *were obliged, on being nominated Cæsars, to divorce their former wives*, and take others from the reigning families.<sup>p</sup> The oldest inscriptions call Helena *the wife of Constantius*, and give her the title of *Augusta*, which could not have happened if she had not been the true wife of that Emperor.<sup>q</sup> It must not be overlooked, moreover, that Constantius had a family of six children by his second and imperial wife Theodora; and is it possible to believe, if there were a shadow of doubt as to the legitimacy of Constantine, that there should have been no endeavour made to supplant him by that family, which would have been, in that case, the true inheritors of the *birth-right*, as Eusebius designates his title to the empire. But we hear of nothing of the kind; on the contrary, the Emperor Dioclesian received the young Constantine, and entertained him with a marked distinction, notwithstanding his father's new marriage; and manifestly regarded him as the future inheritor of the empire.<sup>r</sup> When Galerius was living, and held the eastern part of the empire, he fell into a fit of jealousy towards the youthful prince, who was still resident in that court—as fierce as Saul's to David—and imperiled his life in such a variety of ways, that his escape into Britain to his father, which was accomplished by a successful stratagem, was altogether regarded as done by a direct interposition of Providence. Galerius would not of course have entertained that feeling towards one whose title was open to an imputation of an illegitimate descent; but he would have attacked him on that weak point, where he could not have failed. In fact, all the circumstances of history go to shew that the birth of Constantine could not have been spurious; and consequently, that the marriage of Constantius with his mother must have been perfectly well known, and admitted by all parties interested in the subject at the period of his succession. We take it, that no marriage was ever established under the plea of "reputation" by a more forcible body of circumstantial testimony. Both by the Roman accounts of the actual position of Constantius, in the years antecedent to and at the birth itself of Constantine his son, and by the unquestionable recognition of the legitimacy of that son by the authorities of the day, both in his father's and

<sup>o</sup> *Euseb. Vit. Const.*, l. i., ch. xix.

<sup>q</sup> *Gruter*, p. 1086.

<sup>p</sup> *Aur. Vict.*, p. 524; *Vict. Epit.*, p. 542.

<sup>r</sup> *Euseb. Vit. Const.*, c. xvi., p. 601.

his own life, against the actual claims of another family, who had rank and title both before Constantine if he were not legitimate the descent of the Christian Emperor from a British marriage, in a legitimate line, is unquestionably proved from Roman authorities. The fable of Nicephorus, as to his birth from an innkeeper's daughter in Bithynia, is so extravagantly out of date, and the order of events in other respects, as has long since given grounds for its rejection; yet from that alone, and the want of a truer notice on the subject, the rumours obtained currency of the illegitimacy of Constantine. But the course of that slander being traced, and its falsehood shewn, the traditional rumours derived from it are of course equally confuted.

We come now to the direct testimonies as to the marriage of Constantius with the Empress Helena, which will be found to be very brief, but perfectly genuine and authentic. These are found in the *Bruts* or *Chronicles* of the old *British or Welsh People*, and may be referred to in the *Welsh Archæology*, where the marriage of *Constantius Chlorus*, with the daughter of *Coel Godebrog*, Earl of Colchester, is plainly recorded.<sup>s</sup> The same is also mentioned by Usher,<sup>t</sup> and by Stillingfleet,<sup>u</sup> who both give credit to the fact of this marriage; and it cannot be questioned that these are precisely the records which are conjectured to have existed and from which the *Saxon Aldhelm* in the seventh century, who was Bishop of the West Saxons, derived his knowledge that "Constantine was born in Britain."

These records ascribe a much higher rank, however, to the birth of Constantine through this princess, for they state that her mother was the sole direct descendant, not disqualified by ecclesiastical rules, of Caractacus, and sole heiress of the British crown from him. By her marriage with *Coel, Earl of Colchester*, her husband became "King" by courtesy. But that claim arose long after the marriage of Helena his daughter with Constantius, and upon the defeat of Carausius and Asclepiodotus, in the reign of Dioclesian; and it was by a compact between the British King Coel and his Roman son-in-law, that the British were brought again into peaceable subjection as tributaries to the Roman power.

These British chronicles state that the name of the princess who was wife of Coel and mother of Helena was Ystravael, and that she and her family were all eminently Christian, and had

<sup>s</sup> *Mgr. Arch. Brut Tysilio. and Brut G. ab Arthur.*

<sup>t</sup> *Britain Eccles. Antiq.*, ch. viii.

<sup>u</sup> *Orig. Britain*, p. 90.

<sup>v</sup> *Aldhelm de Laude Virg.* ch. 23.

been so from the time of Caractacus. That mother had three brothers, the sons of Cadvan, who was great grandson to Caradoc. These uncles of Helena were, Gwerydd, Jestin, and Cadvrawd; while several others of the family, who were all illustrious, were distinguished bishops in the British Church.\* The Empress herself had also a brother, a recluse in the British Church, if we may believe these authorities.†

There seems no good reason for distrusting the genuineness of these records, which have that authenticity that is peculiar to the chronicles of a highly religious and isolated people. Their peculiarity consists probably in this, that they are not histories, but records of current events, though modulated in their traditional form, as merchants' entries differ in the diary, and the summary accounts that distinguish their ledgers. Some authors have objected to the testimony of Anselm, as being too far off from the event recorded; for, it is argued, it is the first historical testimony of an event which occurred A.D. 273, and does not appear till the seventh century. If there had been any other histories published in the interval, and none had mentioned the fact of this marriage, that objection might have borne some weight; but as there were no other histories, it is difficult to see the force of that objection. They admit that among the Roman writers a profound silence is observed on the subject of this marriage, except in the one case of Nicephorus, whose absurd fiction they at once refute; and if such writers had exercised half as much ingenuity upon that fact, as they have bestowed upon the nonentities of the British history, during those four centuries that no books were written in Britain, they would certainly have found reason to see, in that silence of the Roman writers, a *suppressio veri* which should have made them more cautious in the sort of comments that have been bestowed upon the subject.

The result of the present inquiry cannot, we think, leave a doubt that Constantius was in Britain before and at the birth of his son Constantine; and all that is built upon the hypothesis of his being born in either Bithynia or Dardania, falls to the ground with the establishment of that fact. The British descent of his wife almost follows of course from that admission; and the records of the British chronicles which touch upon his descent and history, in connexion with the other political events

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\* See *Cambrian Biography*, *Vocibus*, *Cadvrawd*, and *Gwerydd*—Bede, l. i., *Hist. Eccles.* ch. iv., Geoff. *Monm. Brit. Hist.*, l. v., ch. v., Henry of Hunting. *Hist.*, ch. l. Usher, ch. vii.

† Rees' *Welch Saints*, p. 104.

of that period, cannot under any pretence be rejected from their due weight in the testimony they afford on this subject. Camden, Bede, Usher, Stillingfleet, receive these chronicles for true; and it is the height of hypercritical pedantry to reject such testimony on any plea of its provincial or religious character. The mother of Constantine, it cannot be doubted, was a British lady, a princess of the race of Caractacus, and a Christian by inheritance of many generations. Constantius her husband, though prevented by the necessity of his position from acknowledging the religion of his wife, it may be believed was of the same faith: his founding the Archbishopric of York ought to be sufficient guarantee that such was the case; and if both Constantius and Helena were Christians in this way, who will be found to believe that the conversion of their only son was not effected till after his father's death, and his own accession to the imperial dignity; for he was brought up with his father till his eighteenth year, and the account Eusebius gives of the palace he was nurtured in, as the resort of the Christian clergy, leaves no doubt that the same spirit which furnished that abode with such an inhabitancy, would have urged the early steps of the son into a communion which itself so zealously affected. H. M. G.

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#### ANNOTATIONS ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THE following annotations may serve as a pendant to those formerly given me on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The passages in this epistle which we have selected for comment are not those which have been the fields of labour most cultivated by students of the Word of God, or the fields of battle most marked with the traces of past controversy. They are rather such as, from their pregnant depth of meaning, require and repay more assiduous special study than can be looked for in a commentary, in which the significance of particular passages is justly less regarded than their relation to the whole agreement of which they make a part. The inexhaustible riches of the Holy Scriptures are obtainable by various modes of mining: and of these methods this deep digging into particular spots is not the least productive.

Before we proceed, we are desirous of propounding a theory as to the object of the epistle, which seems to us more satisfactory

than any we have yet met with. We adopt from others the following assumptions:—1. That the church at Rome was not founded directly by any apostle. 2. That it was founded by emissaries of St. Peter, or another of the first twelve; so that, although compounded of both Jews and Gentiles, the Jewish element was predominant in it. Its position was this at the time of the important interview of Paul and Barnabas with Peter, James, and John at Jerusalem, which is recorded in the epistle to the Galatians (ch. i.). On this occasion, the distinction of the apostleship to the circumcision, standing in the first twelve, and the apostleship to the uncircumcision, represented by Paul and Barnabas, was clearly brought out and recognized. St. Paul speaks only of its operation in the work of evangelizing; but we can hardly doubt that the principle was also carried out with regard to the apostolic charge of the churches hitherto indiscriminately founded. Thus, the church in Rome would come, for the first time, under St. Paul's hands.

If this were the case,—seeing of what vast importance it was that the Christian church, planted in the very centre of the Roman world, should be a burning and a shining light for a witness to the Light, and knowing how great a step in advance in the knowledge of God's counsels was that which St. Paul emphatically calls "*his* gospel,"—we can easily understand how earnest must have been his desire to visit them (ch. i. 9—13), and how, being hindered from so doing, he directed his energies towards drawing up for them, with a fulness and elaboration which no other of his epistles (save that to the Hebrews) presents, an exposition of those mighty doctrines so especially committed to him—of the common and universal guilt of Jew and Gentile, of God's way of righteousness by faith, of the Christian standing, and its consummation in the resurrection of life.

Such we conceive to have been the *rationale* of this epistle.

### I.

Ch. I. 1. "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God."

The mode in which Timothy was inducted into the Christian ministry gives us a lively image of the practice of the apostolic age in this matter. First, since "no man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron" (Heb. v. 4); the will of the Lord was made known through the prophets then existing in the church (see 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11, Acts xv. 32, etc.). "This charge, son Timothy," writes the apostle, "I commit unto thee according to the *prophecies* which went before on thee" (1 Tim. i. 18). Upon this followed his solemn

ordination and endowment for the ministry ; which he received at the hands of the apostle, together with other ministers present. "Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands." "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (2 Tim. i. 6, 1 Tim. iv. 14).

Now, as the apostles, however peculiar may be one of the aspects in which they are to be regarded, in another were but the first of ordinary ministers (comp. 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 11), we may fairly look for some analogy to this call and ordination in their appointment to office. Their *call* the first twelve received immediately from the Lord himself while on earth.<sup>a</sup> Their *endowment* for their work they received also immediately from the Lord, on the day of Pentecost, for St. Paul tells us that "he that ascended up on high" then "gave apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers" (Eph. iv.). Now, in no way could he be said then to have given these ministries, but by endowing with the Holy Ghost, for such offices, the men whom he had previously called to his service.

But how was it with the two brought into the apostolic office subsequent to the departure of the Lord and the Pentecostal effusion? I believe that the attempt to find any call to apostleship in the words of our Lord, at either of his three appearances to St. Paul, is based upon a theological misapprehension, and finds no success in those words themselves. The theological misapprehension is, the not seeing clearly the truth, that since the Lord Jesus in person left this earth, and ascended to the Father, he carries on his whole work in his church by his Spirit. It is by the Spirit of Christ that Christ is present with us to the end of the age ; that he dwells in us (comp. ch. viii. 10, 11) : that he conveys to us his life, and his flesh and blood to sustain that life ; that he speaks by his servants, and governs his church. It is, therefore, erroneous to believe that he will pass by this his substitute, and in person call his apostle to the ministry ; and we should from this fact alone be justified in supposing that Paul and Barnabas were called to their office by the Holy Ghost speaking through prophets, as in the case of Timothy. But we have the direct testimony of Scripture on the point. St. Paul and Barnabas are never called apostles till their visit to Iconium, recorded in Acts xiv. ver. 4, and, indeed, had done no really

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<sup>a</sup> Excepting Matthias. His appointment took place in the interregnum between our Lord's departure and his sending the Holy Ghost. From neither of these, therefore, could his call proceed ; and a divinely ordered lot was the mode selected by the eleven, and doubtless approved of by their Lord.

apostolic work until this first missionary journey. At the commencement of Acts xiii., we have the following record—"Now there were at the church that was at Antioch certain *prophets* and teachers; and as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the *Holy Ghost* said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul unto the work whereunto *I* have called them." By the Holy Ghost, therefore, "who spake by the prophets," were these men called to the apostleship.

Then, as to their endowment for their work. An apostle could ordain Timothy; but since "without all controversy, the less is blessed of the greater," none could ordain apostles. But further, an apostle is "neither of men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father who hath raised him from the dead" (Gal. i. 1). The essence of the apostolic office is expressed in the words, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." These apostles must therefore have received their endowment with the Holy Ghost, corresponding to that received by the first twelve at Pentecost, immediately from the Lord himself, though at what time we have no knowledge. But, just as after that Cornelius had received the Holy Ghost, St. Peter said, "Can any man forbid the water, that these should be baptized?" so here, though the inward grace of ordination has been given immediately, the outward sign was not neglected. In obedience to the Spirit's word, which we have already quoted, the ministers of the church at Antioch, "when they had fasted and prayed, *laid their hands on them*, and sent them away."

We have instituted this enquiry, because we believe that St. Paul's words here, "called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God," refer to this occurrence in the church at Antioch. "Called" (*κλητός*) here corresponds with "whereunto I have called (*κέκλημαι*) them" there: "separated" (*ἀφωρισμένος*) here with "separate me" (*ἀφωρίσατε μοι*) there.

## II.

Ch. VIII. 29. "Those whom he foreknew, them also he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first born among many brethren."

In interpreting this passage, commentators seem usually to lay its emphasis on Christ's becoming the first-born (using this as equivalent to pre-eminent); and to regard it as stating the object of God in conforming his elect to the image of his Son to be the glorifying of that Son.<sup>b</sup> It seems, however, to us,

<sup>b</sup> Comp. Alford *in loc.* "That he might be shewn, acknowledged to be, and glorified as the Son of God, pre-eminent among those who are by adoption through

that the context would point to the "many brethren" as the subject of the apostle's discourse, and that the passage might thus be paraphrased: "to be conformed to the image of his Son, that so many may be brought into that sonship in which he is first-born, thus becoming his brethren." On this—according to the above view, most pregnant—passage, we would offer the following considerations:—

1. It is clear that, in this passage, the humanity of our Lord, and not his Godhead, is regarded. For, if it be considered to state that to his image, as God, the elect are to be conformed, there would be no analogy with the rest of Scripture in naming the second person of the Holy Trinity when "the image of God" is in question. It is the whole of the Blessed Three who then say, "Let us make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness." But it is the *man*, Christ Jesus, who—realizing perfectly the divine idea of man, and thus becoming "the image of the invisible God"—is now the image whereunto the elect of God are to be conformed. Again, the expression, "first-born," confirms this; for, as regards his Godhead, Christ is "the only-begotten of the Father" (John i. 14); this eternal sonship is unique, incommunicable, and shared by none. A sonship in which he is but "first-born among many brethren," must stand in that human nature of those brethren which he took into union with himself.

2. That, as man, he was born into such a sonship—distinct from that which, as God, he had by eternal generation before all worlds—is, we think, the clear teaching of that passage in the 2nd Psalm, on which we have already commented in our Annotations on the Epistle to the Hebrews,<sup>d</sup> when God says, "Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee" (Ps. ii. 7); and when St. Paul tells us that, in so saying, he spoke of the resurrection of Christ (Acts xiii. 33), we see here a begetting to sonship which takes place on the day of resurrection, and which must therefore stand in the humanity which then rose from the dead. That it is in reference to this birth that the term, "*first-born* among many brethren," is applied to Christ, appears from the parallel expressions, "*first-born* from the dead," "*first-begotten* from the dead" (Col. i. 23, Rev. i. 5).

3. To understand how the resurrection of Christ was his birth, as man, of God, we must clearly apprehend what that resurrection was. Now, the human nature which the Son of

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him sons of God. This is the further end of our election, *as regards Christ*: his glorification in us, as our elder Brother and Head."

<sup>c</sup> Col. i. 15, where "the first-born of every creature" corresponds with "the first-born among many brethren" here.

<sup>d</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1857.



God took into union with himself was that of the first Adam, the nature of us all, though hallowed from all taint of Adam's sin by his assumption of it by the Holy Ghost. And not until its resurrection from the dead did this nature stand forth renewed, exalted, and heavenly, to become the source of new life to all whom the Father should give him. It is in that chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians which treats of the resurrection that the apostle applies the term, "the second Adam," to our Lord. "No longer observing sabbaths," says St. Ignatius, "but keeping the Lord's day, *on which also our life sprang up in him.*" Now, the act of regeneration in Christians is otherwise described as resurrection with Christ (see Rom. vi. 3, 4; Eph. i. 19, 20; ii. 5, 6; Col. ii. 12, comp. with 1 Pet. i. 3), because therein they are born into that life which then first sprang up in him. And conversely, his resurrection may be rightly spoken of as his birth of God.

4. Thus, then, we have a human sonship, into which Christ entered at his resurrection—into which we enter when we are "raised together with him" in regeneration. In this sonship, therefore, he is a "first-born among many brethren."

So far for our text; but we may further deduce some useful corollaries from the above conclusions. And in the first place, we may see that the common way of speaking of the sonship of Christians as one merely of adoption, and not of birth, is erroneous. If, indeed, Christ have no other sonship than that unique and incommunicable relationship which, by eternal generation of the Father, he ever enjoys, no sonship which man through him acquires can be more than one of adoption. But if, as we believe, the very basis of and key to all Christian doctrine is this, that the manhood of Christ has, by its union with the Godhead in his person, become the reservoir and fountain of all the peculiar blessings of the new creation; and that there pertains to it a birth and a sonship peculiar to it, and distinct from that of the Godhead to which it is united,—then we have a sonship, not incommunicable and only imitable by adoption, but one in which he is "first-born," and that "among many brethren," and into which we, like him, enter by birth. Then shall we be able to receive in their fulness the numerous statements of our being "born of God," and to see that those which speak of our "adoption" refer only to this, that this our birth and sonship is not of nature, but of grace; and that God has taken us out of mankind, and begotten us his children, of his own free goodness. Adoption extends only to this taking out of mankind; but be-

getting and birth are the necessary introduction to our sonship and new life. By which double work the double advantage seems to be gained, that we should have the gratitude of the adopted son, together with that filial love which can only exist in the heart of the born son towards his real Father.

But there is another side of this truth as to Christ's being "the first-born among many brethren," to which we must give heed, lest the birth of the latter be looked upon apart from that of the former, and our only relationship to him as that resulting from a similar birth of a common Father. Our spiritual burial, resurrection, and ascension, are "with him" (Eph. ii. 5, 6); and we are thus "the church of the *first-born*" (Heb. xii. 23). If we were but younger brethren, and not of the first-born, we could not be heirs; we could not be of the Melchizedek priesthood.<sup>f</sup> And as there cannot be many first-born, it is only by becoming one with him who is the first-born, that we too can share in the rights and endowments of that position.

Lastly, if Christ be thus the first-born of a new birth and a new sonship, it results that none could have entered into it before him, and that it is incorrect to speak of the patriarchs and saints of old as regenerate. Regeneration is death, resurrection, and ascension with Christ; and therefore could not be till he had died, risen, and ascended. Regeneration is birth of the Second Adam, and therefore could not be till the Second Adam, the risen Christ, had stood upon the earth: justified by faith indeed they might have been; but this is but the preliminary step to that regeneration and subsequent life which is the peculiar privilege of the Christian. The greatest of these was John the Baptist; and of him it is said, "Among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist; notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of heaven," because born of God "is greater than he" (Matt. xi. 11).

### III.

Ch. I. 3, 4. "Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead."

At a superficial glance at this passage, thus translated, nothing seems simpler. The contrast is between Christ's divine and human nature; and the former is represented as being proved by his miraculous resurrection. In this sense it is often quoted; *e. g.*, repeatedly in the late Archdeacon Wilberforce's

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<sup>f</sup> See "Annotations on the Epistle to the Hebrews," No. IV.  
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“Doctrine of the Incarnation.” But a closer examination of the passage will discover numerous difficulties in the way of this interpretation. It is most questionable whether *ὀρισθέντος* can be made to bear the sense of “declared” *i.e.*, manifested (= *δειχθέντος*, as Chrysostom, Olshausen, Alford, etc.). In no other place of the New Testament can it be thus rendered; but “appointed” or “decreed” is always its equivalent, *προσρίζω* being the word rightly rendered “predestinate” *i.e.*, decreed beforehand (See Acts xvii. 26, 31; Rom. viii. 29, etc. etc.). And further, no example of such usage can be found in Greek writers. 2. The whole passage is an antithesis, whose force is utterly lost by this translation. It may be presented thus—

Τοῦ γενομένου	ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ	κατὰ σάρκα
Τοῦ ὀρισθέντος διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ	ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν	κατὰ πνεῦμα ἡγισωμένης

It appears from this, that the resurrection bears the same relation to his birth of God, as the seed of David to his birth of the Virgin Mary, each being the substance out of which (*ἐκ*) that which was born was formed. How can the Lord's divine sonship spring out of his resurrection? Then again, *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα* are strongly opposed; the first characterizing his sonship of David, the second his sonship of God. How can the only begotten of the Father be said to be his Son “*κατὰ πνεῦμα*”? There is no warrant for such an expression in the doctrine of the Godhead—no analogy for it in the rest of Scripture.

On the other hand, if we refer the second clause of this passage to that sonship of God, which, as we have endeavoured to shew, pertained to Christ's human nature, as distinct from that which, as God, he had before all ages, the whole force of the antithesis, and the true meaning of *ὀρισθέντος* will, we believe, be fully brought out.

I. And first, of the antithesis *κατὰ σάρκα* and *κατὰ πνεῦμα*. *Σὰρξ*, in its primary idea, is the material, *πνεῦμα*, the immaterial part of man. According to the natural custom of using a part to represent the whole, *σὰρξ*, originally only man's flesh, came to mean human nature as a whole. “The word was made flesh” (*Ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*,) is an instance of this; for it was the whole nature—body, soul, and spirit—of man; not his body merely, which the Son of God took into union with himself. But the Christian revelation has manifested, as was never manifested before, the fallen, sinful, diseased, and mortal condition in which human nature is, and the absolute necessity of its total change, in order that God may bless it. The word *σὰρξ*, therefore, hitherto referring to human nature simply, came to signify, in the doctrinal language of the New Testament, this

human nature under the conditions of the fall. But as the very object of our Lord's mission and work was to regenerate and renew that humanity, some other word must be found to express it in its altered state. Such a word our Lord himself selects, giving at the same time the reason for his choice, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Σὰρξ and πνεῦμα, with their corresponding adjectives, thus came to signify respectively the old and the new man—the condition of the children of the first and of those of the last Adam. Of such usage the following is an example:—Of the former state of the Christian, St. Paul thus speaks, "when we were in the flesh" (Rom. vii. 5); of his present state, "ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if so be the spirit of God dwell in you"<sup>s</sup> (Rom. viii. 9). The continual opposition, moreover, of "the flesh" and "the spirit" pervading his Epistles, is based upon this significance of σὰρξ and πνεῦμα. And still more remarkably does this view come out, when the regeneration of the body, *i.e.*, its resurrection, is in question. The risen body is boldly called a "spiritual body" (1 Cor. xv. 44); a term which would be utterly absurd, were the only meaning of πνεῦμα spirit as opposed to matter, this latter being the distinctive characteristic of the body. And in like manner the risen Christ is called "a quickening spirit" (v. 45).

This brings us to the passage under our consideration. Our Lord's birth of the Blessed Virgin, will fitly answer to the "γενομένου κατὰ σὰρκα." Therein the word "ἐγένετο σὰρξ"; his life consequent thereon is spoken of as "the days of his flesh" (Heb. v. 7). But a birth of God is required, whose basis shall be resurrection (ἐξ ἀναστάσεως), whose character κατὰ πνεῦμα. We have shewn that his resurrection was his human birth of God, according to the word "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee." We have shewn that by this birth the man who before inherited but the nature of the first Adam, became the second Adam, in a new nature derived immediately from heaven (1 Cor. xv. 47). And as the nature of the first Adam is σὰρξ, the birth by which he received it must be κατὰ σὰρκα; as that of the second Adam is πνεῦμα, his resurrection is his birth κατὰ πνεῦμα. And those who being "born of the spirit, are spirit," who are "not in the flesh, but in the spirit" are such through spiritual resurrection with him (Rom. vi.; Eph. iv.)

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<sup>s</sup> He assigns for his expression a similar reason to that given by our Lord in the passage quoted above, "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." "Ye are in the spirit, if so be the spirit of God dwell in you."

II. If now the word *ὁρισθέντος*, rendered in its natural sense of "appointed" or "decreed," should appear to refer to the same thing, we think this interpretation will be very firmly established. Thus rendered, the verse will run "decreed Son of God—by resurrection." Must not the apostle have had in his mind the verse we have so frequently quoted, the verse which he himself adduces as prophetic of the Lord's resurrection, "I will declare the *decree*, the Lord hath said unto me, 'This day have I begotten thee'?"

And if it be so, does it not follow, that if we rightly translate *ὁρισθέντος*, and give due weight to the antithesis, we must give up that interpretation of his sonship *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, which refers it to his eternal sonship as God, and apply it rather to that human sonship which we have endeavoured to shew to have pertained to him? Regarded in this light, this passage will be illustrated by, and in its turn lend, confirmation to that view.

We have kept out of sight the words "with power" and "of holiness" as likely to embarrass the main argument. The former we understand to characterize the Lord's resurrection condition, when that which was "sown in weakness, was raised in power" (1 Cor. xv. 43), and of which he spoke "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth;" while before that he had said, "I have a baptism," (*i.e.*, his resurrection and glorification,) "to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished" (Luke xii. 50). "Holiness" we understand to characterize the new man, the *πνεῦμα*, as distinguished not merely from sin, but from righteousness (Rom. vi. 19); this being obedience to an outward law, while holiness is the living an inward life, which life first sprang up in man when Christ rose from the dead.

#### IV.

Ch. VI. 11. "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." 23. "For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

It is most unfortunate, that our translators should have rendered "*ἐν Χριστῷ*" in these verses "through Christ," as if it had been *διὰ Χριστοῦ*. It obscures the whole drift of the apostle's argument. Up to this chapter, he has been speaking of that justification, or acquittal from sin, which is given to faith on the ground of Christ's merits and sacrifice. All the blessings of justification are therefore spoken of as coming "through Christ" (ch. iii. 22, 24; v. 1, 9, 11, 15, 21, etc.); he is their objective basis, their external instrument. But mere justification from past sin is felt to be insufficient. "How then? shall

we continue in sin that grace may abound?" To meet this objection, the apostle brings forward a farther mystery, that of regeneration. Those who are grafted into Christ, as the branch into the vine, are by such union made partakers of his death and resurrection. His death was a death unto sin, his life is a life unto God. We, too, are to reckon ourselves dead unto sin, and alive unto God. And this, not as independent persons, but as one with him: and, therefore, the apostle adds "*ἐν Χριστῷ*," "*in Jesus Christ our Lord.*" "How, then, shall we, who are dead to sin, continue therein?" Such is the argument of this part of the Epistle; and therefore the change of preposition, from *διὰ* to *ἐν*, is most significant. Once grafted into Christ, we, as long as we abide in him, are in him (comp. John xv.). Risen with him, we are necessarily partakers of his resurrection life; and thus "the gift of God is eternal life *in Jesus Christ our Lord.*" And thus the apostle writes in another place, "If then ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, our life, shall appear, then shall we also appear with him in glory" (Col. i. 1—3).

R. H.

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#### THE INSPIRATION OF THE EVANGELISTS—THE HUMAN AND DIVINE WITNESS.

THE great problem, as to the kind and degree of the divine operation on the gospel witnesses, though possibly to be opened to demonstration at some time or other, but not apparently to the present age, may, we think, be comprehended in its most material bearings, even in the present imperfect state of things, by reference to the *simple case*; as algebraists decide first what the proximate truth must be, by some simple rule or experiment, before they enter-upon the elementary combinations which are to form the subject of their demonstration.

That this operation of the Divine Spirit was not intended in the case of those witnesses to operate as an exact *intuition* upon their minds; so that the earthly witnesses, acting under the influence or governance of the heavenly witness, should be changed from their humanity to give a testimony which could not be human but altogether divine, is not to be supported any more than the converse proposition, that that testimony was altogether

human. The inspiration of St. Paul was of a totally different character, and was a direct and full intuition. But the promise of our Lord to his followers was, that "*they should be witnesses of these things*" (Luke xxiv. 47) :—and, though he promised that the Comforter whom the Father would send in His name should teach them "all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever He had said unto them," still the other promise must remain, that they should be witnesses (John xiv. 26). The question is, whether the remembrance of those witnesses ceased to be a human remembrance, because the things remembered were brought or recalled to the faculty of their recollection by a divine operation. Our Saviour expressly says, that that Comforter would "bring the things to their remembrance," not reveal something they had not before known; and then, if men can ever receive impressions of things in different ways, does it not follow that the remembrance of these different witnesses must bear the common stamp of such diversity; and to have had it otherwise would be, not to recall events, but to reveal them; not to make the agents of such communications witnesses at all, in any proper sense of the term, but mere conduits of a divine revelation? We would willingly respect the sentiment of homage which the notion of an exact inspiration in the Evangelists seems to profess towards God, as the author of truth without possible error; but it seems to us that the proposition is one which militates against all the *facts* we know concerning the witness of men, and the grounds upon which a combined testimony by men is entitled to credibility. For that is certainly not because of a constant uniformity in the details of anything that is attested by various persons, since the very fact of such uniformity must indicate combination, and reduce the witness to that singleness which the one object of a confederate body always evidences; but the force of such a testimony consists in a concurrence of the details or minor circumstances of such and such things, towards one and the same result, and by their being of such a character as should not be inconsistent with the general purpose, or with one another.

It is quite certain there must always have been a particular and special truth intended in our Lord's sayings and parables; and yet it is certain, that any such truth would admit various other exemplars of itself, and admit also various modifications in its application. Take the two parables of the pearl of great price, for which the merchant sold all others that he had to get possession of it; and of the treasure hid in a field, which the householder got by the purchase of that field: both those stories teach the same great truth in one order of its application, viz.,

“that the richest endowments are to be sought by the sacrifice of all subordinate good;” and that even all other treasure will be sacrificed by a wise man for the sake of the one thing needful; as the good of a spiritual life is needful. But it by no means follows that the principle involved in that doctrine might not be developed in a greater variety of aspects, in its practical application, than those two parables present it to us; or that any truth which our Lord has enunciated may not be capable of being delivered in some other case, and under other circumstances than the one most prominent enunciation he has made of it; and yet he truly witnessed. There are other cases in the conditions of this life than those of the merchant, who sells his inferior jewels to purchase one of larger price; or the householder, who sacrifices other fields to possess one that promises great riches. St. Matthew applies the figure of a lost sheep sought for by its owner to the case of little children. St. Luke makes its application as a general doctrine. The solicitude of Martha for the many cares of an outward hospitality is contrasted with the better solicitude of Mary for the solace of that divine visitation which both designed to welcome, in the very same spirit as the above two parables. The solitudes of a domestic care were not to be put in competition with those for the *one thing needful*, the wisdom and solace of a divine communion. The right application of the one truth to the various occasions of human life, and its discernment as a principle of conduct, or a faith, is that which distinguishes the wise from the vain and insensible; and it is to this faculty of discernment, our Lord seems to address himself, when he more than once exclaims, “He that hath ears to hear let him hear.” It is a mark of Christian progress, that in all things, as men advance in that communion, they are found to forsake light and trifling pursuits for the more important and vital interests of religion. In this spirit we see old age forsake the literature of the world, and turn with more and more affection to that sacred Scripture which has formed the well-spring of its past principles, and then has become the rock of its future expectation. Like the merchant, it has parted with all the lesser treasures for the one pearl of great price. Like *Mary*, it has put aside the solicitude of a worldly knowledge, for the blessed solace of its Saviour’s communion. Then, if the same lesson can be applied in this sort of diversity, it can be taught by instances as various; and truly taught by any one instance bearing upon the same particular principle. And if the human witness has confused instances, or misapplied illustrations, it is no less the truth, because a human remembrance has borne an imperfect record of what it heard or saw relating to matters that it



testifies of. This, of course, does not apply to something quite different from what happened:—though even the record of an erroneous report is a good testimony as to the fact of an event that bears relation to the subject matter of that error. Varieties in those particulars which constitute any occurrence in chief, are the very conditions under which all testimony must be borne by creatures who are less than perfect:—and if the apostles are witnesses, they must be so under that common condition. To be more than that would take away their character as witnesses, and make them no other than the common Pythoness. Supposing such to be the power impressed upon them, what security could there be that the whole story of Christ's history should not be an invention of a false inspiration? The very form of the gospel testimony is that it is the true testimony of men; and true, because it is the testimony urged by God. If it were not a human testimony in one of its aspects, no one could judge of its veracity by any rule of human judgment; for their judgment must be swallowed up in the divine authority.

There are abundant materials in the gospels, by which these propositions might be illustrated and proved. Indeed, there are few of the material *events* of our Lord's life of which the *remembrance* is not *recorded* by those writers with some variety of circumstances. But there is one subject of a very marked and specific kind, which forms the topic of our Lord's discourse and teaching on two occasions only, which by their distinctness from all other subjects, and the precision with which they are noticed, enable us to compare the diversities of their transmission by the Evangelists with great certainty. These are our Lord's discourses relating to the character he attributes to "the LITTLE CHILDREN," and his command to receive them into his communion. The first reference to this subject is placed by all the three first Evangelists as a matter which occurred in Capernaum, immediately after the return from the scene of the transfiguration; and it forms there almost the last topic of our Lord's teaching in Galilee. The second is shewn equally as an incident which occurred in his ministry in Peræa, where our Lord was in the latter part of his life, and after he had finally quitted Galilee. The first was elicited as a rebuke to the apostles, who had disputed in the way as to "which of them should be greatest." On that occasion our Lord took a child, and presented it as a proper exemplar, to correct that presumption. St. Matthew follows up the sentiment of that rebuke in the words he appends to that action: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven: whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little

child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven." But how do St. Luke's words apply to the occasion? He took a child, and sat him by him, and said: "Whosoever shall receive this child in my name, receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." It is plain there is no direct connexion between the dispute of the apostles and the doctrine of men receiving little children in the name of Christ. But then, it was that particular point which formed the topic of our Lord's teaching on the subject of little children, on the later occasion; and it is as plain as can be, that St. Luke has combined the two subjects in his remembrance of them, and attached the sayings of our Lord upon the incident in Peræa, to an occurrence that took place in Galilee. But St. Matthew proceeds, after the preceding paragraph, in the same strain as St. Luke—the duty of receiving little children, and the severe penalties men will be subject to, who should reject or mislead them:—and from that point, he diverges into a discussion upon offences generally. It appears a natural sequitur to the command to receive the young children, to add the warning of danger in offending or injuring them, by misleading or withholding them from God, (for that is what the offence of them means); and one can well believe that such was added by our Lord, in his command to receive them into his communion; but there is no apparent connexion between that admonition and the lesson of humility, by referring the apostles to the condition of the little child our Lord had set before them; and St. Matthew has here plainly introduced the teaching of the second event, into his narrative of the first occasion:—and no doubt, there is a connexion of ideas in the warning against "offending one of those little ones," and the danger of "offences generally," with which St. Matthew then proceeds in his discourse. It is possible that our Lord may have diverged from the particular discussion into a general review of the nature of offence and its consequences; or there is another possibility, that St. Matthew took the occasion of pursuing the subject in that way, though our Lord may have uttered that doctrine on some other occasion:—it belonged to the subject. St. Luke puts this part of the subject, however, as a general charge at the beginning of his seventeenth chapter, and quite away from the narrative of our Lord's command to "suffer the little children to come unto him;" though, singularly enough, he subjoins in that disjointed place, the denunciation against offending them; which looks as if indeed that charge upon the subject of offences generally, was originally connected with the charge against offending the little children. It is quite evident, however, that that charge was a subject of the Peræan

ministry, and that St. Matthew has brought it into his history of the events in Galilee. This will appear more evidently on comparing the subjoined parallelisms of these testimonies with one another.

St. Luke's account of our Lord's reception of the little children occurs in the middle of his eighteenth chapter, with the words which St. Matthew appears rightly to have attached to the first occasion in Galilee, "Verily, I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein;"—for that has a manifest bearing upon the disciples' dispute, as to which should be greatest, and was a proper lesson to humble them. St. Luke, therefore, has on his part evidently transposed that charge from the event in Galilee to the latter occasion in Peræa; as he and St. Matthew have the former one, from the events in Peræa to those in Galilee. Both St. Mark and St. Luke introduce into the narrative of the first occurrence the remark of John to our Lord, that he had forbid one to cast out devils in Jesus' name, because he did not follow them, and our Lord's charge to "*forbid him not*;" for "he that is not against us is for us; and whosoever gives another a cup of cold water because he belongs to Christ, shall in no wise lose his reward." And this appears also to be a proper sequent to the words that preceded it in St. Mark's gospel, "that whosoever receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me," which is the sequent there to the command "to receive little children;" and so belongs to that incident which is the later one in our Lord's ministration. St. Matthew does not introduce this notice; but he does give the correspondent doctrines of *good-will and acceptance* to all, even the least worthy, by the figure of the "lost sheep," which the householder went in search of, while he left the other ninety-nine, to do so. St. Matthew's notice of that apophthegm is very short, and he concludes it thus: "For even so, it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." But this is plainly a brief reminiscence of the parable which St. Luke relates our Lord to have uttered at large, in connexion with its sister-parable of "the lost piece of money," as part of the general preaching of our Lord in Peræa.

The wonderful connexion and interlacings of these teachings, and the accuracy of the detached parts, with the adaptation of them generally to a perceptible train of ideas in their delivery, though not the exact application of them to the proper occurrences, is one of the greatest marvels of these divine testimonies, by which the very infirmity of the human recollection is made to act in such a way as to afford the strongest possible evidence

of the truth of the detached doctrines. They work together like the interlacings of the root of an elm or oak, on which its strength and stability depends; for these various items which form the whole testimony on the subject of these two injunctions of our Saviour, and proceed from these two incidents solely, are so interwoven with one another, and reticulated together, and at the same time are so plainly associated with the events in chief, as the great branches out of which they have originally proceeded, and with the gospel history itself, that it is quite impossible such dispersed fragments could have grown up into these narratives, except by the occurrence of some such events as are related to have happened, and out of which, as the common stock, they proceeded.

To shew this more effectually, we have drawn out the narratives of these two events from the three gospels, and attached corresponding numerals to the corresponding passages :—

PARALLEL PASSAGES, RELATING TO OUR LORD'S INJUNCTION  
RESPECTING "LITTLE CHILDREN."

MATT. xviii. 1.

*In Galilee.*

1. At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?

2. And Jesus called a little child, and set him in the midst of them,

3. And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

4. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

5. And whosoever shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me.

6. But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea.

MARK ix. 33.

*In Galilee.*

1. And he came to Capernaum: and being in the house he asked them, What was it that ye disputed among yourselves by the way? For they had disputed who should be greatest.

4. And he sat down, and called the twelve, and saith unto them, If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all.

2. And he took a child, and set him in the midst of them: and when he had taken him in his arms, he said unto them,

5. Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.

12. And John answered him, saying, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us, and we forbid him. And Jesus

LUKE ix. 46.

*In Galilee.*

1. Then there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be the greatest.

2. And Jesus, perceiving the thought of their heart, took a child and set him by him, and said,

5. Whosoever shall receive this child in my name receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me:

4. For he that is least among you, the same shall be great.

12. And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbid him, because he followed not with us. And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us.

LUKE xiv. 34.

*Ministry in Peræa.*

11. Salt is good: but

7 Woe unto the world because of offences ! for it must needs be that offences come ; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh !

8 Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast *them* from thee : it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, etc., etc.

9 Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones ; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.

10 For the Son of man is come to save that which is lost. How think ye ? if a man have a hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh it ? And if he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine that went not astray. Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.

MATT. xix. 1.

*In Peræa.*

And it came to pass, that Jesus departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judæa beyond Jordan. And great multitudes followed him.

13 Then there were brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray : and the disciples rebuked them. And Jesus said, Suffer little

said, Forbid him not, for there is no man who can do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me : For he that is not against us is on our part. For whosoever shall give you a cup of cold water in my name, because you belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward.

6. And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.

8. And if thine hand offend thee, cut it off : it were better for thee to enter into life maimed than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched : Where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. And if thy foot offend, etc., etc. And if thine eye offend, etc. etc.

11. For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt is good ; but if the salt have lost his saltiness, wherewith will ye season it ? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.

MARK x. 1.

*In Peræa.*

And he arose from thence and cometh into the coasts of Judæa by the farther side of Jordan : and the people resort unto him again.

13. And they brought young children unto him, that he should touch them : and his disciples rebuked them that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and

if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned. It is neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dunghill ; but men cast it out. He that hath ears to hear let him hear.

LUKE xv.

10. And he spake this parable unto them, saying, What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, etc., etc.

LUKE xvii. 1.

7. Then said he unto his disciples, It is impossible but that offences will come : but woe unto him through whom they come.

v. 2.

6. It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones.

LUKE xviii. 15.

13 And they brought him also infants, that he should touch them : but when his disciples saw it, they rebuked them. But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not : for of such is the kingdom of God.

3. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein.

children to be brought unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven. And he laid his hands on them, and departed.

said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven.

3. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.

19. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

In looking at these different narratives, we shall generally be able to trace the train of thought out of which the words of our Saviour came back to the memories of these chosen witnesses: and in this form of delivering the testimony, we shall see that the witness becomes eminently that of the man himself, in a way in which it is impossible any other person can be joined with him. The train of thought in St. Matthew is different from that of St. Mark; and yet in both these operations of their reflective powers they *bear witness* to the same word and commandment of our Saviour. We ask, is it possible to find any double testimony so sure as this; or whether, taking it in connexion with the promise that the Holy Spirit would bring these sayings of our Lord back to the memories of these men, there is not a proof of such a mental agency as evidences the presence of a Divine Power, in the same way that the prophetic power acted upon the dreams of men of old, and brought their mind into trains of thinking sufficient for the purpose of interpretation? Thus, if we look through the verses relating to this subject in the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew down to the fourteenth verse, we shall certainly conclude that the "thoughts of heart" under which that evangelist wrote were turned principally to the characters of "little children;"—their "precious estimation" in the sight of God, and the "danger" of misleading or offending them (in its scriptural sense). And that such was the leading topic of his reflections, not the rebuke of our Lord to his followers, for their foolish contentions as to who should be greatest, is further shown by the continuing subject of that chapter, which goes from the offence against children to the offence of brethren, its consequences and remedies; viz. the power of the church to forgive or cast out offenders, or the repentance of the offender and his forgiveness by the brethren as often as he should repent. This topic of offences and their consequences is mixed up in a different way with the account of St. Mark; and by St. Luke it is introduced unconnectedly into a

medley of doctrines in the later period of our Lord's ministry, but followed immediately and inconsequentially by the words of condemnation against those "who offend one of these little ones," as we have before noticed. It is impossible, therefore, not to conclude that the doctrine against offences was uttered on one of the occasions associated with our Lord's charge concerning "little children;" and if we cannot decide which it was, we may certainly conjecture that it belonged to that occasion, when he rebuked his disciples for attempting to withhold them from coming to him.

We may observe here that St. Matthew does not refer to the dispute of the disciples at all in introducing his first account, but states only that "*at the same time,*" as our Lord's visit to Capernaum after the transfiguration, the disciples came to Jesus and asked him, "who was greatest in the kingdom of heaven;" our Lord then called a little child to him and said, "except ye be converted and become as children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." But it is these words which St. Luke puts into our Saviour's mouth on the later occasion, when he commanded the children to be brought unto him. It is clear the words belong to the former event, for it was the proper sequent to the lesson of humiliation then taught to the disciples; by referring them to the child as their exemplar.

St. Matthew continues the former passage, by its suitable application, as an answer to the disciples' question, "Who should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" "Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, he shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven."

But he continues: "Whosoever shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me;"—a notice which appears so suitable to the command, to "receive little children, and forbid them not," that although all the three evangelists concur in assigning it to the first occasion, at the discussion of the question, "Who should be greatest,"—we think it must have been said in connexion with the later occurrence. This is more to be concluded, because both St. Matthew and St. Mark make that expression the cue to their notice on the doctrine of offences: "Whosoever receiveth one such child, receiveth me; but he that offendeth one of these little ones, it were better a mill-stone were tied round his neck, and he drowned in the depth of the sea;" while St. Luke introduces it with a perfect non-sequitur in its application: "Whosoever receiveth this child, receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth him that sent me: for he that is least among you, the same shall be greatest." It is impossible to attach any reasonable connexion in these

words with the antecedent sentences. But the point of importance is, not whether St. Luke arranged our Lord's words with a logical application of them; but, whether the words were spoken by him:—and then the illogical application is a better testimony of the fact of their delivery, in connexion with a more methodical testimony to the same effect by other witnesses, than a better arrangement would be.

From the offence to little children St. Matthew diverges, as we have said, into "offences" generally, but still bearing upon the "offences to little children" specially; for after the exhortation to cut off the offending member, that offences may not spring up, he resumes the warning not to "despise these little ones, because in heaven they do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." But then he puts their cause upon the universal love of their Redeemer, and because he came to save that which was lost (all that was lost seems to be intended); for upon this he refers briefly to the case of the householder who had the hundred sheep, who went into the wilderness to seek for the one gone astray, while he left the ninety and nine to do so; and then adds, "Even so, it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish." It is impossible not to see that all this refers to the later event and the command, "not to forbid the little children to come unto him;" and could have nothing to do with the dispute as to who should be the greatest. The parable of the lost sheep, which St. Luke gives *in extenso* in connexion with the correspondent one of the woman, who had lost a piece of money, and swept her house till she found it, was clearly part of our Lord's ministry in Peræa, as St. Luke shews it. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that for some cause St. Matthew meant to confine his account principally to the ministry in Galilee, but that he borrowed what he deemed suitable from other ministries of our Saviour, to complete his lesson from incidents arising in its own proper area.

We have extended these remarks further than we intended, but must still point out another peculiarity in the narratives of St. Mark and St. Luke, in which they differ from St. Matthew. For both these evangelists connect the subject of our Lord's injunction to receive the little children with the circumstance of St. John's rebuke to one, who was seen to cast out devils in our Lord's name, but followed him not; on which occasion our Lord's remark was, to "forbid him not; for he that is not against us is for us, and whosoever shall give a cup of cold water, because you belonged to Christ, shall in no case lose his reward." But to that St. Mark adds, as the sequence to his



remark, "and whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea." St. Luke puts this subject of John's rebuke to the stranger in the same sequence to the declaration, that whosoever receiveth a child in Christ's name receiveth Christ himself; but the charge "against offending little children" is introduced among his miscellaneous charges four chapters later, and clearly in the Peræan ministry; and in connexion with the general denunciation against offences and their perpetrators, where it appears as an isolated doctrine.

Undoubtedly the rebuke to the stranger by St. John, and our Lord's admonition on the subject of the little children, must have had some common association in the minds of the apostles, or it would not have appeared in that form in two of the evangelists. Whether that was by its happening at the same time, or by any supposed analogy in the two commands, we can hardly say: St. Mark's account seems to treat it as bearing upon the argument in hand; St. Luke, as an incident only in the occurrence related. But if it were relational to the main topic, it could only be as a further elucidation of our Lord's doctrine; that as he came to save all, and little children were included in that mercy, because of its catholic character; so the stranger who performed miracles in his name could not be cast away, because his acts proved him a believer, and so an associate in the salvation of the common Saviour.

St. Matthew does not at all notice this subject of St. John's rebuke to the stranger; by which it may certainly be inferred that it did not occur in the first incident, relating to our Lord's charge about the little children, in Galilee.

We think these diversities in the method of delivering the testimony of our Lord's doctrine, on this single point, is so instructive, as to the mode in which the "promised spirit" operated upon the "minds" and guided the testimony of the "earthly witnesses," as renders it particularly worthy the consideration of those who consider the divine testimony to supersede the human agency altogether in these sacred oracles. To us it appears the true marvel that the imperfection of the human agency is turned by the divine agency into an instrument for affording the strongest possible authentication to the facts and expressions that are testified of. It is one seed of a divine power, branching in its detached parts into the human hearts of the apostles, and establishing itself, as in an oak or a teak tree, by ramifications; which give proper stability to the material testimony that is there planted for all generations.

H. M. G.

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# SUGGESTIONS FOR A NEW INTERPRETATION OF ST. MATTHEW II. 23.

And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth : that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene (Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται).

EVERY student of Holy Scripture is familiar with the peculiar difficulties which beset the interpretation of these words, and with the unsatisfactory character of all the solutions which have as yet been given. But these difficulties are most keenly and practically felt by the Christian missionary to "*the lost sheep of the house of Israel*." He knows by experience how the various attempts made since the earliest times of Christian exegesis to solve the questions raised by this text (unsatisfactory as they are in themselves, and even in the apprehension of the ordinary Christian student), *most completely* break down when presented to the Jew. It seems evident from the expression διὰ τῶν προφητῶν that the evangelist here is alluding, not to any single prophecy of the Old Testament, but to a whole series of such prophecies which find their fulfilment in the providential application of the one epithet, Ναζωραῖος, to our Saviour, and the Jew maintains with perfect truth, that no such series of Old Testament predictions has as yet been pointed out by the Christian apologist.

Under these circumstances it will hardly be deemed superfluous or inexcusable to make a fresh attempt at the interpretation of these words, especially if, in doing so, we take into account some elements of difficulty which hitherto seem to have received too little attention. Before, however, offering our own solution we will briefly review some of the attempts which have been made by others.

I. St. Chrysostom appears to have led the way, in which he was followed by Theophylact, Euthymius, and other commentators of the Greek school, in suggesting that St. Matthew's reference here may be to books of prophecy known to himself and his contemporaries, but subsequently lost through the misfortunes, or carelessness, or even malice of their Jewish guardians." An hypothesis, which, however natural it might seem to an ancient Christian, with his strong prejudices against the Jews, would find but small favour in the eyes of any scholar of the present day.

\* Thus Euthymius Zigabenus, in *loc.* Ed. Matthæi i., p. 87, καὶ ποῖοι προφητῶν τοῦτο εἶπον, μὴ ζητήσης. οὐχ εὗρήσεις γὰρ. διότι πολλὰ τῶν προφητικῶν βιβλίων ἀπώλοντο, τὰ μὲν, ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἡμελείας τῶν ἑβραίων, τινὰ δὲ, καὶ ἐκ κακουργίας.

For, it is evident, that these ancient prophetic books supposed to have perished between the times of St. Matthew and those of St. Chrysostom, must either have once belonged to the *Jewish* canon of the Old Testament—or not. Did they ever really belong to that canon, as constituted, for instance, in the times of Ezra and Malachi, it will seem quite incredible to any one who considers the anxious care with which the synagogue has from the earliest times watched over the integrity of her Scriptures, that such books should afterwards have been lost to it : and even granting for the argument's sake such an impossibility, they would surely have been preserved in one or other of the ancient versions.

But let us suppose them not to have belonged to the Old Testament canon, but to have formed a part of that large body of Jewish writings, of very various degrees of value, some important relics of which we still retain in our Apocrypha. These writings, whatever favour they might find elsewhere, were always sternly rejected by the Hebrew-speaking Jews, especially those of Palestine, from any connexion with their books of Scripture,<sup>5</sup> and therefore it is impossible to conceive how St. Matthew, a Jewish Christian, writing a gospel for the use of Jewish Christians in the Holy Land, and probably in their own vernacular, should have thought of referring to any such writings in support of the Messianic claims of the Lord Jesus. Had he done so, however, his reference conferring something very like canonical authority on these otherwise apocryphal books would surely have led to their preservation by the Church.

The hypothesis, then, breaks down on all sides the moment it is looked into; and yet it is one which might very naturally present itself to Christian writers unexercised in this species of criticism, and unprovided with that safeguard against vague speculation on the proper limits of the Old Testament canon, which they might have derived from even a slight familiarity with Hebrew.

II. Our next hypothesis is due to one by whom that qualification was possessed in an eminent degree. St. Jerome shares with Origen an easy pre-eminence of learning among the Fathers

<sup>5</sup> Apocryphal books were not suffered to lie even in the same chest with the canonical; and were rarely found in the house of an orthodox Israelite. "He who brings other than the twenty-four books of holy writ into his house introduces a *דבר רע* *des-truction* into it," says the Talmud, speaking of apocryphal books. So a very ancient tractate in the Mishnah (Synedrin Chelek H. 1), says expressly, "He who reads *ספרי חיצוני* (*i. e.*, the books kept apart from the sacred chest, *apocryphal* books as distinguished from *ספרי חזק* *heretical* *ספרי חזק*) shall forfeit eternal life." Among books thus prohibited is reckoned even that of *Ecclesiasticus*.

of the primitive church, from being able to read the Scriptures of the Old Testament in the original tongue. This acquaintance with Hebrew comes to his aid in the interpretation of our text. In his note upon it he suggests, as one solution, that St. Matthew may allude to Isaiah xi. 1, where our Lord is spoken of as the Nezer, נֶזֶר, or sprout that should grow out of the roots of Jesse: a view which seems to have been in favour with the Nazarene Christians of St. Jerome's time, and which has been taken up and learnedly illustrated, in ours, by Professor Hengstenberg, in the second volume of his *Christology*. But against it lies the fatal objection that Is. xi. 1 being the only place in Scripture in which this word נֶזֶר is applied to our Saviour, the plural διὰ τῶν προφητῶν remains an unsolved difficulty.

III. St. Jerome in the same place suggests also another interpretation, namely, that our Lord is here regarded by the evangelist as a spiritual נָזִיר or *Nazarite*, and that he sees in the application to him of the epithet Ναζωραῖος, a fulfilment of all those prophecies in which the separateness and holiness of his character are foretold. But, while this interpretation exhibits more respect than the former to the plural διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, it labours under yet more serious difficulties of another kind. For, 1. The connexion between נָזִיר, *Nazarite*, and נֶזֶר, the root of Nazareth, and Nazarene, is imagined in contradiction to all etymology; and 2. This text, so interpreted, is surely incompatible with a subsequent passage in the same gospel in which our Lord's manner of life, as "one who came eating and drinking"—the same things as other men,—and who was reviled as the associate of publicans and sinners, is put in striking contrast with the religious separation and ascetical abstinence of his forerunner, St. John.

IV. One more interpretation remains to be noticed, which among moderns has found much favour. According to this—"He shall be called a Nazarene"—is simply equivalent to "He shall be despised and rejected of men" (Is. liii. 3), and is a fulfilment of that and other prophecies which speak of dishonour and contempt as the Messiah's portion: because Nazareth, it is alleged, (with reference to St. John i. 46), was a township in evil report among the Galileans of that day, and "*Nazarene*" consequently a term of reproach. This hypothesis appears to us to be a feeling after the truth, though very far, indeed, from satisfactorily attaining it. It rests upon assertions of which there is no adequate proof. That Nathanael with his mind full of the conviction that the prophets had assigned the Messiah's origin to Bethlehem, should ask, on hearing the Messianic character claimed for our Lord—"Can any good thing

*come out of Nazareth?"* is hardly evidence of the general ill report of that Galilean village, much less of the proverbial significance of the epithet *Nazarene*, which appears long after this to have acquired its contemptuous import in the mouth of a Jew, from association in his thoughts with the Christian "heresy."

Thus having shewn that all former solutions of the difficulties connected with this verse are unsatisfactory, we will now venture to submit our own. In seeking this we have recognized in the first place the truth of a principle, maintained also by St. Jerome, in both his interpretations—namely, that the point of comparison with the Old Testament prophecies lies here according to the mind of the Evangelist, in the literal meaning of the Hebrew epithet applied to our Saviour. It is nowhere foretold in Scripture that our Lord should come out of Nazareth, as it is that he should be born at Bethlehem, nor does St. Matthew mean to assert this, but the epithet *Ναζωραῖος* has a meaning for him which is a fulfilment of Scripture prophecies.

To justify this view of his meaning, and lay a firmer basis for our own interpretation, we must in the next place briefly direct attention to the great and religious significance (*nomen et omen*) which, as is well known, the convictions of the whole ancient world, both Jewish and Gentile, concurred in attaching to proper names. The instances in Holy Scripture of the prevalence of this feeling are innumerable. Not only do we find parents like Lamech and the prophet Isaiah carefully meditating on the significance of the names which they give to their children,<sup>c</sup> but we also find the significance of a name thus given brought up at any remarkable crisis in a man's after-history to account for his conduct under it. Thus we have Esau grimly consoling himself for the deceit practised on him by Jacob, by tracing therein the fulfilment of the meaning of his name—*Supplanter*—Is he not rightly named Jacob, for he hath *supplanted* me these two times? (Gen. xxvii. 36). So again Abigail, pleading with David for the preservation of her family, endeavours to excuse the churlish conduct of her husband, by representing it as the fulfilment of a destiny bound up in his name. "Let not my Lord, I pray thee, regard this man of Belial, even Nabal, for as his name is so is he; Nabal נָבָל is his name, and Folly נָבָל is with him" (1 Sam. xxv. 25). Indeed, it might be maintained with truth that

<sup>c</sup> The names in some of the later books of canonical Scripture are very significant of the Messianic hopes which they must have cherished who gave them to their children, e. g.—*Pedaiah*, "Whom the Lord hath redeemed," *Hasadiah*, "The Lord's grace," *Rephaiah*, "Whom the Lord shall heal," *Elihoenai*, "Mine eyes are turned to the Lord," *Elishib*, "God shall bring him back."

throughout the Old Testament mention is hardly made of any events or persons of importance, without some significance being attached to the names connected with them.

The same feeling was common to the Gentile world. Who can forget that awful chorus in the Agamemnon,<sup>d</sup> in which Æschylus plays on the ominous significance of the name *Helena*; and discerns a divine appointment in the accidental giving of that name to the cause of such wide-spread ruin!

τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ὦδ'  
 ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμῳ,  
 μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν,  
 προνοίῃσι τοῦ πεπρωμένου  
 γλώσσαν ἐν τύχῃ νέμων;  
 τὰν δορίγαμβρον  
 ἀμφινεικὴ θ' Ἑλέναν;  
 ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως  
 ἑλέναυς ἑλάνδρος ἐλέπτολις,  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀβροπήνων  
 προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσε  
 ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔρα,  
 πολὺνδροὶ τε φεράσπιδες  
 κυναγοὶ κατ' ἔχυν.

Nor was this reverence for *name* and its significance confined to individuals. Among the Romans it manifests itself in the public transactions of religion and state down to the latest times.

So Tacitus<sup>e</sup> relates that when the capitol was restored after its conflagration under Nero, the haruspices prescribed, among other singular ceremonies, that the first soldiers admitted within the sacred enclosure should be bearers of names of good omen. The same rule was followed in all enlistments of soldiers or the selection of children to minister at a sacrifice.<sup>f</sup> Names of good omen were anxiously sought for, names of evil omen rejected or postponed. Suetonius<sup>g</sup> tells a curious story about the battle of Actium which is illustrative of this feeling. Just before that decisive conflict, Octavius Cæsar met, he tells us, accidentally a man with an ass, whose names on enquiry proved to be that of the man Eutychus (Lucky), and that of the ass Nikon (Victor); so pleased was the future Augustus with the happy omen, that he subsequently caused statues of them both to be placed in the splendid temple erected in commemoration of the victory on the site of his camp. A similar anecdote was also current concerning Vespasian, and is given by Tacitus in the fourth Book of his History, c. 82. Vespasian, on his way to the Jewish war, was

<sup>d</sup> V.V. 681—694.

<sup>f</sup> *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxviii. c. 2.

<sup>e</sup> *Hist. lib. iv. c. 5.*

<sup>g</sup> *Aug. c. 96.*

praying in the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria, when he saw in a vision a well-known Egyptian, named Basilides (or king's son), coming towards him. The appearance of such a man, with a name so significant, at that juncture, was accepted by Vespasian as an omen of his future elevation to the imperial throne.

And now, after all these examples of the importance attached to proper names, and their significance by the whole ancient world, will it appear incredible or strange to any thoughtful mind that the divine mercy in sending forth the Only-Begotten as the Son of Man, should vouchsafe to indulge a feeling so deeply seated in the nature which was thus assumed; or that St. Matthew, after teaching in the first chapter of his gospel the profound significance of the Saviour's birth-name, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall *save* his people from their sins," should go on in the following chapter to attribute a like significance to the epithet acquired from the place of his education: "He shall be called a Nazarene?" The word *Ναζωραῖος*, and not the mere connexion with the township of Nazareth, apart from its name, implying something which he regarded as the fulfilment of prophecy.

It is, in fact, a *paronomasia* of a kind for which the Hebrew language is peculiarly adapted, and of which we may find many parallels, both in Scriptural and Rabbinical literature. Thus, in Micah i. 14, "The houses of Achzib shall be an achzab (*i. e.* a lie) to the kings of Israel"—the name of the town is regarded as significant of the *character* of its inhabitants; while in Zeph. ii. 4, "Ekron shall be rooted up"—עקר עקרה—and Jer. xlviii. 2, "In Heshbon they thought upon evil for her,"—השבעון חשב—*the name of each town is regarded as indicative of its destiny.*

A similar use of *paronomasia*, for the purpose of finding deeper meanings in the accidental applications of names and words, was familiar to the Jewish doctors of our Saviour's time, and was by them called לשון חכמה, or *the language of wisdom* (see Rev. xiii. 18, where the mystical number of the beast is so designated). Of this we have frequent examples in the Talmud, but will here content ourselves with adducing one which forms an interesting parallel to what we conceive to be St. Matthew's meaning in our text. The question is asked of a pious Rabbi—"Why was this man called of Gimzo?" (Gimzo being a township in the tribe of Judah, mentioned in 2 Chron. xxviii. 18), and the answer is, "Because in the severest trials of his life such was his faith in God that he never murmured, but exclaimed as each stroke fell upon him, 'gam-zô le-tôbah,'—*this also* is for good; and that is the true meaning of his name, 'Gimzo.'"

It remains now to inquire, with the light thus gained, what meaning St. Matthew may have attributed to the word *Ναζωπαῖος*, which in its application to our Lord shall also mark the fulfilment of a body of prophecies.

This meaning will not be far to seek.

The *nomen gentile*, derived from Nazareth, has two forms in the New Testament, (a) *Ναζαρηνός*, as in Mark x. 47, and elsewhere, and (β) *Ναζωπαῖος* as here. The first is correctly and analogously formed; the second presents an apparent anomaly in the substitution of ω for α, which has not, so far as we know, been hitherto remarked on or accounted for. The name of the town may have been in Hebrew either נָצְרָה נָצְרָה or נָצְרָה and נָצְרָה, with suffixes might be either נָצְרָה, נָצְרָה or נָצְרָה, but no form will account for the introduction of the ω in *Ναζωπαῖος*. It evidently represents a dialectical peculiarity, the well-known and habitual Aramaic substitution of ô for â in Hebrew words and names, especially in the open syllable; thus the Hebrew Adâm becomes in Syriac Odôm, Abraham becomes Abrohom, Naphtâli, Naph-tôli, etc.;—an observation which sends us at once to the Aramaean vernacular, which both St. Matthew and his first readers spoke for the solution of the present difficulty; the meaning which the Evangelist attributes here to the word *Ναζωπαῖος*. Such meaning readily presents itself in a derivative from the Aramaic word נָצַר=Hebrew נָצַר=pain or suffering. The Pael form of the verb signifies *to inflict pain or suffering*, and the adjective formed regularly therefrom (after the analogy of the proper name *Naphtali*, from נָפֶטֶל), would be נָצַרִי—*“suffering”* or *“afflicted.”* This again would be exactly represented for Greek ears by the word *ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ*, and consequently we take St. Matthew’s meaning here to be: *“Joseph came and dwelt at Nazareth, that the concurrent witness of all the prophets concerning Christ might be fulfilled, according to which he should be called Nazoraios, i. e., ΝΑΖΩΡΙ, an ‘afflicted’ one, a ‘sufferer,’”*—this very character of suffering and affliction being that most insisted on by our Lord himself and His earliest followers, especially in opposition to popular expectations of a different kind, as the one note attached to His divine mission in every portion of the prophetic testimony.

Thus we have, besides the remarkable utterance—St. Luke xxiv. 25—27, *“O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things,”* etc.; the yet sterner rebuke to Peter, in the sixteenth chapter of this Gospel, though only venturing to represent the popular belief in the form of an affectionate remonstrance: *“Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou savourest not the things which*



*be of God,"* (i.e., the things which God has decreed and foretold concerning Me, and which consequently thou oughtest to have known and acquiesced in), "*but the things which be of men*" (the vain and self-indulgent expectations of a faithless and hypocritical time.)

So again, in the accounts of the Transfiguration, we have the prospect of the Saviour's sufferings connected by Himself with "*what is written*" and with the appearance of the two great prophetic representatives of the old economy, who also "*spake of His decease which he should accomplish in Jerusalem.*"

So likewise, not to multiply testimonies on a point so plain, see for the substance of the apostolic teaching after our Lord's ascension, Acts iii. 17, 18, where St. Peter sums up with, "*Now brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers; but those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.*" And again, Acts xxvi. 22, where we find St. Paul taking the same view of what formed the centre of gravity, so to speak, of the whole prophetic witness—"Having therefore obtained help from God, I continue unto this day witnessing unto small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come; that Christ should suffer," etc.

All this fully justifies the expression of St. Matthew, according to the interpretation which we have ventured to give of it: and that interpretation will open, we believe, to the thoughtful student, a further insight into the deeper workings of the great and tender Spirit to whom, under Divine Inspiration, the Church is indebted for her first Gospel.

To see this, let us look back for one moment on the details of St. Matthew's second chapter in the light which this interpretation of its closing sentence casts upon them. Have we not there the great evangelist in whose mind the thought of royal dignity even by human birthright was the first connected with that of the Saviour, yet forcing himself, so to speak, to reckon up one by one the earliest links of that most grievous chain of sufferings and persecutions in which the whole earthly existence of his Lord was bound? The suspicion of Herod, the flight from Bethlehem, the murder of the innocents, the exile in Egypt, are now finally succeeded by a forced retreat to an obscure village in Galilee; a place of abode which in itself might ill beseem the Heir of David, which at any rate was little in accordance with the wishes of His parents or the expectations of His people, and which should prove hereafter so great a hindrance to the reception of His Messianic claims.

With such thoughts in his mind St. Matthew might well regard the mere abode at such a place as Nazareth as a calamity in itself, and so be divinely led to seek a deeper meaning in the humble patronymic thus conferred upon the Saviour; discerning in the very name of *Nazarene* an indication of the character which the whole prophetic witness attached to Him—no less indeed than an early putting to the infant lips of the Lord Jesus of that bitter cup of suffering and dishonour which hereafter as the thorn-crowned King of Sorrows He should drain to its dregs upon the Cross.



#### ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST. JOHN.—Rev. ix.

(Continued from No. XVI., p. 404.)

The sounding of the fifth trumpet is thus described:—"And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth; and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit." This last phrase ought to have been rendered "the key of the pit of the abyss."

The principle of unity of interpretation seems to require that we should assign to this falling star a meaning similar to that given to the falling star mentioned in the last chapter, whose name was "Wormwood." It will be observed, however, that this second star is much less conspicuous than the first, which is described as "a great star burning like a lamp," indicating that he was a teacher who had acquired great eminence, and who shone conspicuously in the spiritual and intellectual firmament. This second star, again, is not distinguished by any peculiarities; and we may therefore conclude, that, while he was a teacher, occupying a position of influence and power, yet he was not peculiarly pre-eminent above his fellows.

The phrase—"and to him was given the key of the pit of the abyss," is obviously metaphorical. It is plainly not a physical but a moral abyss that is here meant: while the key represents the moral means by which that abyss is laid open. There is, in this expression, an obvious allusion by contrast, to what our Saviour said to Peter—"And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." By that metaphor was meant the committing to Peter the teaching of those doctrines which were to be the means of inducing men to become loyal subjects of their heavenly king. In like manner, by the reverse metaphor,

we may understand that to the individual represented by the falling star, was given permission to teach such false and debasing doctrines as should lay open the moral abyss of human corruption and depravity. This teacher was thus evidently an apostate from the truth, for at one time he shone as a star in the spiritual firmament. But he falls from that high position, and becomes a teacher, not only of error like his predecessor "Wormwood," but of such error as naturally tends to stir up and bring into violent action all that is base and foul in human character—all that is "earthly, sensual, devilish."

Although a single individual appears to be thus indicated by this angel, yet the parallel case of Peter warrants our regarding him as a type of a class of teachers. For though Christ addressed Peter individually in saying "unto thee I commit the keys of the kingdom of heaven," yet Peter was, in that instance, the representative of every true minister of Christ, who should adopt the noble confession which he had made.

In like manner, the giving of the key of the abyss to the angel may import a permission granted to a class of teachers to inculcate doctrines calculated to lay open the depths of moral depravity, and thence to elicit all that is deceptive and vile.

The first effects of the opening of the pit of the abyss are thus described—verse 2nd—"And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit." What was thus opened being a moral abyss, the smoke which issued from it must of course be *moral* smoke, the smoke of deception, producing the darkness of ignorance, prejudice, and superstition. Its being compared to "the smoke of a great furnace" is evidently designed to portray the greatness and grossness of the deception thus practised, while the darkening of the sun and the air denotes the diffusive character of this delusion, its tendency to obscure the sun of divine truth, and to corrupt that spiritual element which maintains the principle of spiritual life in the soul of man.

We are next informed of the results which followed the diffusion of this moral smoke, verses 3, 4, 5. "And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power: and it was commanded them, that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree, but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads. And to them it was given, that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months; and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man." The

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pression may be meant those who remained wilfully ignorant of God, of whom it might be said, "God is not in all their thoughts." This separation of the ungodly, and the obvious contradistinction implied, appears to indicate more clearly that by the trees and green things were meant those of an opposite character—those who had either openly become the servants of the living God, or who were at least seeking after him.

The circumstance that the locusts were empowered to injure only the ungodly among mankind, confirms the view that these locusts mean moral disorders. This idea is still farther corroborated by their being commissioned not to kill the ungodly, but to torment them, and by their torment being described as like that of a scorpion when he stingeth a man. It is added, (verse 6th), "And in those days men shall seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, but death shall flee from them;" thus depicting in strong colours a prolonged life of misery and wretchedness, such as might be expected to arise from the prevalence of profligacy and vice.

Our translators appear to have erred in omitting to render the Greek article before "men," in the verse last above quoted. "And in those days *the* men shall seek death," etc., thus limiting the expression to the men before mentioned, who had not the seal of God in their foreheads, and who alone were to be tormented by these moral locusts. It is only such that would become weary of life and desire to die, not those represented by the grass, the verdure, and the trees growing in the garden of God, upon whom the locusts were to have no power, and who being exempt from torment, would have no reason to long for death.

If our conclusion be correct, that these locusts are moral disorders, then the angel, by the blast of whose trumpet this visitation upon human society was called forth, in order to arrest the progress of Christianity, may be regarded as an impersonation of the spirit of self-indulgence, which, when harboured in the mind, induces men to abandon all self-control, and give themselves up to the evil impulses of their nature.

We have next given us a more particular description of these locusts, verses 7, 8, 9. "And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were, as it were, crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions. And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron, and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle."

The first clause of this description is badly rendered; for

the word "shapes" conveys an erroneous idea, namely, that the form of each individual locust resembled that of a war-horse. But such is not the idea conveyed by the original. There is, doubtless, a sort of fanciful resemblance between a natural locust and a horse, but it consists chiefly in the form of the head. This main feature of resemblance, however, was absent in these symbolical locusts; for they had the heads and faces of men and the hair of women, so that all natural likeness of each individual locust to a horse was thus entirely removed. The proper rendering of the passage is, "and the *likenesses* of the locusts are like horses arrayed unto battle;" that is, the vast multitude of the locust resembled in several particulars troops of cavalry arrayed for battle. This comparison appears, at first sight, to countenance the notion, that these locusts actually symbolize armies of cavalry; but the probability thence arising is not sufficiently strong to overturn the presumption against that supposition, flowing from the considerations already suggested. To these may be added others arising out of a comparison of this emblem with that which immediately follows, and in which horses and their riders are distinctly mentioned, although a compound form is given to the horses. It will be particularly noticed, that in the succeeding emblem, the breastplate is assigned to the riders; whereas in the emblem before us, the breastplate is assigned to the locusts themselves, and there is no indication whatever of any riders. We must, therefore, abandon the idea of a physical likeness to troops of horse, and resort to a metaphysical resemblance which, although excluded by the erroneous translation "shapes," is yet open to us, by adopting the true translation "likenesses," seeing the Greek word is applicable equally to a metaphysical as to a physical resemblance.

Regarding the locusts, then, as emblems of moral disorders, affecting only those men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads, they may be considered as resembling horses prepared for battle in the following particulars. They present a formidable array against the progress of truth and righteousness, and are prepared to contest every inch of ground with these their enemies. They are impetuous and rapid in their advance; they are urged forward by multitudes of men, and they spread desolation around them.

These locusts had on their heads "as it were crowns like gold." The word here used means, not the kingly crown or diadem, but the victor's crown or chaplet, and is an emblem of reward. These chaplets, it will be observed, were not *real* crowns, they were only a resemblance of such. Neither were

they of true gold, they were only *like* gold, being really mere tinsel.

This symbolization beautifully represents the nature of the rewards with which vicious indulgences are crowned. They outwardly resemble those purer enjoyments which are the rewards of virtue; but they are false delights, neither real nor lasting.

It is further said of these locusts, that "their faces were like those of men, and their hair as the hair of women." The faces like men are a further proof of the moral or metaphysical nature of this emblem. The mind, or reasoning power of man, is engaged in the perpetration and propagation of the moral disorders which the locusts symbolize. Their hair being like that of women, again, appears to denote the debilitating and enervating effects of vicious indulgences, which render men effeminate, and reduce their strength to that of women, hair being a very common symbol for strength. It is evidently not mere length of hair that is here meant, but that fineness of fibre which distinguishes the hair of women from that of men, and which when found in a man is a symptom of constitutional weakness. The teeth of the locusts are described as being like those of lions. This feature appears to portray the rapacious and insatiable nature of vicious habits in general; the more they are indulged they more indulgence they demand, while they devour and waste the substance of those over whom they acquire control.

It is next affirmed of the locusts, that they had breastplates, as it were, breastplates of iron. It will be observed, that these were not real breastplates of iron, but only somewhat that might be likened to such. These breastplates are an apt symbol of that hardening of the hearts and affections of men, which is produced by profligacy and vice, steeling their breasts against the arrows of conviction, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. The statement that "the sound of their wings was like the sound of chariots of many horses rushing to battle," appears to denote not only the speed with which moral disorders invade society, but also the noise, riot, and confusion which attend the rapid progress of vice and profligacy through all ranks of the community.

The locusts are farther said to have had tails like scorpions, and to have had stings in their tails. By the tails may be understood the consequences of vice and profligacy, and by the stings the pangs of remorse, the misery and wretchedness, bodily and mental, which, sooner or later, follow in the train of vicious courses. This is evidently the most prominent feature in the emblem, for it is thrice introduced into the description.

It is first said, that unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power—that is to sting with their tails. It is next affirmed that they were not to kill, but to torment, and that their torment was to be like that of a scorpion when he striketh a man; but that their power of torture was to be confined to the ungodly; and it is now reiterated that they had tails like scorpions, and there were stings in their tails. This accumulation of expressions is evidently designed to shadow forth that it should be by their consequences that these moral locusts should afflict the ungodly. They had on their heads a resemblance of gilded chaplets, to denote the falseness and perishability of those enjoyments which attend the outset of a vicious career; but the reiteration, with respect to the scorpion's tail and its sting, seems designed to shew the certainty of the anguish which attends its close.

It is added, "and their power was to torment *the men* (that is the men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads) five months." This period is obviously fixed with reference to the lifetime of the natural locust, which is just five months—a circumstance permitting two views to be taken of the meaning of this expression. First, as the locust inflicts injury during the whole five months of its existence, the statement, that these moral locusts had power to injure five months, may mean simply that they had power to injure during the *whole period* of their existence, without intending to define that period by a specific limit of duration. Or, secondly, we may suppose the expression designed distinctly to define the period during which these moral locusts should prevail. The great objection to this latter view is, that the period of five months appears too short. There is an extreme unlikelihood that the prevalence of moral disorders for so brief a period as five months should be thus made the subject of so special a prophecy; neither is it probable that in so short a space these moral disorders should spread themselves through society to so great an extent as we have here indicated, and be followed by consequences so afflicting to the ungodly.

If the phrase have a chronological import, therefore, it seems more likely to be designed to indicate a longer period—a day being given for a year. Hence, by assigning thirty days to each of the five months, we should have, upon this principle, a period of one hundred and fifty years. Were such a view to be adopted, however, it would have to be borne in mind that, in calculating the years by this method, we must assign only three hundred and sixty days to each year, as will be rendered evident by the specifications of similar periods introduced in the eleventh



and twelfth chapters, to which more particular attention will be given in their proper place. Calculating on this principle, then, the five months would indicate a period of 150 times 360 days, or 54,000 natural days, equal to about 148 solar years.

The great objection to the application of this principle in the present instance is, that it wholly overturns the evident analogy between the five months' duration of the symbolical locusts and the five months' natural lifetime of the physical locust. For there appears to be an extreme improbability that the natural lifetime of the locust should be employed to indicate the duration of the moral locusts for so long a period as one hundred and fifty prophetic, or one hundred and forty-eight solar years.

Of the two views, therefore, the preference appears to be due to the first; namely, that the natural lifetime of the locust is employed to designate the *whole period* of the endurance of the moral disorders represented by these emblematical locusts, but without being designed to fix a precise limit to the continuance of the latter. We may, accordingly, understand the expression to mean simply, that during the whole time these moral disorders should prevail, they should, by their consequences, entail upon the men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads miseries which might well be compared to the sting of a scorpion.

The next statement of the Apostle with respect to these locusts, when accurately rendered, is as follows:—"And they had over them a king—the angel of the abyss—his name in Hebrew '*Abaddon*,' and in Greek he has a name '*Apollyon*.'" The meaning of both of these names is "the Destroyer," and its being given both in Hebrew and in Greek appears to be for the purpose of intimating that this angel has proved a destroyer alike to Jew and Gentile.

This angel of the abyss is not to be confounded with the fallen star, to which was given the key of the pit of the abyss. Had it been intended to intimate that the name of this fallen star was Apollyon, the same form of expression would have been employed as in the former instance, where it is said, "And the name of the star was Worm-wood." The angel here mentioned evidently belongs to the abyss, and emanated from it amid the smoke, as leader or king over the locusts. Two views may be taken with respect to this angel, seeing the abyss is not a physical, but a spiritual depth—the abyss of moral corruption and depravity, this angel might be regarded as a personification of the principle of moral evil itself; and certainly no name could be fitter for that principle than "*the Destroyer*," for it has wrought the destruction of a large portion not only of the

human race, but of the intelligent creatures of God that existed prior to man. That moral, and not physical, destruction is what is intimated in the name "Destroyer," is evident from the circumstance, that the power of the symbolical locusts was not to kill, but merely, by their consequences, to inflict a scorpion-like sting upon the ungodly. The principle of moral evil might very appropriately be termed the king over these metaphysical locusts, since that principle reigns in every species of moral disorder.

Another view, however, may be taken of this destroying angel. He may be regarded as a personification of the chief of those moral disorders which are symbolized by the locusts. What these disorders were we find explained at the end of the chapter, after the infliction upon the ungodly of the punishment which these immoralities entailed. For seeing it is stated that the men repented not of their wickedness, after the next plague, we are free to conclude that, before its infliction, they were under the influence of the same moral disorders. Now, it will be seen that the first-mentioned among these, and the most prominent, is idolatry—a sin which lies at the root of all human debasement and immorality; insomuch that it is styled "the abomination that maketh desolate"—an appellation which very nearly corresponds to the name "Destroyer." Regarding the enumeration at the end of the chapter, then, as a specification of those moral disorders which are symbolized by the locusts, there seems to be no small probability that by their king is meant the chief disorder—that which lies at the root of all the others,—namely, the turning aside of the reverence and affections of man from the one true God to other objects of worship—to demons or departed spirits, and to idols formed by their own hands. This sin it was that wrought the destruction of the ancient Hebrews, and which was, at the time indicated in the vision, even in spite of the light of Christianity, working the destruction of the Greeks. It might well be styled the angel of the abyss; for it is the natural offspring of the debasement and depravity in which the mind of man is found in its natural state.

The probabilities attached to these two views are pretty nearly balanced; nor does it appear to be of much moment which of them we adopt—whether we regard the king of the locusts as being a personification of the principle of moral evil itself, or merely of the chief of those moral disorders which the locusts symbolize.

It will thus be perceived, that in every, the minutest particular, the symbolization answers to the idea of these locusts

being emblems of moral disorders; whereas the supposition that they represent invading armies, is met by difficulties at every step. First, as regards their origin, it is difficult to imagine armed hosts issuing from the smoke of deception emitted from the abyss of moral depravity. Then we must suppose these armed hosts to overrun the invaded territory without doing any injury to the produce of the soil or killing any of the inhabitants. We must regard the victories attending the outset of their career to be merely a semblance of success, and the advantages they gain to be fallacious, as symbolized by what the apostle saw on the heads of the locusts, being only as it were victors' chaplets, and only like gold; that, while the individual soldiers were like men in the face, yet they were really effeminate as symbolized by the female hair; that nevertheless they were hard-hearted, as typified by the semblance of breastplates like iron; that they made much noise and bustle in their progress, as represented by the sound of the locusts' wings, described as resembling that of war chariots; but that they did no real damage till they came to retreat—that then, indeed, they began to inflict injury, as typified by the stings in their tails. That in perpetrating these acts of cruelty, however, they exercised such nice discrimination as to injure only those men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads; but that on these they inflicted such torture as could be likened to nothing but the sting of a scorpion; and lastly, we must suppose this retreat, or at least the consequences of the invasion, to continue either for five literal months, or for one hundred and fifty prophetic years, and to be all the while strictly confined in their painful effects to the ungodly of the land.

Such is the train of absurdities in which we should be involved were we to cling to the supposition that these locusts symbolize invading armies. Nor would the absurdity be diminished by modifying our inferences so far as to suppose what John calls "as it were chaplets like gold" to be merely peculiar head-dresses worn by the soldiery; that their hair was like woman's merely because it was long; and that what the apostle saw upon the breasts of the locusts, and describes as being as it were "breastplates of iron," really represented actual breastplates of that metal, worn by the troops. All these absurdities and puerilities are avoided by regarding the locusts as representing moral disorders invading the ungodly portions of society. The physical supposition renders the symbolization grotesque, the metaphysical preserves it sublime.

Nor must it be forgotten that, according to the view we have taken at the outset of this series of visions, the whole of

the emblems, accompanying the blasts of the trumpets, are to be viewed as different manifestations of the spirit of opposition to the progress of pure Christianity, and of the adversaries against which it would have to contend. Now it is evident from the tenor of the proclamation made at the end of the first four trumpet visions, that the three remaining blasts were to call forth more aggravated forms of opposition to the progress of Christianity than those preceding; and surely the prevalence among large masses of mankind of idolatry, debauchery, and crime, is a much more formidable obstacle to the advancement of divine truth in the world, than would be the incursion of many a martial host. The tendency of the latter would rather be the other way; because the misfortunes attending a foreign invasion might be expected to lead men to reflect on their errors and seek after God; whereas the prevalence of vice, by debasing the mind, unfits it for the reception of divine truth, alienates the affections from the one true God, and drives men to make superstitious and vain appeals to false mediators, with a view to avert from them that divine wrath which they are conscious of having provoked.

It will be observed, moreover, how perfectly natural is the sequence of events, according to the view that the locusts mean moral disorders. We have first the infusion of heresy into the doctrines of the Church, embittering the fountains and springs of knowledge. Consequent thereon we have a partial eclipse of the sun of Christianity, and the attendant loss of light by a large portion of the visible Church, its teachers and the world at large; while consequent on this last event again we find some of its teachers falling away entirely from the heavenly doctrine, and propagating opinions tending to open up the depths of depravity and corruption whence emanates a smoke of deception that obscures the sun of Christianity from the eyes of those who have not the seal of God on their foreheads—who have not their understandings impressed with the seal of divine truth. These, thereupon, become the victims of moral disorders, which pervade a large portion of human society, and which, after affording to those who are infected by them a transient gleam of apparent, but fallacious enjoyment, leave them wretched and miserable, exhausted of their energies, and stung by remorse.

The apostle concludes his description of this vision with these words (ver. 12)—“One woe is past, and behold there come two more woes hereafter.” As thus rendered, this asseveration appears to indicate that the woe which had been thus scenically represented had entirely passed away before the com-

mencement of that which was to follow the blast of the sixth trumpet; and this inference would favour the idea, that the five months are intended to assign a specific duration to the first woe. On consulting the original, however, it will be found that this is far from being a certain conclusion; for, while the Greek verb here employed does frequently involve the idea of departure, it as often means either going or coming forth, much in the same sense as we use the verb *issue*. For example, this same verb is employed in the latter sense, in the following, among other passages:—"And his fame *went* throughout all Syria," Matt. iv. 24. "Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou *goest*," Matt. viii. 19. "*Go* not into the way of the Gentiles," Matt. x. 5. "Jesus *went* unto them walking on the sea," Matt. xiv. 25. "And he *goeth* up into the mountain, and called unto him whom he would, and they *came* unto him." Mark iii. 13. In these and numerous other passages the meaning of the verb is obviously "to go or come forth." We may therefore with perfect propriety read in the passage before us—"One woe has issued forth, lo, there come yet two woes after these things."

In all similar cases the interpretation is to be ascertained by the context, which determines the sense in which the verb is used. In the present instance, if we are right in interpreting the locusts to mean moral disorders—those which are specified in detail at the end of this chapter—it is evident from the statement that these continued to prevail after the plague which follows the blast of the sixth trumpet; that they had not passed away before the arrival of the succeeding woes; and we must therefore adopt the interpretation, "One woe has gone forth." This circumstance tends strongly to confirm the view, that the five months are not designed to fix a chronological limit to the duration of this woe; but that being the natural lifetime of the physical locusts, they are used metaphorically to denote the whole period of the continuance of the moral locusts, whatever that might be, but without limiting its duration by any specific interval of time.

We are thus left at liberty to regard the moral disorders typified by the locusts, not as mere ephemeral opponents to the progress of Christianity, but as enduring for an indefinite period. We may conclude that, once having gained a footing in society, notwithstanding the presence of Christianity, they shall continue to a certain extent to maintain their ground. For, be it observed, the great condemnation is not so much the actual prevalence of these moral disorders, as their making their appearance among men who might have enjoyed the sunlight of

Christianity, had they chosen to bask in its genial beams, but who loved the darkness rather than the light, their deeds being evil.

Contemplating the nature of this first woe, then, it appears to be rather an accumulation of guilt on the part of the earth-dwellers—the men who had not the seal of God on their foreheads, against whom the woes were denounced, than merely a punishment inflicted on them; but it is called a woe, because it will entail upon them not only the scorpion-like sting of remorse, but also some signal outward mark of the divine displeasure. Such accordingly we appear to have foreshadowed in the opening vision which followed the blast of the next trumpet.

The circumstance attending the blast of the sixth angel are thus described by the apostle (ver. 13, 14)—“And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.”

This voice proceeding from the golden altar is obviously designed to convey the idea, that the four angels were to be loosed by direct divine command. There is always a great distinction to be drawn between what God commands and what he merely permits; though in both cases he has wise ends in view. He may suffer, but he never commands the doing of *moral* evil; yet he may, for the attainment of moral good, directly command the infliction of *physical* evil. This distinction may be well applied to the case before us. The giving of the key of the pit of the abyss to the fallen star implies only permission. This false teacher was to be allowed to lay open the abyss of moral corruption, and thus to suffer moral disorders to issue thence upon those who obstinately refused to receive the seal of God on their foreheads—that is, to allow their understandings to be impressed with divine truth. He is not divinely commanded to open the abyss, but is merely furnished with the means of doing so; and we are left to conjecture by whom the means are supplied. The result being deception and wickedness, the act could not be directly commanded by God: “for God is untemptable by evils, neither tempteth he any man,” James i. 13.

In the case of the loosing the four angels, mentioned in the passage before us, on the other hand, we have it clearly indicated that their release from restraint was designed to effect a great moral good—namely, to lead the men who had not the seal of God on their foreheads, to repent of their wickedness. For this much may be gathered from the statement that, with

respect to a large proportion of them, these plagues failed in inducing them to repent. Hence we ought to regard these four angels as symbolizing, not *moral* evils, but four *physical* calamities, brought upon the men who had not the seal of God on their foreheads for the purpose of leading them to repentance. It is therefore with perfect propriety that we regard the command to remove those restraints by which these four visitations were withheld, as emanating directly from the Deity.

The word of command is said to proceed from the four horns of the golden altar before God. This altar is obviously the same as that mentioned in the preceding chapter, on which the prayers of the saints were offered with much incense. It is of course not a real altar, but a mere symbol, and its introduction in this place seems intended to imply that the command issuing from it was an answer to those prayers of the saints which were previously laid upon it. The command being said to issue from the four horns appears to indicate that the impending physical calamities were to come from four different quarters of the earth. The reason of the command being addressed to the sixth trumpet angel, and what that angel symbolizes, will be better understood after we shall have ascertained the precise meaning of the command itself; and for this latter purpose the first point to be determined is the sense in which we are to understand "the great river Euphrates." Now we have no more reason to take this name in its literal sense, as signifying the great river of Mesopotamia, than we have to understand the horses issuing from it in a literal sense as compound animals, having the body of a horse, the head of a lion, and for their tails serpents with heads. This compound image being so evidently an emblem, the reasonable conclusion is that the whole of the language here employed ought to be taken in a purely metaphorical or metaphysical sense.

To understand what is meant metaphysically by "the great river Euphrates," however, it is necessary to anticipate a little, for we find the same phrase recurring in a subsequent part of the prophecy in such a connexion as to throw great light on its meaning; and since the principle of unity of interpretation requires that the same signification should be attached to the phrase in both parts of the prophecy, we must avail ourselves of the farther light afterwards thrown upon it, in order to determine its signification here. In the sixteenth chapter where the phrase again appears, it is obviously used in connection with another mystic phrase "the great city, Babylon," a connexion evidently based on the circumstance that the ancient city Babylon was situated on the Euphrates.

Now it will be clearly demonstrated in the sequel that the phrase "great city Babylon" is a *mystery*—that is, it is used in a mystic or metaphysical sense, that it does not mean any real city whatever, but is a metaphorical appellation for the entire constituent body of the enemies of Christianity—both those who directly oppose or retard its progress, and those who adulterate its pure and spiritual doctrine—the whole of that body, in short, who are in the chapter before us, called the men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads. This point, which will be afterwards proved, must be here in the meantime assumed.

If the phrase "great city Babylon," then, be thus used in a mystic sense, the presumption becomes very strong that the phrase "great river Euphrates" is used in a similar mystic sense, to denote something standing to the metaphysical Babylon in a relation similar to that in which the physical Euphrates stood to the physical Babylon. Now, the Euphrates was to Babylon both its boundary and its chief defence, insomuch that it was only by diverting this river from its natural channel that the city could be taken.

In like manner the metaphysical Euphrates may be regarded as representing not only the territorial boundaries of the enemies of Christianity, but also their means of defence, and the institutions political or ecclesiastical behind which they entrench themselves, and under cover of which they maintain their abuses, indulge their vices, and perpetrate their crimes. In the passage before us the Euphrates appears to designate both the territorial boundary and the means, political and military, by which the nations living beyond that limit were restrained from invasion. By the loosing of the four angels, then, we ought to understand, not any direct action upon that which is symbolized by the angels themselves, but the loosing of the social bonds, the weakening of the powers of government, and the relaxation of military discipline in the community, mainly composed of the men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads—circumstances all tending to destroy their means of defence, and to tempt the bordering warlike nations to venture upon a hostile incursion.

If this view be adopted, then the angel who blew the sixth trumpet, and to whom the command to loose the four angels is addressed, may be regarded as personifying the spirit or principle of self-deception which lulls men into indolent and false security, relaxing their energies, and rendering them utterly heedless of those judgments which their sins had provoked. This is one of the most formidable of the forms assumed by the spirit



of opposition to Christianity, because it deprives men of all sense of their need of a Saviour, and renders them indifferent to all considerations, except those connected with the business or pleasures of the present life. This spirit of self-delusion is the almost constant follower of the spirit of self-indulgence, by which men are led into immoral courses, and it strongly tends to confirm them in their vicious habits.

The view here taken renders the symbolization perfectly natural. The angel of self-deception is commissioned to loose the bonds of social order among the men who have not the seal of God on their foreheads, to deprive them of their energies, to lull them into a false security, and render them neglectful of their means of defence, and of the discipline necessary to military and political organization. Thus the restraints are removed from the warlike tribes hovering on the borders of their territories, who are thus tempted by the spectacle of luxury and negligent security to make hostile invasions.

The four angels here mentioned must not be confounded with the four angels introduced at the beginning of the seventh chapter. They have no characteristics in common, except that of their number being four. The angels mentioned in the seventh chapter were restraining powers; those here mentioned are themselves held under restraint. The four restraining angels keep in check the four winds, but of these last no mention is here made. The four restrained angels are themselves the messengers of judgments that are about to be let loose upon the unsealed, and these messengers are presently explained to mean martial hosts, whereas the winds were obvious emblems of a dispersive power designed to empty the land of its contents.

The next verse of the context is not very happily translated in the authorized version; it should be rendered thus—"And the four angels were loosed which were prepared against the hour, and day, and month, and year, to slay the third part of the men." If we compare this form of expression with that which is previously employed in relation to the locusts of which it is said, that their power was to hurt men five months, and also with the subsequent expression, in chapter 11th, verse 2nd, where it is said of the Gentiles, that they shall trample under foot the holy city forty-two months, the turn of expression will be seen to be so different, as to lead to the conclusion that by "the hour, day, month, and year" is meant not the period during which these four angels were to exert their power, but a particular time, or succession of times, at which they were to begin to exert their powers. According to this view, the expression may either mean generally, that these four angels were prepared

against some particular and precise period previously determined in the divine councils ; the very hour, day, month, and year when they were to be let loose having been exactly fixed :—or, seeing there are four periods corresponding to the four angels, it may be inferred, that the first angel was prepared against the hour, the second against the day, the third against the month, and the fourth against the year. If it shall hereafter appear more probable that these four angels were prepared to act, not simultaneously, but in succession, this latter interpretation would present more likelihood than the former. According to this view, the expression might indicate four intervals of time, each longer than the preceding, but not standing to one another in the precise relations of hour, day, month, and year, these terms being employed in an indefinite sense, merely to indicate an increasing series of intervals. Thus the hour may denote that the first angel was prepared to act immediately on the issuing of the command to loosen the four angels ; the second at a short interval after the first ; the third at a somewhat longer interval after the second ; and the fourth at a still longer interval after the third ; the definite terms “ hour, day, month, and year,” being used merely to denote this increasing rate, but not to determine the precise relations of the intervals to each other.

Were the latter notion involved, however, two views might be taken, namely, either that the first angel was to exert his power immediately on the command being issued, the second a year after the first, the third thirty years after the second, and the fourth three hundred and sixty years after the third ; or that the second, third, and fourth angels were to exert their power respectively at intervals of one, thirty, and three hundred and sixty years from the commencement of the series. The difference between these two modes of reckoning would be only trifling.

There is yet another mode of estimating these periods, supposing them to indicate definite times, namely, that the power of the second angel was to endure either twelve or twenty-four times longer than that of the first ; the power of the third thirty times longer than that of the second ; and the power of the fourth three hundred and sixty times longer than that of the third. This view, however, appears less probable ; for we have nothing to indicate the duration of the power of the first angel, so as to determine the rest ; and supposing it to be only one year, it would extend the period of this vision beyond the limits of probability. The extreme inequality of the periods, “ hour, day, month, and year,” moreover, throws a strong shade of doubt over the view, that these express the precise relations of

four successive epochs, and rather favours the idea of their being used in an indefinite sense to express increasing periods, without defining their rate of increase. We shall recur to this point, however, with greater advantage, after we shall have proceeded a little farther in our analysis.

It is said, that these four angels "were prepared to slay a third part of *the* men." Our translators have decidedly erred, in omitting the definite article before men; for it is quite clear from the context, that the men here referred to, are those specially mentioned in the preceding vision as "the men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads," and who alone were attacked by these moral disorders symbolized by the locusts. They only were the guilty parties on whom the impending judgments were about to fall, and it was to slay one-third of these unsealed ones that the four angels were prepared. The definite term "one-third" is probably here used in an indefinite sense, to mean a considerable proportion. It is scarcely admissible to regard the phrase "third part," as here indicating any territorial limit; for had that been the meaning, the phrase would most likely have been "the men in one-third of the land," following the analogy of the previous emblems, as, for instance, in the case of the rider on the pale horse and his follower, of whom it is affirmed, that power was given them over the fourth part of the land, to slay with sword, etc. But in the passage before us it is distinctly stated to be "one-third part of the men," (that is of the unsealed), who are to be slain without reference to any territorial limit whatever. The precise meaning of this phrase, "to slay a third part of the men," will however be more advantageously examined in the sequel.

The apostle proceeds to say, verse 16, "And the number of the army of horsemen was two hundred thousand thousand, and I heard the number of them." The translation "horsemen" is scarcely warranted; the usual mode of rendering the term here employed being "cavalry horses." That this ought to be the translation, appears more probable from the circumstance, that it is of the horses that the most particular description is afterwards given. The best translation would perhaps be, "And the number of the armies of horse, or cavalry, was two hundred millions," a mode of expression which embraces both horses and riders. The number here stated is certainly enormous. It is too specific to be employed in an indefinite sense, merely to signify a very great number. Had such been the intention, the expression would probably have been simply "myriads of myriads;" but the specifying "*two* myriads of myriads" appears to indicate, that this was to be the number

of the armies, a view which is confirmed by the apostle's adding, "And I heard the number of them," thus shewing that this was not a mere rough estimate of his own, formed from a general survey of the vast multitude, but that he was distinctly informed of their number.

When we consider the present population of the globe, and the probable rate of its increase, this number becomes the more surprising; for it is about one-fifth of the estimated amount of the present number of the earth's inhabitants; and looking at the probable rate of increase, it does not appear likely that at the period to which this vision seems to relate, the entire number of the earth's inhabitants could have very much exceeded two hundred millions; while from the statement that these were to kill a third part of the men who had not the seal of God on their foreheads, it appears that this multitude was only a portion of the entire number of the population. This circumstance renders it in the highest degree improbable that these two hundred millions were to be let loose simultaneously, and almost forces us to the conclusion, that this vision embraces a long period of time, and that these two hundred millions were to act their part in succession and at increasing intervals, as indicated by the phrase "hour, day, month, and year." This view is farther confirmed by the circumstance, that in the original the plural number is used, "*armies*" not "army," as in our translation, and by their being designated as *four* angels, an indication that they were to constitute four successive visitations. Indeed, when we observe that what are first called four angels are thus, at once, merged into a multitude composed of two hundred millions of horse, and so indicated to be all four visitations of precisely the same specific character, we should be deprived of all means of distinguishing them into four, unless we recognize the phrase "the hour, day, month, and year," as indicating four successive epochs of time at which these four visitations were to come into operation. It will not do to suppose that the four were to act simultaneously, but that they were to last for different periods of time, for such a view is excluded by the immensity of the multitude. There is, therefore, no other idea than that of successive periods of coming into operation which will answer the description. It is accordingly quite inadmissible to throw the hour, day, month, and year together, and regard them as denoting the length of a definite period of time during which a certain visitation was to last, whether we regard the period to be literally a year, a month, a day, and an hour; or taking the day in the prophetic sense, as meaning a year, the month thirty, and the year three hun-

dred and sixty years, and the hour fifteen days, we consider this expression as merely a peculiar mode of denoting a period of three hundred and ninety-one years and fifteen days. Such an idea would be altogether inconsistent with the division into four; for, as we have shewn, these four intervals of time are the only means of quadripartite division supplied to us—all the four visitations being specifically alike. Besides had it been intended to denote in the prophetic manner a simple period of duration of three hundred and ninety-one years and fifteen days, there appears to be no assignable reason why the expression should not have been simply three hundred and ninety-one days and one hour, seeing we have other periods expressed in the more simple form of five months, forty-two months, and twelve days. The supposition that the complex form of expression “hour, day, month, and year,” is resorted to merely for the purpose of creating a puzzle, and throwing the reader off the right scent, is too childish to be even for a moment entertained.

Having thus reached the clear and distinct conclusion, that “the hour, day, month, and year,” are four successive intervals, at which the four threatened visitations—all of a like kind, were to come into operation, there only remains the question—whether these words are designed to express the precise relations of the intervals, or whether they are definite terms used in an indefinite sense. To take the words in a literal acceptance, is plainly inadmissible. The succession would be far too rapid to be at all probable, looking to the immensity of the multitude. Our choice is thus limited, either to taking the words in a prophetic sense—the word hour as meaning the instant of issuing the command, the word day a year after that—the word month thirty years, either after the first issuing of the command, or after the lapse of the first year—and the word year, as meaning three hundred and sixty years, either after the first issuing of the command, or after the lapse of the first thirty-one years. Or else we must take the phraseology in an indefinite sense, as intended merely to denote successive intervals of time, each longer than the preceding, but without limiting either the duration of any one interval, or the total length of the period which they embrace. The great objection to the first view is, that it introduces a limitation, not absolutely required by the terms of the prophecy, thus throwing a stumbling-block in the way of the chronological interpreter. Seeing we cannot take the phraseology in a strictly literal sense, it is quite as legitimate to hold that the words “hour, day, month, and year,” are used in an indefinite sense, as to hold that the day

means a year, the month thirty years, and the year three hundred and sixty years. The one is not a greater departure from the literal sense than the other; while a succession of events, corresponding to the symbolization, occurring at increasing intervals of time, although these might not stand to each other in the precise relation of "hour, day, month, and year," would be a fulfilment of the prophecy, sufficiently perfect to satisfy any reasonable mind. Besides, great caution should be observed before admitting that any of the periods specified in this prophecy have a peculiar definite sense, differing from the natural; because the principle of unity of interpretation would require us to apply the same method to all the periods specified. This is a question, however, which will be discussed with greater advantage at a future stage of our investigation.

In the meantime it is enough to have shewn that, in the passage before us, the preference is due to the indefinite sense, which would perhaps be more fully brought out by rendering the phrase thus, "which were prepared against the hour, and a day, and a month, and a year," a translation which the original fully warrants. We should then understand the meaning to be, that of these four visitations, one was prepared to act at the precise hour when the command was issued, the second at a certain interval after the first, the third at a more distant interval after the second, and the fourth at a still more distant interval after the third. This view will allow great latitude of interpretation to the chronologer, and yet fully satisfy the terms of the prophecy.

But while we regard the four angels (or rather what they symbolize) as beginning actually to operate at four successive epochs, the language of the apostle leads to the conclusion, that the hindrances to the action of the whole of them were all removed before the action of the first—a conclusion which well accords with that previously attained—namely, that the loosing of the four angels means, not a direct influence exercised on themselves, but rather the indirect excitement to their activity, which should result from a weakening of the defences of those whom they were destined to assail. Nothing could place in a clearer light, the highly figurative sense in which the word "angel" is employed in this prophecy, and the emblematic character of all the angelic beings introduced into the scenic representations, than the passage now under consideration. For we have here four angels, all at once merged into a vast multitude of horse, numbering two hundred millions. These four angels are thus clearly shewn to be personifications of four distinct visitations, all of the same character, insomuch that the

word "angels" might almost be rendered "visitations;" and we might paraphrase the command, given with respect to them, as follows: "Let loose the four visitations restrained by the limits and defences of the mystic Babylon—the constituent body of the unsealed."

This clear indication of the true nature of these four angels, is a strong corroboration of the accuracy of the conclusions at which we have already arrived with respect to the other angels who have already appeared on the scene—namely, that they are all of them either personifications of abstract ideas or principles, or else the representatives of some particular classes of men.

The apostle proceeds to narrate (ver. 17)—"And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and jacinth, and brimstone; and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone." It will be observed, that St. John here distinctly states that he *saw* the horses in the vision—that is, they were presented to the eye of his imagination. What are we to understand by these horses? It is evident, from the manner in which they are described, that they were not real horses, but are mere emblems. What then do they symbolize? It has already been pointed out, that the idea represented by a horse in the visions, is "progress." Thus, we have seen, that a white horse signifies the progress of true religion, a red horse of war, a black horse of famine, a pale or green horse of persecution. We have also observed that the locusts were compared to horses, to denote their rapid advance. In all these cases, the leading idea conveyed by the horse appears to be "progress" or "advance;" while the colour, or some other peculiarity of the horse, refers to some leading characteristic of that whose progress is indicated. Now, the chief peculiarity of the horses in the present case, is their enormous number; so that the symbol appears to denote the advance of immense multitudes—the migration of whole nations.

According to this view the riders might represent, either the leaders of the migration, or the warriors of the tribes, the active agents in the movement. These riders are said to have had "breastplates of fire, and jacinth, and brimstone," or more literally, "fiery hyacinthine and sulphureous." That these were real breastplates, or any species of defensive armour, few will be disposed to imagine. They are obviously emblems. In the former vision the locusts were described as having, as it were, breastplates of iron, to indicate obduracy and hardness of heart. In like manner the fiery hyacinthine and sulphureous breastplates of these riders, appear to symbolize the passions, or

sentiments, reigning in their bosoms. Fire being the fierce and devouring element, may denote ferocity and rapacity. But what are we to understand by the jacinth or hyacinth? The gem here designated under this name, is the same as the carbuncle, which the Greeks called anthrax, from its resemblance to glowing charcoal. This other name, "hyacinth," probably originated in the resemblance of the colour of the gem to the red or purple varieties of the flower hyacinth. This identity of the jacinth with the carbuncle is evidenced by its substitution for that gem, among those enumerated as forming the foundations of the new Jerusalem, which, as will be afterwards more clearly shewn, correspond to the gems in the breastplate of Aaron. This glowing gem may, accordingly, represent the glowing ardour, or bravery of these riders. As regards the brimstone or sulphur, again, the Greek name of this substance is *Theion*, which means "relating to the gods," because it was much employed in the worship of the heathen deities. Thus Homer, in describing the libation offered by Achilles, previous to his prayer for his friend Patroclus, says—

"From thence he took a bowl of antique frame,  
Which never man had stained with ruddy wine,  
Nor rais'd in offerings to the powers divine,  
But Peleus' son: and Peleus' son to none  
Had rais'd in offerings but to Jove alone.  
This, ting'd with sulphur, sacred first to flame,  
He purged; and wash'd it in the running stream."

Pope's *Iliad*, lib. xvi., l. 273.

So also he says of Ulysses—

"With fire and sulphur, cure of noxious fumes,  
He purged the walls, and blood-polluted rooms."

Pope's *Odyssey*, lib. xxii., l. 529.

It is probable, therefore, that in the passage before us the sulphur bears some reference to the religion of these invaders. It will be remembered that incense, and its odoriferous fumes, were employed as an emblem of the prayers of saints. May not sulphur, then, and its noxious fumes, be in like manner a symbol of the adoration paid to false objects of worship, and mean "superstitious enthusiasm," or in one word, "superstition." Thus, the breastplates of fire, jacinth, and brimstone, may denote that the riders of these horses were characterized by "ferocity, bravery, and superstition."

To suppose this feature in the emblem to denote that the riders on these horses wore on their breasts cloth of the colour of fire, of hyacinth, and sulphur, would be simply childish. It



cannot be imagined that two hundred millions of men, forming four distinct invading hosts, and advancing at increasingly distant intervals of time, should all be distinguished by such a peculiarity of dress. Whereas it is perfectly natural that war-like and barbaric hordes should all be distinguished by ferocity, bravery, and superstition, however numerous they might be, and however distant the intervals at which they might appear on the scene of action. Besides, no probable reason could be assigned for describing mere colours in this enigmatical manner—the more especially as we have various colours plainly specified in other parts of the prophecy; as, for instance, the colours of the horses, in the seal-opening visions, and the colours of the beasts, and of the attire of the great prostitute, in the subsequent visions. The principle of unity of interpretation, moreover, would require us to assign the same meaning to the “fire and sulphur” coming out of the mouths of the horses; and we should have to regard those terms as indicating merely the colours of certain ornaments attached to their bridles or bits; and then we should be left quite at a loss to understand how these red and yellow trappings could contribute to the slaughter of the men whom these hordes were prepared to kill. From such absurdity we are redeemed by the supposition, that the breastplates of the riders, described as being “fiery hyacinthine and sulphureous,” are emblems of mental qualities or dispositions; for, as will presently appear, the principle of unity of interpretation may be thus perfectly preserved.

The next clause gives a more particular description of the horses. One characteristic only has yet been stated—namely, their number; and it has been suggested that, as the horse symbolizes progress, these numerous horses may denote the migration of vast multitudes. It is next said, that “the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions.” By this emblem we may understand the boldness, courage, and suddenness, with which these hordes were to advance in their career—the head symbolizing the advance, and the lion indicating its characteristic peculiarities. This lion head, and the other features of the description afterwards given, shew very clearly that these are not real horses—no more than are the locusts, in the preceding chapter, real locusts, or the dragon and the leopard-like beast, afterwards described, real animals. The horses are to be regarded purely as symbols of progression.

We are next told, that “from their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone.” It is plain that the fire and brimstone must have the same meaning here as in the immediately preceding clause, for the supposition of any alteration in the signi-

fication involves too violent a transition to be probable. If our previous interpretation be correct, then the fire and brimstone must here mean ferocity and superstition, while, by these coming out of the mouths of the horses, we are to understand that ferocity and superstition were to characterize the words spoken by the hordes whose migrations these troops of horse represent. By the "smoke," again, may be meant either deception or vain and ignorant boasting. Hence, we may learn, that the words spoken by these hordes were to be indicative of their fierceness and rapacity—their deceitfulness, vanity, ignorance, and superstition.

It has been pointed out that, from the circumstance of this plague being denoted by *four* angels, and from their being appointed against an hour, a day, a month, and a year, it is probable that these horses indicate four *successive* inroads about to take place at increasing intervals of time. It is therefore possible, that the characteristics indicated by the fire, smoke, and brimstone, may, in like manner, be not simultaneous, but successive; or, at least, that these qualities may be exhibited in different proportions by the invading hordes, the ferocity and deceitfulness prevailing in the earlier, the superstition in the later.

A question here suggests itself—Why are these metaphysical emblems said to issue from the mouths of the lion-headed horses, rather than from the mouths of their riders? The answer is simple—Had this latter symbolization been adopted, it would have denoted that the ferocity, vain-boasting, and superstition continued to characterize these invaders during the whole period of their progress; whereas, by transferring these emblems to the mouths of the horses, it is indicated that those peculiarities should distinguish only the outset of their career. But as these barbarians mingled with the civilized nations whose territory they invaded, those peculiarities in their modes of speaking would gradually disappear; and although the dispositions, of which they are the natural expression, might remain of the character indicated by the breastplates of fire, jacinth, and sulphur, yet, by contact with polished society, they would learn to make their words softer than oil, even while they were drawn swords.

We should violate the dictates of common sense were we to suppose the sulphur here mentioned to be real physical sulphur, which was to be employed by these barbaric hordes as an instrument of offensive warfare, by their throwing it in a state of inflammation upon their enemies, in order to burn them by its fire, or choke them by its vapour. Such a literal mode of in-

terpretation would require us also to suppose the horses here mentioned to be real horses, having their heads merely disguised in a fantastic manner so as to resemble those of lions. Nay, we must go farther, and suppose the horses actually to eject the burning sulphur, flaming and smoking from their mouths.

Nor would it mend the matter were we to imagine the sulphur to denote an explosive compound of which it forms one of the ingredients, used by these martial hosts for propelling projectiles against their enemies, because it has never been the practice, among warriors, to put such explosive compounds and their projectiles into the mouths of their horses to be thence propelled against their foes. Had the statement been that they had vials or vessels filled with sulphur and charcoal and nitre, whence issued fire and smoke, such a physical interpretation might have been admissible; but as the statement stands it would be simply absurd. The metaphysical explanation ought to be preferred were it for no other reason than its permitting our escape from alternatives so widely grotesque.

The next averment of the apostle runs as follows:—(verse 18)—“By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone which issued out of their mouths.” The omission of the definite article before “men” in our translation is here again unfortunate, for it does not give effect to the reference which its insertion in the original implies—namely, to “the men” before-mentioned, who had not the seal of God in their foreheads, and to whom it is obvious, from the whole tenor of the passage, the destructive effects of these plagues were to be chiefly if not wholly confined. In the first clause of the verse, both Griesbach and Lachmann have, “by these three plagues.” But in this they are not followed by Bloomfield, and the variation is unimportant.

We have a clue to the meaning of this phraseology in the statement contained in the fifth verse of the eleventh chapter, where, of the two witnesses of God, it is affirmed that “if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies; and if any man will hurt them he must in this manner be killed.” This metaphor is still farther elucidated in Jeremiah v. 14, “I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them.” In both of these cases it might be said with respect to the two witnesses and Jeremiah, that their power was in their mouth; but it is obviously not intended to intimate that the mouth was the direct agent, and the fire issuing thence the direct instrument by which the act of destruction was accomplished. It is only

declared that what they uttered by their mouth should indirectly lead to that consummation. Accordingly in the case of the invading multitudes symbolized by the horses with heads like lions, out of whose mouth proceeded fire and smoke, and brimstone, by which the third part of the men was killed, we ought to understand that the ferocity, deception, or vain boasting and superstition which tinctured the doctrines or sentiments held and promulgated by those multitudes, indirectly led to the destruction of a large portion of the men who had not the seal of God in their foreheads.

That spiritual or moral death is not meant, is evident from what is immediately stated with respect to the survivors who were obviously both spiritually and morally dead. The idea of political death, or mere subjugation, again, is hardly admissible, for in the first place we have no other instance in Scripture of the mere subjugation of a people being described as their "being killed," so as to justify that interpretation here. Secondly, in order to meet that view, we should have to understand the third part as meaning a territorial limitation—an interpretation which has been already shewn to be improbable. Thirdly, it appears from the subsequent statement, that the rest of the men who were not killed by these plagues yet repented not, so that these two-thirds were, in some manner, affected by those plagues to such an extent as ought to have led them to repent, but that, nevertheless, they did not abandon their evil ways.

There is an additional light thrown upon this point by the first clause of the next verse, which says, "For their power is in their mouth." This statement is very important, as proving the absurdity of the physical interpretation of the fire, smoke, and sulphur issuing from the mouths of the horses, and is highly suggestive of the true nature of this symbolization. The power of the mouth is obviously the power of the sentiments or doctrines propagated by the mouth. It is thus indicated to us, that the contests here foreshadowed, are what are falsely called "religious wars," falsely, because *true* religion never can be either maintained or propagated otherwise than by rational argument. It wholly rejects the use of the sword. Where carnal weapons are employed the war may be superstitious, but is certainly not religious. The supporters of one form of superstition may array themselves against the supporters of another, and these may engage in deadly strife, the result of which may be much actual slaughter. On the one side may be ranged those calling themselves Christians, but who are really the upholders of a superstition grosser and more degrading than

that of those who are opposed to them, and who make no pretensions to the use of that hallowed name. Such usurpers of the name of Christianity are, in a peculiar sense, "the men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads;" for while they make pretensions to Christianity, they want that distinguishing mark with which the true Christian is sealed. The supporters of the opposing superstition do not require to be thus designated as "the unsealed;" for they do not wear the mask of Christianity, and make no pretensions to be adherents of that faith. If we suppose these last, then, having a superstition of their own, to be seized with a fanatical frenzy, urging them to propagate their doctrines and opinions at the point of the sword, and under this influence to invade the territories inhabited by the unsealed ones—the men calling themselves Christian, but who are really the slaves of a gross idolatry—if we farther suppose that the latter fly to arms in support of their superstition, and that in the struggle which ensues they are worsted with much slaughter, it will become apparent why it is stated that the power of the invaders is in their mouth, and that their doctrines and sentiments symbolized by the fire, smoke, and brimstone issuing out of the mouths of the emblematical horses, are assigned as the causes of the slaughter of so large a portion of the unsealed. These doctrines and sentiments are not the instruments of the slaughter, but its causes. It is they that urge the combatants to battle, and bring into action the instruments of death.

This view furnishes another reason why the fire, smoke, and sulphur are said to issue from the mouths of the horses, rather than of the riders; for the great battles would be fought while the invading hosts were advancing, and it would be then only that the slaughter would take place. After the mass of the unsealed had been subdued, the zeal of the invaders would naturally take a new turn. They would cease to slay, and begin to oppress—a change strikingly shadowed forth in the next verse. Although the powers of the invaders, therefore, are thus indicated to arise from the doctrines and sentiments with which they were imbued, and which they desired to propagate, we need have no hesitation in holding, that the death inflicted by these causes was physical, seeing that these hosts were to propagate their superstition, not by arguments, but by force of arms. This view is strengthened by the parallel case of Jeremiah's prophecy already referred to, in which, from the character both of the announcement and the issue, it is evident that physical death is implied.

The apostle continues his description of the symbolical

horses as follows, verse 19: "For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails; for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt."

There is a little discrepancy in this passage among the Greek editions; that which is designated "*the received text*" reads thus—"For their powers are in their mouth; for their tails, being like serpents, have heads, and by these they injure or act unjustly." In the edition of Griesbach is inserted, as of somewhat doubtful authority, the clause adopted by our translators, "for their power is in their mouth, and in their tails;" but this certainly adds to the intelligibility of the passage. In the texts both of Griesbach and Lachmann, the reading is "for the power of the horses is in their mouth and in their tails; for their tails, being like serpents, have heads;" and in Bloomfield's edition, the Greek text is made to tally with the authorized translation. The most intelligible reading would be a combination, making "the powers" in the plural number, and inserting the clause "and in their tails;" and it would then stand thus—"For the powers of the horses are in their mouth, and in their tails; for their tails, being like serpents, have heads, and by these they inflict injury." According to the reading, we have a marked distinction between the power of the mouth, belonging to the head, and the power of the tail, or rather of the serpent-like heads which characterized the tail. The power of the former was to kill, that of the latter was merely to injure, by the acts of injustice which the serpent-like head should perpetrate. In this respect, these tails resemble those of the locusts, which had, in like manner, power merely to injure by their stings, but not to kill.

It might at first sight appear that there is here an allusion to Isaiah ix. 15; "The ancient and honourable, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail." But were we to understand by "the tails of the horses," prophets teaching lies, we should violate the antithesis of the metaphor, if we did not also understand by "the heads of the horses" estimable teachers of the truth—an interpretation which is excluded by the terms in which they are described. Besides, the tails of these horses had heads—a symbol which evidently implies a departure from the idea of the tails meaning false prophets.

By the tails, then we are to understand the antithesis, or opposite from the meaning of the head; and as the head like a lion symbolized the boldness of the advance of those invaders, the tail, like a serpent, must represent the after-consequences; and their tails having heads must mean that the consequences

of these inroads were the establishment of sundry dominions, while their being like serpents, and acting unjustly, imports that these dominions were tyrannical powers, exercised with skill and subtlety, but inflicting grievous injustice and injury on those subjected to their sway.

Thus, while the advance of these invaders, carrying with them doctrines fraught with ferocity, deceit, and superstition, was to be attended with immense slaughter, the consequences of the invasion were to be the establishment by these hordes of various dominions, characterized by subtlety, and exercised with injustice towards the prior inhabitants of the invaded territories.

It appears almost superfluous to point out how utterly absurd it would be to suppose that the circumstance of these emblematical horses having tails like serpents, and with heads at their extremities, bears reference to any national standard, or symbol of authority composed of the hair of a horse's tail; for it is self-evident that the very reverse idea is that conveyed by the emblem. It is not that the power of these invaders was in any manner symbolized by real horses' tails; but that the progress of the invaders, which is the idea represented by the horses, should in its results, symbolized by the tails, be characterized by the establishment of numerous petty sovereignties, exercising their power with cunning and with venomous injustice—an idea most fitly shadowed forth by the tails being like serpents, and having heads with which they inflicted injury.

The narrative of this vision concludes as follows:—"And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts." From this statement it is evident that the visitations symbolized by these armies of horse were designed as chastisements for the wickedness which had accumulated in the course of the preceding epoch through the prevalence of the vices symbolized by the locusts, and that the ultimate aim of these chastisements was to lead men to repentance, but that nevertheless a large portion should not repent. It is farther worthy of remark, that as these visitations were to fall upon the territories inhabited by those calling themselves Christians, but who had not the seal of God in their foreheads, we have here a very clear and accurate description of the state of society that should arise in Christendom at a period

considerably distant from the date of the vision, and in particular it will be observed, that one of the most prominent and prevailing sins was to be the worship of demons or departed spirits (for such is the meaning of the Greek term which our translators have rendered “devils,”) and the reverence of idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood. Hence it appears that these two forms of idolatry, the worship of departed spirits and of sensible images, were to become a distinguishing feature of the times to which this prediction refers.

It may be further gathered from this circumstance, that the nations which were to punish these transgressors, whatever other faults they might have, or however erroneous might be their religious system in other respects, should be free from this flagrant sin of worshipping demons and images of gold, and silver, and wood, and stone. It is not necessary to suppose these invaders to be Christians, provided they be free from idolatry. Nay, seeing they are to be commissioned to chastise Christendom, and that the people whom they were to punish, though nominally Christians, should yet be worshippers of departed spirits, and sensible images, there is a peculiar propriety in the selection, as instruments for this chastisement of nations, who, while not Christian in name, would yet be free from that gross idolatry which it was predicted should overshadow Christendom with its baneful cloud; for there would thus be administered a stronger reproof to the nominally Christian nations who, having had the clear light of Christ’s gospel set before them, ought to have known better than to abandon themselves to such heathen practices.

It is evident, also, that a Christian nation free from those vices could not be fitly employed to chastise by the sword those nominally Christian nations who had so grievously corrupted themselves, for it is repugnant to the genius of Christianity to propagate its pure and heavenly principles at the point of the sword, while the employment of a Christian nation thus to punish the corruptions of the rest of Christendom would have thrown upon Christianity the suspicion at least of attempting to propagate itself by force of arms.

In the enumeration of the vices and crimes which these four visitations were designed to punish, we have a clue to the meaning of the locusts by which society was invaded, as symbolized in the previous vision. It can hardly be imagined that so large a portion of human society to which the gospel of Christ had been freely and fully declared, should become contaminated with moral disorders such as are here enumerated without the rise and progress of so great a calamity being particularly sha-



dowed forth in the symbolization ; for such an invasion would be regarded by the Deity as a far greater woe than any incursions of martial hosts, however dreadful the ravages they might commit. Now, there is in the previous symbolization no other emblem except the locusts, which can be regarded as foreshadowing these moral disorders ; and this circumstance adds one more to the probabilities already ascertained in favour of the view, that these locusts are types not of hostile armies, but of the vices and crimes enumerated in the passage before us.

On reviewing this first scene of the second woe, it will be perceived that it partakes of a double character. It is in the first instance retributive—a just punishment of the guilt which had accumulated during the first woe. But the impenitence, indicated at the end of the retributive symbolization, is evidently a fresh accumulation of guilt on the part of the unsealed, and we shall find this characteristic further developed in the subsequent visions pertaining to the second woe as described in the tenth and the earlier part of the eleventh chapter, to the consideration of which we shall next proceed.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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\* \* The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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## I AM THAT I AM, EXOD. III. 14.

SIR,—These words, from being printed in our Bibles in the larger Roman letter, do not suggest that difference in their interpretation which a closer investigation will discover. That our version is not the literal one is however easily seen, when we look at the original Hebrew. A certain latent impression seems to have led our translators to adopt it in preference to that sanctioned by strict grammatical usage. We read that “Moses said unto God, Behold when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, the God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is His name? What shall I say unto them?” The religion of names was a matter of great importance in Egypt, an essential part of its superstition, since a name was a peculiar adjunct to a local deity. It was natural, therefore, as a gross and carnal people, that the Jews should make this demand of their great leader and lawgiver. “And God said unto Moses, I am that I am,” as translated in the Authorized Version, “and He said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.”

The words *אני הוה אני* can apparently on no philological grounds be translated otherwise than, “I will be that which I will be,” and in this the older interpreters concur, Aquila and Theodotion, as well as Onkelos, the Syriac and Persic versions, followed in later times by Luther, “Ich werde sein, der ich sein werde.” The Almighty may be supposed to say, “I will be, or I will remain to my people such as I have shewn myself to their fathers,” referring to His future dealings with them. Again, if we take *אני* in the sense of “because,” for which there are examples,<sup>a</sup> the meaning may be, I will be because I will be, *ero quia ero*, according to Vatablus, setting forth His sovereign power and supreme dominion influenced by no created being.<sup>b</sup> The very expression which the Almighty

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<sup>a</sup> Genesis xxx. 18.

<sup>b</sup> In a work unfortunately of strong neological tendencies, *Priault, Questions Mosaiques*, the attributes of the deity are described in language which has seldom been equalled for genuine sublimity. “God is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; moved by no impulses, urged by no wants, but following out His own beneficent laws He has ever wrought from all eternity; yes, He has ever wrought, and yet in Him the ideal and the real, thought and being are one and the same. Yes, He ever works, and yet for Him have ever existed both this glorious spectacle, the earth, and this blue heaven, in which myriads of worlds roll their predestined courses. Yes, He will work ever, and yet to Him time can bring no change; before Him all that ever has been, all that is, all that ever will be, is continually present: in Him eternity has no past, no future—for Him it is but a moment, as a moment is for Him eternity.”

uses in another place  $\text{אני ה'}$  is sufficiently decisive for the "future" signification.

On what, then, did our translators found their interpretation? I suppose we must say they were influenced by the authority of the Septuagint and the Vulgate,  $\text{Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν}$ , and *Ego sum, qui sum*; Augustine, Calvin, and in modern times, Hengstenberg adopt this reading. Leusden remarks, "Ero quia ero—Hæc futura commodius possunt transferri per præsentia 'sum qui sum:' nam futurum sæpissime in re continua pro præsentia ponitur." It would require some investigation to ascertain the accuracy of this assertion, but if we admit it, our translators are right. "I am that (which) I am" then implies the "self-existence" of the Most High, which can be declared by no name, shadowed forth by no image or similitude. But I feel inclined to suppose that they, as well as the theologians above mentioned, had a "certain latent" impression that the Hebrew text in question might be connected with the expression which our Lord made use of, and in consequence of which the Jews were preparing to stone Him,  $\text{πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, Ἐγὼ εἰμί}$ . That there must be some connexion can hardly be doubted, for had his enemies not so understood it, they would hardly have immediately set about vindicating what they supposed to be the violated law of blasphemy. In some way or other the reading of the Septuagint,  $\text{Εγὼ εἰμί}$ , must have been present to their minds. And not a little remarkable is it, that St. John announces in the Revelation "grace and peace from Him ὁ ὢν," which is, the four Greek words thus being those of the Septuagint translation of the original Hebrew. Whatever may be thought of this, the coincidence is very singular, and would almost appear to justify those who understand it in a "present," and not in a "future" sense.

But, however the Hebrew may be rendered, we can readily conceive that the idea which it conveys would have little contributed to secure for Moses any amount of enthusiasm among the Israelites, who, sunk in materialism, expected to see the *power* of the Lord expressed in His very name. Consequently, we learn that God said moreover unto Moses, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you:  $\text{אני ה'}$  'This is my Name,' and this is my memorial unto all generations" (Ex. iii. 15). Pure monotheism "rightly understood," would have been incomprehensible to a people like the Jews, and they must therefore have been satisfied with feeling that they had a Benefactor who would (on certain conditions) relieve all their wants and provide for all their necessities. As He had done so to their fathers, so He would do to themselves.

Cheltenham,  
Feb. 23rd, 1859.

H. P.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—I send you a description of the Codex Zacynthius (Ξ), which will shortly appear as a note, appended to a new edition of my *English Translation of the Revelation*. I have thought that perhaps you might like first to communicate it to your readers.

It may be well to state, that in the account of the Vatican MS. and Cardinal Mai's edition of its text, extracted in your last number from the *Eclectic Review*, there is not a little which requires correction; what, for instance, can the writer mean by saying that Codex Vaticanus does not contain John i. 1? If a person *invents* his premises he may draw what conclusions he will. I am not responsible for the opinions and principles which that writer states to be *mine*; some of them were perfectly new to *me*, so that I am not concerned with the refutation of them.

You may be glad to know that arrangements have been made for publishing the text of Codex Zacynthius line for line as to the Biblical portion of the MS.; I thus hope that it will soon appear. There are few New Testament palimpsests of at all equal value.

I remain, yours, etc.,

S. P. TREGELLES.

*Plymouth, March 10th, 1859.*

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE CODEX ZACYNTHIUS (Ξ).

On the 11th of August, 1858, I received a letter from Dr. Paul de Lagarde, of Berlin, informing me that a palimpsest MS., hitherto unused, containing a considerable portion of St. Luke's gospel, with a catena, was in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

After a little more correspondence with Dr. de Lagarde, and with the officers of the Institution, I went to London, and inspected the MS., which is noted in the catalogue, and on the back, "24, *Greek Evangelistarium. Parchment*" (regard being had in this to the *later writing only*). It had been, I found, brought to Dr. de Lagarde's notice by Mr. Knolleke, one of the foreign secretaries of the society. Even on a cursory examination, the value of the MS. appeared to be great; but as in many parts it was illegible, except in a very good light, and as it would take a considerable time to decipher the Biblical portion, I made application to the committee, through the Rev. John Mee, one of the secretaries, for permission to use the MS. at my own abode. This was kindly granted me, and thus I have been able to collate the MS., and to prepare the portion containing the text of St. Luke for publication, with a *fac-simile* of one entire page, text, and catena.\*

The book in its present form is of a quarto or small folio size (the leaves measure 11 by 7 inches), and consists of 176 folios (to which I have affixed *Arabic* numbers, as there was previously no pagination), folded in 22 quires, each of which is marked in Greek numerals on the upper corner of the first page. The later writing is a Greek Lectionary

\* The MS. is now returned to the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

from the Four Gospels, and belongs, I suppose, to the thirteenth century. The vellum is generally coarse, and a few of the leaves are torn.

In the beginning there is a piece of paper stuck inside the cover, with this writing, *Μνημοσυνον σεβάσματος τοῦ Ἰππέος Ἀντωνίου Κόμητος*. 1820. (*sic.*) Then, below in pencil, "*Il Principe Comuto, Zante.*" Then in ink, "*Presented by General Macaulay, November 6, 1821.*" This MS. seems, therefore, to have been given in 1820 to the late General Macaulay (brother of the late Zachary Macaulay), when he visited Zante to investigate the condition of slavery in that and other of the Greek islands, and to have been transferred by him in the following year to its present possessors. There is, I suppose, no trace of its history prior to its having been then in Zante.

The older writing must have been part of a volume of large folio size (14 by 11 inches); for the leaves are now folded across, the later writing running the other way: it consists of eighty-six leaves, and three half leaves, two of which are *sewn together* to make part of one of the modern quires, and one folio of the later writing (173) is supplied by paper. These leaves are of course now intermixed; but for convenience sake, if ever the book is bound with reference to the ancient writing, I have marked the folios *with Roman numerals* from i. to lxxxix. Folio i. begins with (apparently) part of a prologue to the catena, accompanying the text *Χρήδεδόν ἐντύγχανοντατῆδε . . .* ending in line 21, *τανοήματα*. The verso of that leaf, and folio ii., contain the *κεφάλαια* of St. Luke's gospel. The *TEXT* of large portions of St. Luke, (from the beginning of the gospel to chap. xi. 33,) is accompanied by *large* Patristic extracts, occupying often the greater part, and at times, the whole of the page. The *text* is in round full well-formed Uncial letters, such as I should have had no difficulty in ascribing to the *sixth* century, were it not that the catena of the same age has the round letters (ΘΘΘ) so *cramped* as to make me believe that it belongs to the *eighth* century.

There are several notations of *sections* in the book; the ordinary *κεφάλαια* or *τίτλοι* (with the heading either at the top of the page or directly above the text), also *numbers* which appear to refer to sections in the catena: these run up to 100 ( $\bar{\rho}$ ), and then begin again; and besides these, this MS., which in my Greek Testament I call  $\Xi$ , contains also the *same chapters as the Vatican MS., similarly numbered*. This notation is sometimes in the margin in large Greek letters, and sometimes close to the text, and occasionally in both places. To this Vatican notation there is commonly prefixed the letter  $\Psi$ , large and formed like a cross. The only other document in which I have ever seen this *Capitulatio Vaticana* is the Vatican Codex itself; nor do I know of its being found elsewhere. It is at least a peculiar feature in this palimpsest. Occasionally the same portion of Scripture occurs *twice*, when accompanied by a different Patristic extract.

As a specimen of the *readings* of  $\Xi$ , I will give those differing from the common text of the beginning of St. Luke's gospel as far as chap. ii. 4, being the portion in which I was made acquainted with this palimpsest too late for me to give the references to  $\Xi$  in my Greek Testament. I add

in each case a reference to a few of the more important MSS. with which Ξ accords with the readings cited. Luke i. 5, *om.* του before βασιλ. [BRL] *om.* ἡ before γυνή [BCD] γυν. αὐτῷ [BCDL]. 7. ἡν ἡ Ελισ. [(B)DL]. (*lacuna* ver. 10—18 *fin.*) 20. πλησθησονται [D]. 21. ἐν τῷ ναυ αὐτον [BL]. (*lacuna* ver. 24—27 ἀνδρι). 28. *om.* ὁ ἀγγελος [BL]. (*lacuna* ver. 28 εἶπεν—Μη φοβ. ver. 30. & ver. 33 *init.*—35 *fin.*) 36. συνειληφεν [BL].—γῆραι [ABCDL]. 37. του θεου [BDL]. 41. τον ασπ. της Μαρ. ἡ Ελισ. [BC\*DL]. 42. κραυγῃ μεγ. [BL]. 44. ἐν ἀγαλλ. το βρεφ. (*as rec.* with BC\*DL). 50. εἰς γενέας καὶ γενεας [BC\*L]. 56. ὡς μῆνας [BL]. 59. τῇ ἡμ. τῇ ογδ. [BCDL]. 61. εἶπαν [DL]. 61. ἐκ της συγγενειας [ABC\*L]. 62. οτι αν θελοι. 63. *om.* το before ονομα [B\*L]. 66. ταῖς καρδιαῖς [DL]. (*lacuna* ver. 66 καὶ χειρ—77 *init.*). chap. ii. 1, *om.* δε 1. [A].—τον απογραφ. [L]. 2. Κυρηνου *ut vid.* 3. ἑαυτον πολιν [BDL]. 4. Ναζαρετ [BL].

These examples will suffice to shew those who have any acquaintance with Biblical criticism what is the character of the readings of Ξ, and how great the affinity which it bears to the *very best* codices. It sustains the same character *throughout*, as will be seen when the next portion of my Greek Testament appears, or when Ξ is printed line for line.

The MS. is often very difficult to read, but I believe that by examining in different lights, I have at last succeeded in reading and noting every letter in the text of St. Luke. No chemical means have been taken for restoring the ancient writing. If this step be needful, the parts requiring it most are those nearly buried in the binding; perhaps the smaller Patristic writing will not be all read without such restoration.

The following nine ecclesiastical writers are cited by name at the head of the pages, as the authors of the extracts in the catena:—"The Holy John [CHRYSOSTOM] Bp. of Constantinople," *four times*. ORIGEN, *eight times*. EUSEBIUS, *once*. "ISIDORE, Presbyter, of Pelusium," *once*. "VICTOR, Presbyter," *twice*. "The Holy BASIL," *three times*. "The Holy CYRIL," *thirty-nine times*. "The Holy TITUS," *nineteen times*. "The Holy SEVERUS, Abp. of Antioch," *five times*. The mode in which the scribe has designated these writers may indicate his ecclesiastical connexions. A later hand seems to have deleted with some care the name of *Severus*. I have noticed extracts from CYRIL of Alexandria in Ξ identical (though with better readings) with some of those published by Cardinal Mai, in his *Bibliotheca Nova Patrum*, vol. ii., and with the Syriac version of the Homilies of Cyril, recently edited from the Nitrian MSS., by the Rev. Robert Payne Smith of the Bodleian Library. Some of the pages of Ξ are marked εἰς ἀνεπιγραφῶν; the rest have no indication of the author of the citation; in such cases there appears to be simply a continuation of the previous quotation: of three folios only the *lower* half is contained in Ξ. I do not know of any MS. of equal antiquity accompanied by a catena; in many respects this most valuable palimpsest is worthy of special attention: it is remarkable that it had remained in this country for nearly forty years unread and unused.

## YAV IN ASSYRIA;

OR "JEHOVAH" ON THE BRICKS AND INSCRIBED CYLINDERS OF  
"UR OF THE CHALDEES."

THE following facts were communicated to the Royal Society of Antiquaries, under date of September 15th, 1858, and also in brief to the American Oriental Society, two days later:—

In Layard's Second Expedition to Assyria and Babylonia, in a table of the thirteen great gods of Assyria, the one marked No. 6 is named YAV.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his *Herodotus*, just out in London, calls this name IVA, or EVA, which is the same thing—the sign in the Assyrian, or wedge-shaped mode of writing, called the arrow-headed, or cuneiform character, having the same PHONETIC power,—that is, the same power or back bone as a consonant in either case.

The differences in vocalizing the Assyrian, or cuneiform symbol, depend upon nearness to, or departure from the Hebrew as a standard, in sounding more or less broadly the kindred Chaldean vowels.

Now YAV is one of the oldest gods of Assyria, appearing in the nineteenth century before Christ, as an element in the name of a son of Ismidagon, a king of UR of the CHALDEES.

*Yav*—God of the *Atmosphere*,—one of the very oldest and earliest names among the Assyrian deities yet found, always regarded with the highest reverence, enters as an element into the name of the son of the king of the city where Abram was born,—is found upon the very earliest cylinders and inscribed bricks of that city, and was thus entirely familiar to the patriarch, both in its use and its perversion through the elemental worship of the Chaldeans.

So much for Assyria. What do we find in Hebrew?

It is now ascertained and conceded, that the *Assyrian* arrow-headed, or MIDDLE cuneiform writing, is merely a family language of the Hebrew—the Hebrew verb and the Assyrian verb interpreting each other. We find YAHVEH and its contract, YAH, holding different yet kindred relations.

Bunsen in his *Bibel Werk* (his great work on the Bible, just coming out in Germany), makes the unqualified statement as one from which no scholar can dissent, that "Jehovah" is "no word" at all. It is simply a manufacture.

The true Hebrew name for the Supreme God of Abram, the Patriarchs and the Pentateuch, is YAHVEH,—in its contract form,—YAH.

It is likewise conceded by all who understand the subject, that the *Book of Genesis*, especially throughout the first *eleven chapters*, is made up of various documents. These documents antedate as much the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," (found about the persons of all respectable mummies of fashion, and which, in its present form at least, can hardly be placed earlier than Abram), as Abram and the "Book of the Dead" antedate Moses.

The documents are scientifically discriminated by Dr. Herman Hup-

feld,\* of Halle, in his *Die Quellen der Genesis*, (the sources of Genesis), Berlin. 1853.

Those in the first *eleven* chapters of Genesis are well separated, and set forth in Bunsen's *Bibel Werk*. Leipsic, 1858.

Of the explanation given to these documents in unfolding the archæology of Genesis, found in the volume YAHVEH CHRIST, it is unnecessary here to speak.

The documents with which Abram was familiar, may be designated in a brief and popular way, as the TWO accounts of creation,—the two accounts of the flood,—records of the house of Noah, with records of the Abrahamidæ, or house of Abram, etc., etc.

All these appear in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and may be read as separated, in Bunsen.

We thus determine at once the first use of YAHVEH among the Hebrews.

It is the name of the supreme Deity in the SECOND account of the creation, in the *second* account of the flood, in the mouth of Noah, and the invocations of Abraham.

So another, and a slightly older word—Elohim—a plural word implying a knowledge of the singular form, EL, likewise appears as the name of the supreme deity of the Hebrews, in the FIRST account of creation—the FIRST account of the flood—the records of the house of Noah—and in the mouth of Abraham.

It is further well known, to all acquainted with the subject, that both the Phœnicians and the later *Chaldeans* (family relatives of the Hebrews, and speaking branches of the same *Semitic* language), perverted the first and oldest name of the supreme deity, viz., Elohim, with its singular form EL, from its original *Monotheistic idea* to a foreign and *polytheistic* use.

On the cylinders and inscribed bricks of UR of the CHALDEES, the birth-place of Abraham, and the land of his fathers, we find the earlier Chaldeans did the very same thing for YAHVEH, and its contract, YAH.

The deep historic interest of this hitherto lost determination of YAHVEH, speaks for itself. The facts are their own commentary.

A. McW.

Newhaven.





## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*Christ and other Masters. An Historical Enquiry into some of the Chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World. With special reference to prevailing Difficulties and Objections.* By CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. Part IV. Religions of Egypt and Medo-Persia. (The Christian Advocate's publication for 1858). pp. 235. Cambridge and London: Macmillan. 1859.

THE two subjects of this volume are of special interest to the inquiry of the Christian Advocate, and Archdeacon Hardwick has done ample justice to them. Accepting to the utmost extent of what is due, the results of modern inquiries or speculations on these subjects, he feels, as Christian Advocate, that he can afford to do so without prejudice to the claims of Divine revelation. For our own part, considering that Egyptology has scarcely attained to years of discretion, we feel much more inclined to criticise its *dicta* than is at present fashionable. Experience in regard to other kindred sciences suggests the prudence of doing so. A large amount of mere assumption is still the colouring medium through which the facts of Egyptology are viewed. However, Archdeacon Hardwick takes up what would be considered a more liberal position, and we will make a few remarks on the aspect of things from his own point of view.

In speaking of the advantages which the scholar of the present age possesses for the successful carrying out of investigations relating to the influence of Egypt in the civilization of surrounding nations, he says,—

“The recovery of the hieroglyphic character has given, and is still giving every year, a new complexion to the ancient history of the valley of the Nile. We can no longer speak of Egypt barely as the ‘land of ruins,’ or the birth-place of insoluble enigmas; her true title is the land of sculptured monuments,—of monuments again made vocal to the ear of science, and from which their secret must, ere long, be wrested by the ardent pupils of Champollion. Favoured by the excellence of the material, and the singular purity and dryness of the climate, the colossal tombs and temples, to say nothing of those minor works of art dug out of the sepulchral chambers, have preserved a rich variety of inscriptions, more or less decipherable, and more or less conducing to an accurate knowledge of the past. ‘There was not a wall, a platform, a pillar, an architrave, a frieze, or even a door-post, in an Egyptian temple, which was not covered within, without, and on every available surface, with pictures in relief, and with hieroglyphic texts explaining those reliefs. There is not one of these reliefs that is not history; some of them actually representing the conquest of foreign nations; others, the offerings and devotional exercises of the monarch by whom the temple, or the portion of the temple on which the relief stood, had been constructed.’—Osborn.”

It was very natural, as Archdeacon Hardwick remarks, for enthusiasm to be excited when the power of reading these inscriptions began to be recovered—and, perhaps, that the belief should arise that the

materials thus presented were not of doubtful age or questionable reputation. Large accessions of exact acquaintance with primeval history would be expected. These expectations have been partly realized. We have set before us the daily life of the ancient Egyptians—their toils, sufferings, pastimes, or their power and luxury—their various occupations and amusements, or their military operations.

All this, however, is but remotely connected with the inquiry of the *Christian Advocate*; he says,

“It seems to be confessed, however, by the great majority of Egyptologists, that notwithstanding the number and minuteness of these revelations, our familiarity with monuments of ancient Egypt has contributed, in no proportionate degree, to our acquaintance with the inner being of the people. The manners of the old Egyptian we may thoroughly appreciate: his mental and moral life is still obscurely apprehended.”

There are, it seems, difficulties as yet insuperable, in the way of making out the religious ideas of the people. And in taking for his guide certain conclusions on this subject, common to Egyptologists, Archdeacon Hardwick says,

“In doing this, exception will be taken to the crude and arbitrary theories of some modern writers, who, not content with ‘reconstructing’ almost every text which militates against their favourite dream of a society existing many thousand years before the date usually assigned to the Creation, are further bent on sacrificing to a spirit of conjectural criticism the highest of all Christian teachings and the best convictions of the human heart.”

One of these assumptions is, that the prominent forms of social and religious life of Egypt had been stereotyped in the earliest ages, and thus are now to be seen as they were originally. This had been assumed with regard to India; but it has been fully refuted, and it cannot be doubted that Egypt has passed through many and important changes. How far, therefore, the present means of studying Egypt enable us to judge of their religious ideas and observances at a time when these can be fairly brought into comparison with those of the Hebrew system, is a matter of uncertainty. Bunsen himself allows that “the whole possibility of the Egyptian, as well as the Greek tradition respecting the ancient dynasty, depends entirely on the question, what was the value of the knowledge of the Egyptians of the new dynasty respecting their ancient chronology?”

Without attempting to investigate characteristics of *primeval* heathenism in the Nile valley, except as it has left its impress in the historic period, Archdeacon Hardwick finds it necessary to discriminate afresh between the earlier and the later periods of Egyptian history.

“Our judgment, with respect to the development of religion in that country, should be formed apart from clashing theories which come down to us through Greek writers; for although Herodotus, in spite of the absurd misrepresentations of his dragoman, has furnished a large mass of information which is proved to be trustworthy, by according in the main with extant monuments, the other tourists and philosophers who handled the same topics, when the Delta was in part Hellenized, and society most deeply tinged with foreign modes of thought, can seldom challenge our assent in the same proportion.”

Archdeacon Hardwick thinks that we may be assisted in ascertaining the earlier forms of religious thought in Egypt by extant written monuments, which may be compared with the Hindu Vedas and the "sacred" books of the Chinese. These are no other than the "Books of Hermes." But "these works, with perhaps one sole exception, have been long unknown to Egyptologists, and are probably beyond the reach of modern exploration." This exception is the so-called "Book of the Dead;" portions of which, we are told, date backward as far as the twelfth dynasty, and, if so, afford some information of the old Egyptian notions respecting the condition of the soul after death. But on the subject of the being and attributes of God, neither from this nor any other Egyptian source, can anything beyond a vague notion be attained of Egyptian theology.

But in regard to ritual observances, it is very probable that we have the means of determining, in some degree, what they were in the more ancient times; they probably continued unchanged long after the ideas which they had once symbolized had passed away. Archdeacon Hardwick finds, in his interpretation of these symbols, ideas which have been more or less prevalent in all heathen systems.

"It is," says he, "always in the sacrificial rites of a religious system that we trace the consciousness in man of his dependence upon the powers above him, or his estrangement from the source of life and blessedness. And Egypt, as we might anticipate, is no exception to this universal law. There, also . . . man had ever indicated his persuasion that he was no longer what he ought to be, nor what he knew he might eventually become. He felt that one or all the gods were standing to him in the posture of hostility, and therefore trusted, by placular offerings, to avert the outburst of their indignation and alleviate the burden of his sin. With this conception animal sacrifices seem to have been offered on Egyptian altars during the whole of the historic period. 'Without shedding of blood there is no remission.' Here had culminated the idea of heathen as of other sacrifice, and in the case of Egypt it is put on record that the offerer sometimes manifested more than common sensibility as to the thoughts which underlay this branch of his symbolic ritual. He was accustomed to bewail the sufferings of the victim he had stretched upon the altar, and when it sank beneath the sacrificial knife he turned and smote himself."

The doctrine of the soul's continued existence has been confidently referred to Egypt as its source. The passage in Herodotus, however, which appears to assert this, is allowed by scholars to mean no more than that the Egyptians were the first to promulgate that notion of the mode of continued existence which belongs to *transmigration*. It is not easy to see how the authority of Herodotus could avail to establish even this; but whoever invented the idea has merely corrupted a doctrine, inherent in the mind of man, into a dismal superstition; and the notions which prevailed in Egypt on this subject in the time of Moses, may have been one reason for his reserve on the subject of a future life; though it should be remembered that his institutions, founded as they were on religion, were of a national kind, and thus connected mainly with temporal promises. Devout individuals would doubtless be cognizant of the meaning which our Saviour declared to be inherent in the words of Jehovah, spoken to Moses at the bush, and would share in the

assured hopes contained in the confession, that they were "strangers and pilgrims on the earth."

The antecedent improbability that heathenish ideas were adopted in Hebraism, is thus forcibly stated by Archdeacon Hardwick.

"Let it be conceded that the 'human learning' of the Hebrew legislator was from first to last *Egyptian*. Let it also be conceded that the fondness of his subjects for Egyptian ritualism was such as to have baffled all the wisest schemes designed to counteract it, and enough will yet remain to makes us hesitate before subscribing to this novel phase of the accommodation theory. If the books of Moses be accepted as our guide (and other guidance in this region we have none), is it consistent either with their letter or their spirit, that the law, as authorized at such a crisis by God himself, could carry with it any sanction of things *purely heathenish* in their nature? Was it not pervaded by indignant protests against heathenism, as such? The call of Moses, the appointed legislator, was as critical and peremptory as the call of the apostle of the Gentiles: it was also followed by a like inversion and revulsion of the spirit of the 'chosen vessel.' He, too, had been sent to 'bear the name of God before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel,' and to suffer for that name's sake (cf. Acts ix. 15, 16). He learned, at starting on his mission, and he kept engraven ever on his mind, a clear idea of the complete and absolute distinction of the Jewish faith from that of any other ancient nation. This distinctness of position and belief, proclaimed no more through hieroglyphs intelligible only to the few, but in the ordinary writing of the Hebrew people, was exactly in accordance with the destiny marked out for them as conservators of the true religion. The whole genius, therefore, of their institutions was distinctive, separative, incapable of compromise, impatient of amalgamation; so distinctive, so peculiar, that the wonderful vitality of Hebraism, in after times, can only be explained on the hypothesis that men's devotion to it had been supernaturally produced, and, ever since the childhood of the nation, had been growing upward with their growth. Or, if advancing from these general probabilities, we study some of the first chapters in the national records of the Israelites, we shall again perceive at every turn the traces of antagonism between their own and the Egyptian system. In the Exodus itself, which led the way to the formation of the legal institute, we have to witness no mere secular emancipation from the yoke of a new line of Pharaohs, but the mightiest of religious victories which the ancient world had seen. Designed to vindicate the personality and holiness of God, as well as the distinctness of his chosen people, it was ushered in by a succession of stupendous acts, which tended to rebuke and stultify the worship of Mizraim: it was consummated in that moment, when the Hebrews, flushed with hope and exultation, were all forward in responding to the grateful anthem of their leader: 'I will sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously . . . The Lord is my strength and song, and He has become my salvation.' As, therefore, in the parallel case, where Christianity is struggling hand to hand with some bewitching or besotting form of heathenism, it is most needful to protect her neophyte against all risk of fresh contamination, by decrying or discountenancing customs which may serve, remotely even, to perpetuate modes of thought and feeling adverse to the rightful exercise of her transforming influence; so the Pentateuch evinces a continual jealousy lest peradventure the old thirst for heathenish vices should be stimulated through the medium of unhallowed associations . . . The redeemed community have ample warrant for believing that they are no more a friendless band of foreign shepherds, mingled and well-nigh confounded with the meanest subjects of the Pharaohs, but a 'kingdom of priests, a holy nation, a peculiar treasure unto God above all people;' and because the ground of such election, owing to the nature of God himself, is ultimately and entirely moral, the elected race is under a proportionate obligation to exhibit in the sight of the surrounding world its moral superiority: 'After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, ye shall not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, ye

shall not do; neither shall ye walk in their ordinances: ye shall do my judgments, and keep mine ordinances, to walk therein: I am the Lord your God."

The question, therefore, as to the transmission of religious thoughts and usages, from the Egyptian to the Hebrew, is one not likely to be solved by adducing an array of bare presumptions on the one side or the other. To discuss it, we must enter on a rigorous examination of the facts themselves. With a view to such investigation Archdeacon Hardwick has arranged all possible affinities in two separate classes. (1.) "The minor points of ritualism which may have been inherited in common, or externally derived from one system to another, without implying any true internal sympathy; and (2) the cardinal points of doctrine which must ever have determined the character of those systems, and have proved the real secret of their weakness or their strength."

In speaking, in general, on the subject of "Ritual Resemblances," Archdeacon Hardwick reverts to what he had already said on the same subject in reference to the religion of the Hindus, that a symbolical mode of teaching was adapted to the condition of the early Israelites; and that symbol was, in part, a species of primeval language, and thus universal in its power of conveying certain main ideas. In particular cases, as in that of the Hebrews, it would be so explained by collateral expositions, as to purify it from wrong associations, and elevate it in its meaning.

"If, then, sacred emblems of the ancient world were thus significant; if symbolic institutions were a species of necessity arising out of the capacities and condition of the human mind, and so were common to the rituals both of Jews and the heathen, all objections to the Bible from the mere existence of resemblances between these rituals, irrespectively of the ideas therein embodied, fall entirely to the ground."

The doctrines of the Gospel are conveyed to us by the medium of the same characters and forms of speech as those which heathenism had employed, without any prejudice to the doctrines so conveyed.

Supposing, then, that Moses, "acting here, as always, under the supreme direction of Jehovah," sanctioned rites which had been employed elsewhere—

"He engrafted them into the legal institutions, either because they were the uncorrupted heirloom of the patriarchal age, or else because, from their inherent fitness and expressiveness, they were commended to him as at once convertible in aid of the great object he was called to carry out."

Archdeacon Hardwick then enters upon an examination of several points in which resemblances have been found between Hebrew and Egyptian symbolism; as, Circumcision, the Cherubim, Holy and most Holy Places, the Urim and Thummim, the Red Heifer, the Scape-goat; these subjects are discussed with, what we should call, a liberal allowance to the fancies of the Egyptologist, and yet to the effect of shewing how very little there was common to the Hebrew and Egyptian ceremonial.

With regard to the alleged affinities between the Hebrew and Egyptian systems in religious *doctrines*, the Christian Advocate discusses the matter under the heading "*Doctrinal contrasts*." He shews that there are no dogmatic parallelisms between the two systems. We cannot think that any candid person can "look on this picture and on that," in the light in which Archdeacon Hardwick has placed them, without something like indignant wonder that any one should have seen in them a family likeness, and even give the honor of parentage to Egypt.

It has been suggested, as our author intimates, that the consideration of "Medo-Persian heathenism" might have been expected to come in immediate connexion with that of Hinduism. But we clearly see the principles of his arrangement, as being that of considering heathen systems, according as they stand, or have been supposed to stand, related to that of Revelation; and on this principle there are excellent reasons why Egypt and Medo-Persia should have been considered together, both being regarded as having had strong influence on the Hebrew modes of thinking.

There can be no doubt that ancient Persia stood in close relation to ancient India. So close is the affinity between the Sanscrit and the Zend, that "we are justified on purely philological grounds, in urging the protracted intercourse of Persians and Hindus, who clung together as a great community ages after the migration of the Celt, the Teuton, and the Slave, across the bounds of eastern Europe."

But in whatever part of Asia their divergence originated, "we have now ample reason for concluding, that the final rupture in that primitive population was in part, at least, connected with religious differences. Rebelling, it would seem, against the 'wild-grown nature-worship' which had characterized the early period of their history, or dissatisfied, perhaps, with the account there given of conflicts which they felt to be proceeding in the outer and the inner world, one section of the Arians fell away from the society of their brethren, and in close analogy with later times and distant countries left the traces of the feud ingrained in their religious phraseology."

There is, however, arising from the chequered history of the Medo-Persian, no small variety in the tone of his religion, and the texture of his sacred books. "The whole collection of such writings, or at least of parts which have come down to us, is known as the *Avesta*." But it has been demonstrated, that the treatises of the *Avesta* in their present shape, can date no further back than the third century of the Christian era. Many chapters of the Persian sacred books may probably be carried back to a most venerable antiquity, but scholars are more and more convinced, that works which have been brought together in the *Avesta*, are not only the productions of different ages, but have all been modified and modernized by the intrusion of fresh matter.

The religion of the Medo-Persian, however, was, at least in historic times, far superior to that of his kinsman: "In the measure of her

moral sensibility, Persia may be fairly ranked among the brightest spots of ancient heathendom."

But in estimating the question of the influence of Medo-Persia, whether for good or evil, on the religion of the Hebrews, "it is of the first importance to observe, that any influences exerted on the Hebrews by the votaries of the Ormazd religion, must have always, in the period of the exile, been extremely slender and indirect." The principal scene of transportation was *not* Persia Proper. Though the natives of some Median cities where Hebrew exiles were dispersed may have been related ethnologically to their Perso-Aryan neighbours, their religion was not that connected with the name of Zoroaster and proclaimed in the Avesta. The people to whose creed we should most reasonably turn in searching for an explanation of the change alleged to have passed over the theology of the conquered Hebrews, would be the actual conquerors of the Hebrew nation; the Assyrians, Chaldeo-Babylonians, and *not* the Medo-Persians. But, instead of any similarity in the ideas of ancient Babylonians and of Hebrews after the Captivity, no *contrast* could have been well greater. "The mythology of Babylonia from the oldest period to the Achæmenian conquest will exhibit scarcely any traces of *dualism*, which forms the most distinctive property of the Persian system, and which Hebrews are supposed to have eventually adopted; that religion, on the contrary, had ever been 'a very gross Polytheism' . . . and, therefore, must have differed, *totò cælo*, from the creed of the Old Testament, alike before and after the Babylonish Captivity."

"I shall accordingly," says our author, "dismiss at once the oft-repeated fallacy which professes to connect the Hebrew exiles with the advocates of the Ormazd religion, or, despairing of this pretext, throws together into one the motley tenets of Magi, of Perso-Aryans, and of Babylonians, gives the general name of 'dualism' to the incongruous compound, and concludes by arguing that the Jews, 'who spent the long years of their captivity' in the midst of it, 'returned not unimbuéd with the superstitions of their masters.'"

That parallelisms do really exist between traditions, now surviving in the sacred books of Persia and some doctrines of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures cannot be denied.

"But since no competent scholar is prepared to say that the Avesta *in its present shape*, is clearly traceable further back than the third century after Christ, and since the fact is growing more indisputable every year that a variety of Semitic, if not Christian, elements were intermingled with the faith as well as with the language and literature of the Sassanian period, we are surely not at liberty to urge, before a strict examination of particulars, that traces of revealed religion which exist in sacred books of Persia, must be treated as in every case original, and as proving the existence of an imitative spirit only in the Jewish nation. It is antecedently as probable that the Persian borrowed largely from the Hebrew, as that the Hebrew borrowed from the Persian."

It is evident that the ground of the Christian advocate becomes strong for maintaining the originality of revealed religion, in proportion as facts are presented supplied from authentic sources instead of speculations. We cannot enter in detail upon the arguments by which

he establishes his position, but the results are these, "that where a truly old relationship exists between the Hebrew and Persian systems, it is naturally explained on the hypothesis of aboriginal unity; and that in other cases there is either no true parallelism at all, or else that points of doctrine said to be imported by the later class of sacred writers, had been actually current in the Hebrew Church for centuries anterior to the Babylonish exile."

We tender our sincere thanks to Archdeacon Hardwick for this last very interesting and effective contribution to the cause which he so ably advocates.

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1. *Harmonia Symbolica*: a Collection of Creeds belonging to the Ancient Western Church, and to the Mediæval English Church. Arranged in Chronological order, and after the manner of a Harmony. By CHARLES A. HEURTLEY, D.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford: at the University Press. 1858. 8vo. pp. 184.
  2. *The History and Theology of the Three Creeds*. By the Rev. WILLIAM WIGAN HARVEY, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Rector of Buckland, Herts. London: Parkers; Cambridge: Deightons. 2 vols., 8vo. pp. 700.

WORKS like this of Dr. Heurtley constitute the *bones*, as it were, of ecclesiastical history. No part of that very interesting and important study is more necessary than the tracing the history of opinion, the gradual development and consolidation of a system of doctrine. And as the creeds are the very essence of dogmatical theology, the ascertaining their origin and mode of growth demands special attention. What Dr. Heurtley has attempted in this field of labour he thus states in his preface.

"The author's object in the following pages has been to exhibit, in chronological order, and after the manner of a harmony, a collection of the more important Creeds which have come down to us belonging to the ancient Western Church. He has continued the series till the Creed became fixed in the exact type now in use as the normal confession of the whole of Western Christendom. Thenceforward, confining himself to the English Church, he has endeavoured to trace the changes which a formula so familiar, no longer varying as to its subject-matter, underwent in language, in our own country, till it came to be expressed in the very words in which we now recite it. He has not included in his plan the Creed to which the name of St. Athanasius is commonly attached, nor any of the confessions of faith drawn up by councils, much less any put forth merely by individuals. His aim has been to exhibit those formulæ only which may reasonably be regarded as normal creeds, whether for the instruction of catechumens before baptism, and for customary rehearsal after baptism, or for the Interrogatories used at the usual time of baptism."

Dr. Heurtley observes that the ancient Creeds, apart from that bearing the name of Athanasius, may be divided into two great classes, distinguishable from one another at a glance by their structure, not less than by the quarter of Christendom to which they belong—those of the Eastern and those of the Western Church, the Apostles' Creed being the type of the one, the Nicene Creed of the other. The history



of the Eastern Creeds differs much from that of the Western, for while no council ever interfered with the latter, but they were left to the custody of the several churches, the former were subjected to much of external influence; and, owing to the heresies which arose among a subtle-witted people, they were often remodelled and enlarged. Not that the Western Creeds received no alterations; but the changes were local and trifling. As Dr. Heurtley says:—

“A very remarkable harmony prevails in the creeds of the various churches which have come down to us. Alterations and additions were made, indeed, in sundry instances. In some, they quickly disappeared again; in others they were adopted by other churches, and by slow degrees became generally, and at length universally, established. Still the nature of the changes thus introduced is such, that from the earliest period we have all the frame-work, and by far the greatest part of the substance, and for the most part even the precise words of the Creed as it now stands.”

The Apostle's Creed is then traced from the time of St. Irenæus, through Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Marcellus of Ancyra, Rufinus, St. Augustine, and more modern writers. The notices of the English Creeds is very full, and it is most interesting to observe the variations in successive ages and in different copies. We will quote one of them of the thirteenth century, which is in the Harleian collection of MSS.

“I bileve in God Fadir almichty,  
 Schiper of hevene and earthe;  
 And in Jhesus Christ, his onlepi Sone  
 Ure Loverd;  
 That is i—vang thurch the Holy Gost;  
 Bore of Marie Mayden;  
 Tholede pine under Pounce Pilat,  
 Picht on rode tre,  
 Ded, & y-buriid;  
 Licht in to helle;  
 The thridd day fram deth aros;  
 Steich in to hevene;  
 Sit on his Fadir richt honde, God almichti;  
 Thenne is cominde to deme the quikke and the dede.  
 I bileve in the holy gost;  
 Al holy chirche  
 Mone of alle halwen;  
 Forgiveness of sinne;  
 Fleiss uprising;  
 Lyf withuten ende. Amen.”

A vast deal of labour has been expended on this work. It contains two engraved plates; one a facsimile of a Creed in the *Codex Laudianus*; the other of one in Greek, but in Anglo-Saxon letters, in King Athelstan's Psalter, now in the British Museum.

Mr. Harvey's two volumes ought to have had attention from us earlier, but we are happy now to supply the omission. His love of ecclesiastical antiquity has been proved to our readers by our review of his *Vindex Catholicus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, and his edition of *St. Irenæus*, and with a mind imbued with such studies he has written well on the Creeds. He alludes in high terms, of course, to the work of Bishop Pearson, but makes the following apology for his own.

"But some other more elementary work is required for the Christian student during the time that he is occupied with his other studies. The high Apostolical authority of the Primitive Creeds of the Church; the certainty that we possess these Creeds in substance, if not in words, in the Roman and Nicene formularies, and close scriptural and theological detail upon each clause of the faith into which he is baptized, are points that claim the early attention of every sound Churchman. It would seem, also, that without deviating from the subject, the connexion between Divinity and natural and moral science, on the one hand, and critical and philological investigation on the other, might be advantageously placed before the student in some rudimental form; and topics suggested that could scarcely be followed out without imparting a high degree of interest to studies thus combined in mutual co-operation. It should be remembered again, that *Theology* is no longer limited to the professional reader, or the various schools of sound learning. One of the most favourable signs of the times is the pious zeal with which works in divinity are read and studied by laymen in different walks of life. To such a class of readers the work of Bishop Pearson, either from antiquity of expression, or by reason of a certain scholastic severity with which his arguments are at times drawn out, may not at first be acceptable; and it is impossible to name any work of middle character, to serve as a temporary substitute, by giving the spirit of investigation ground whereon to rest awhile, in its progress to better things. To these two classes of readers the following work is especially addressed."

This plan is carried out with both learning and discretion, and we can recommend the work to our readers at large with great confidence. We may quote, in conclusion, a passage in which the early history of the Creed is recapitulated.

"It has been seen that the Creed ratified at Constantinople, and known as the Nicene Creed, contains all that is confessed in the Aquileian Creed, with the exception of the descent into hell. We may, therefore, take these two creeds of the East and the West collaterally, and explain the doctrines they contain in common; incorporating in their proper places such clauses as are peculiar to either the one or the other. In recapitulation, also, of the subjects of the foregoing observations, we may remember that, in the infant state of the Church, before the Scriptures of the New Testament were written, there was a clear antecedent necessity for some body of doctrine as the safeguard of truth; that traces of such an independent body of doctrine are supplied in the canonical writings of the New Testament; that some of its clauses are even specified; and that the main statements of the Christian creeds are identical with the precise doctrines that the Saviour commanded his apostles to preach. To the Saviour's teaching, therefore, we are justified in referring the first rudimental germ of that form of sound words which, as we believe, existed in the Church before the apostles were withdrawn from it. Then, again, the close agreement in form that existed in the several creeds of antiquity bespeaks a source more ancient than the very ancient writers that first notice them; and so completely was the mind of the Christian teacher moulded to the unvarying sequence of doctrines in the 'Apostolical Preaching,' that one writer, Justin, founds his *Apology* upon the model of the Creed; and, without specifying the source of the arrangement observed, indicates it clearly in the method adopted in his defence of Christian doctrine and Christian practice. The different notices of the Creed that follow each other in close order, up to the time of the first General Council, have each their peculiar value, pointing out either the high apostolical authority of the Creed, or declaring the use to which they ministered in the Church, or, as heresies of a new complexion arose, exhibiting the truth in some fresh phase that was antagonistic to the heterodox innovation. We may now, therefore, proceed to the consideration of the Creed clause by clause."

*A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.* By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church, London. Glasgow: Griffin & Co., 1859. 8vo. pp. 342.

We are glad to meet Dr. Eadie again, and we hope he may long live to give us further fruits of his exegetical labours. It is natural to suppose that when a scholar gives his attention continuously to one department of study, he will become more and more competent to discharge his duty, and Dr. Eadie expresses a hope to this effect in his Preface. He says, "I shall have little to add to the explanations made in the prefaces to my previous commentaries on the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, my object is still the same, however far I may fall short of realizing my own ideal—the development and illustration of the great apostle's thoughts, as they are expressed in his 'weighty and powerful letters.' I humbly trust that through a prolonged intimacy with his genius and style, my 'profiting may appear to all.' One forms a gradual and happy acquaintance with the peculiarities of his mind and language through careful and continuous observation and study; just as, had we lived in those early times, we should have grown familiar, from being much in his company, with his gait, voice, features, and dress. While he writes after the same general pattern as do the other sacred penmen of the New Testament, he has an unmistakeable type of his own," etc.

A thought is introduced into the preface which must have occurred to most readers, and it is pregnant with important results. It is that all the documents of the New Testament, however inexplicable parts may be to us, were comprehended by those to whom they were written. The remark must of course have limitations and exceptions, for St. Peter speaks of things in St. Paul's writings which were "hard to be understood." Dr. Eadie says on the subject:—

"The first question then is—What is the precise meaning of these sentences which the apostle wrote to the church in Philippi? or what is the sense which the church in that city would most naturally ascribe to them? It is to be supposed that they understood the document, and our effort is simply to place ourselves in their intellectual or spiritual position. We seek to comprehend the epistle by a careful analysis of its clauses, an anxious survey of the context, and a cautious comparison of similar idioms and usages; while, through a profound sympathy with the writer, we seek to penetrate into his mind, and be carried along with him in those mental processes which, as they create the contents of the composition, impart to it its character and singularity. Our knowledge of Greek is perfect only in as far as it enables us to attach the same ideas to his words which the apostle intended to convey by them. Every means must be employed to secure this unity of intelligence—every means which the progress of philological science places within our reach. At the same time, there is much which no grammatical law can fix, for the meaning of a particle is often as much a matter of æsthetics as of philology. The citation of a grammatical canon, in such cases, often proves only the possibility of one meaning out of many, but does not decide on any one with certainty; while reliance on such isolated proof is apt to degenerate into mere subtleties and refinement. The exegesis, or the ascertainment of the course of thought, must determine many minute questions, not against grammar, but in harmony with its spirit

and laws. Contextual scrutiny and grammatical legislation have a happy reactionary influence, and any attempt to dis sever them must tend to produce one-sided and unsatisfactory interpretation."

About forty pages are devoted to the Literature of the Epistle, in which the following topics are discussed:—Philippi and the Introduction of the Gospel—Genuineness of the Epistle—Its Unity and Integrity—Circumstances of the Philippian Church and the occasion of the Epistle—Place and time at which it was written—Contents—Commentators on the Epistle. In the treatment of all these topics, the objections of the German destructive school are fully examined, as well as those of other commentators and critics. All this will be read with interest, and the exhaustive method pursued makes the work of real value. But it is in the Commentary itself that Dr. Eadie exhibits his own acute learning, and we have no doubt that it will occupy a high place in this class of works. We wish we could quote largely, but we must be content with a passage from the comment on Cor. ii. 6. After examining at great length the various interpretations of this difficult text, Dr. Eadie thus states his own opinion:—

"Our view is somewhat different from any of these, and still, as we think, more in accordance with the spirit of the context. The apostle affirms that Jesus, in his pre-incarnate state, was 'in the form of God;' and adds, that He thought it not a seizure, or a thing to be snatched at, to be on a parity with God, but emptied himself. Now, it seems to us very plain that the parity referred to is not parity in the abstract, or in anything not found in the paragraph, but parity in possession of this form of God. He was in the form of God, and did not think it a thing to be eagerly laid hold of to be equal with God in having or exhibiting this form. The apostle adds, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν—"but emptied Himself," and the clause is in broad and decided contrast with ἀπαρῶν οὐχ ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα τῷ Θεῷ. That is to say, the one clause describes the result of the other. It was because he did not think it a seizure to be equal with God that He emptied Himself. And of what did He empty Himself but of this form? He was not anxious to be even on a parity with God in possessing it, and therefore He divested Himself of it. He did not look simply to His own things—the glories of the Godhead; but He looked to the things of others, and therefore descended to humanity and death. His heart was not so set upon His glory, that He would not appear at any time without it. There was something which he coveted more—somewhat which He felt to be truly a *ἀπαρῶν*, and that was the redemption of a fallen world by His self-abasement and death. Or, to speak after the manner of men, two things were present to His mind—either continuance in the form of God, and being always equal with God, but allowing humanity to perish in its guilt; or veiling this form and foregoing this equality for a season, and delivering, by His condescension and agony, the fallen progeny of Adam. He chose the latter, or gave it the preference, and therefore 'humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death.' From His possession of this 'mind,' and in indescribable generosity He looked at the things of others, and descended with His splendour eclipsed—appeared not as a God in glory, but clothed in flesh: not in royal robes, but in the dress of a village youth; not as a Deity in fire, but a man in tears; not in a palace, but in a manger; not with the thunderbolt in His hand, but with the hatchet and hammer of a Galilean mechanic. And in this way He gave the church an example of that self-abnegation and kindness which the apostle has been inculcating, and which the Lord's career is adduced to illustrate and confirm."

*The Gospel According to Mark Explained.* By JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D.D., Professor in the Princeton Theological Seminary. London: Nesbit. 1858. pp. xxiii., 444.

Dr. Alexander is decidedly convinced that the Gospel of St. Mark is a history complete in itself, designed to answer a specific purpose and to make a definite impression. He does not, indeed, consider the Gospel of St. Mark, as some have done, the oldest of the Gospels, nor attempt to determine its precise chronological relations; but he endeavours to shew that it is eminently fit to convey the first impression of the Gospel History, and to prepare the reader for the study of the other books.

In accordance with these views his plan is to treat this Gospel as complete in itself, and to make, in this volume, no reference to matters which he has treated of in connexion with other Gospels.

"The absence of all reference to other, and especially contemporary writers, some of whom he highly values and has diligently studied, is partly owing to the want of room, but also to the fact that his design is not to supersede or rival other works upon the subject, but to supplement them by preserving the specific fruits of his own labours in the same great field."

We, for our parts, regard this latter as a recommendation of Dr. Alexander's work; we care not how much of evidence a man gives for the conclusions he has come to, but we are glad to be spared the detail of modern authorities, whether home or foreign, which has become so fashionable.

St. Mark's Gospel, in the view of Dr. Alexander, is distinguished from the others. 1. As being the shortest—though its length is not to be estimated by the number of its chapters. Its less extent of surface is partly owing to a second characteristic: viz., that it contains little that is purely biographical, being merely confined to our Lord's official life, or public ministry.

A third peculiarity is the predominant attention given to our Saviour's actions, as distinguished from His words or discourses. A fourth peculiarity, belonging indeed to the third, is, that we owe to St. Mark almost all the hints we have in reference to our Saviour's looks and gestures, and yet this gospel is distinguished by containing, as to the matter of it, scarcely anything peculiar to itself.

It cannot be regarded as an abridgment of either of the other gospels. Its materials are independently arranged, and details, graphic and minute, are given, not found in the other gospels. Nor is it a compilation from the rest. This would suppose that it appeared subsequently to them, for which supposition there are no grounds.

Dr. Alexander believes that the safest resort is to acquiesce in old and not incredible traditions, the most trustworthy of which makes this gospel the second, and maintains a relation between it and St. Peter's preaching; an account which is confirmed by other considerations.

"The arrangement is both topical and chronological, the actual order of events being probably retained wherever it was not at variance with the writer's purpose of displaying, chiefly by examples, the character and method of our

Saviour's work, His teachings and His miracles, the reception which He met with both from friends and foes, and the providential causes by which the catastrophe or crisis of His history on earth was first retarded and then brought about."

Whatever design St. Mark may have been led to form and to carry out, the student will find great advantage in following the guidance of Dr. Alexander, whose arrangement is logical, and whose treatment of the successive subjects is lucid and exhaustive. Although the accomplished commentator has almost too carefully avoided display of scholarship it is evident that he is at home in all important points of it; and though his volume is closely printed, its matter is much compressed, and embodies a large amount of sound and judicious exegetical theology.

*A Commentary on the Book of Psalms ; Critical, Devotional, and Prophetical : with the Text of the Authorized Version, Metrically Arranged, according to the Original Hebrew.* By WILLIAM DE BURGH, D.D., late Donellan Lecturer in the University of Dublin ; author of "An Exposition of the Apocalypse," "Lectures on the Second Advent," "A Compendium of Hebrew," etc., etc. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, & Co. 1859. 8vo. Parts I—IV.

DR. De Burgh has done good service to Biblical learning, and on that account we are glad to see him occupied on the Book of Psalms. On looking over this portion of his labours, however, we have been disappointed as well as pleased. As far as the criticism and verbal explanation of the text is concerned, there is much learned and important matter. Of this we shall give a specimen from the notes on Psalm xvi. On the word *Michtam*, occurring in the title, we have the following:—

"Or, *A golden Psalm of David*, Marg.—*מָזְמֹר*. So Bythner, Aben Ezra, Luther, etc., deriving from *זָהָב*, *gold*; in agreement with which, among the Arabians certain poems are so called on account of their excellence. Boothroyd and Gesenius consider it as synonymous with, or written for *מִשְׁתָּמ*, *a writing*, as in the title of Hezekiah's Song, Isa. xxxviii. 9. The former, however, mentions another and more probable derivation, from the verb *צָרַח*, found once only in the Bible, and in Niphal, viz. Jer. ii. 22, where it signifies *To be indelibly marked* (*signatus, insignitus, notatus, impressus, inculptus, fuit*; Schindler in Rogers);—according to which this title may denote that this Psalm was written in some very lasting and permanent manner—engraved, perhaps, on stone or other such material; in confirmation of which the same word is preceded in the titles of Ps. lvii. lviii. and lix. by the words *לֹא יִמָּחַד*, which he renders *That it might not be destroyed*. So in the LXX. *στυλογραφία*; Chald. *Sculptura recta*; Vulg. *Tituli-Inscriptio*. Dathe translates, *Epitaphium*; and Berlin, *Monumentum*; Hengst. *A secret*, i. e. *A song with deep import*. It occurs also in the titles of Psalms lvi. and lx.; and, it is to be observed, only in superscriptions of Psalms marked with the name of David.

We will now quote the notes on the first four verses of the Psalm:—

"VER. 2.—'For  $\text{אָרַם}$  11 MSS. 5 pr. K., 4 MSS. 4 pr. 5 edd. R., LXX., Syr., Vulg., Æth., Ar., Hieron, read  $\text{אָרַם}$ , *I have said*' (Rogers); which renders the supplied words unnecessary. But *quare*? Compare the similar passage, Lam. iii. 24, 25. The Targum and Jewish Commentators agree with the E. V. as to the ellipsis.

"Gesenius would render, *There is no happiness for me without Thee* (taking  $\text{בְּךָ}$  to mean *præter, except*), which is the reading of De Rossi, and approved by Rogers, who refers for examples of this use of the preposition to Gen. xxxi. 50; Levit. xviii. 18; Num. vi. 20; Deut. xix. 9; in all which places, however, it means *besides*, in the sense of *over and above*, not *without or except*. To the same effect the Chald. and Syr., *Thou art my highest good*; and so likewise Hengst., who takes the *good* here as the opposite of *sorrows*, ver. 4, and equivalent to *my inheritance, cup, lot*, ver. 5, 6, which the Psalmist says is *not without or beside Thee*—*is from Thee alone* (in common) *with all the saints*, etc., and in contrast to those who look to *another God*. Our Version seems to give the true sense, taking  $\text{בְּךָ}$  to mean *concerning or relating to*, of which there are many instances,—*My goodness does not affect Thee* (or, *The benefit of my services is not to Thee*, Fry): and so the Sept. renders  $\text{τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου οὐ χελαὶ ἔχεις}$ : Vulg. *bonorum meorum non egēs*. See Bp. Horsley's note in the Exposition following. The reading of  $\text{לְךָ}$  for  $\text{בְּךָ}$  *all my goodness (or happiness) is from Thee*, adopted by Fr. and Sk., etc., rests only on one MS.

" $\text{קָדוֹשׁ}$  here first for *saints*, and elsewhere only Ps. xxxiv. 10, and lxxxix. 6, 8; and sing. *saint*, Ps. cvi. 16; Deut. xxxiii. 3; Job, v. 1, and xv. 15; Dan. viii. 13; Hos. xii. 1; Zech. xiv. 5. In all other instances it is rendered *holy*. See Ps. iv. 3, note 8.

"*The excellent*,  $\text{רָם}$ , so rendered Ps. viii. 1, and lxxvi. 4 (5); significant of *eminence* in general. It occurs in the Psalms again, Ps. xciii. 4 (twice), where *mighty*; and cxxxvi. 18, *famous*. Rogers, with Glassius, considers the construct form as put for the simple  $\text{רָם}$  as in Num. v. 18: 2 Kings, ix. 17; Job, xviii. 2; Isa. xxxii. 6; Jerem. xxiv. 2; Amos, vi. 1.

"Another view of these two words is that of Kennicott, adopted by Street, Boothroyd, and French and Skinner, which supposes them designations—the former of *idols*, and the latter of *idolators*; according to which this verse begins a new sentence, thus:—'As for the *Idols* (*Divinities*) which are upon the earth, and all the *great* who delight in them.' . . . But, to say the least, it is a conjecture to meet the difficulties of this passage only, being utterly unsupported by other examples.

"VER. 4.—*Sorrows*,  $\text{אָרַם}$ . Here again Kennicott and Fr. and Sk. render *idols*, which is countenanced by the Chald. and Sym., and adopted by Gesenius. 'But Dathe observes that  $\text{אָרַם}$  never signifies *idols*, the proper word being  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$ . See Gesenius, and 1 Sam. xxxi. 9; 2 Sam. v. 21; Hos. iv. 17. The other Versions of the Polyglot support the common interpretation, which is also approved by Dathe, Horsley, Berlin, and De Rossi' (Rogers).

"*Hasten* (after) *another*; or *give gifts to another*, Marg. But the former reading is preferable, and approved by Berlin, De Rossi, Fry, Rogers, and Fr. and Sk.; the verb having the sense of *to give gifts*, only in the single instance of *purchasing a wife by the offering of bridal gifts*, as Exod. xxii. 15 (see Gesenius). Whence, however, Parkhurst reads, *who endow another* (god or husband), and

Bp. Horsley—' *Who betroth themselves to another*, i. e., who go a whoring after other gods;' though the former says the verb 'properly denotes to endow, as a man does his bride or spouse,' not, therefore, as a bride or wife her husband, as his translation requires. Hengst. also, who renders, *purchase of another*, explains this by *emit dote uxorem*, as a figurative expression for idolatry. The suggestion of Dathe in Rogers' note, 'to point  $\pi\pi$ , *Qui retrosum festinant* (*Who hasten backward*), referring to Sym. *eis ta olon epxuvav*, and Isa. i. 4; xlii. 17,' is worthy of attention as dispensing with the ellipsis."

All this is plain and discreet enough, but when we come to the dogmatic part of Dr. De Burgh's Commentary we cannot go with him. Besides having a theory to maintain as to prophecy and the Second Advent of our Lord, he adopts the extremest system of mystical interpretation. The literal meaning and application of the Psalms are sometimes entirely overlooked, and they are treated as having no fundamental relation to the times of the writers, but as being only prophecies. That we are not saying too much will be plain from a portion of the commentary on the twelfth Psalm.

"The first verse of this Psalm so clearly indicates the period contemplated by the Spirit of Prophecy, that it is impossible to mistake it—namely, the maturity of the Apostacy by which the next revelation of the Lord from heaven shall be preceded and ushered in. This reference was seen and well expressed by Bishop Horne, who on this verse thus writes:—

"Our Lord foretells that, in the latter days [we should rather say the *last* days], "because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold;" and seems to question whether, "when the Son of man cometh, He shall find faith upon earth." The universal depravity of Jew and Gentile caused the Church of old to pray earnestly for the First Advent of Christ; and a like depravity among those who call themselves Christians may induce her to pray no less earnestly for His appearance "the second time unto salvation." "It is frequently [he adds] a benefit to be destitute of "help," from man, both as it puts us upon seeking it from God, and inclines Him to grant it when we do seek."

"Equally just are his remarks on the next verse:—'They speak vanity every one with his neighbour; with flattering lips and with a double heart do they speak.' 'When men [he says] cease to be faithful to their God, he who expects to find them so to each other will be much disappointed. The primitive sincerity will accompany the primitive piety in her flight from the earth; and then interest will succeed conscience in the regulation of human conduct, till one man cannot trust another farther than he holds him by that tie:' while, according to the primary meaning of the word for 'flattering,' which is 'smoothless,' we are doubtless to understand also the specious arguments and plausible speech by which the wicked and infidel insinuate their principles and seduce the innocent. A fearful state of society to contemplate! yet made more so still by the addition, as in the next verse, to 'flattering lips,' of 'the tongue that speaketh proud things,' of those who say, 'with our tongue will we prevail, our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?'—answering the description given by the apostle of certain who 'speak great swelling words of vanity' to 'allure through the lusts of the flesh those who had escaped from them that live in error' . . . 'beguiling unstable souls, having an heart exercised with covetous

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\* "So the Syriac version entitles the Psalm—'An accusation of the Wicked One, and a prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah. And more distinctly the Arabic—'Concerning the end of the world, which shall be the eighth day (alluding to the title, see note), and the coming of the Messiah.'"



practices,' and who at the same time are characterized as 'despising government; presumptuous; self-willed; not afraid to speak evil of dignities' (2 Pet. ii. 10, with 14 and 18). Such persons were to be met with in the Psalmist's time; such in the apostle's; such in every age of the world. But the Psalm does not refer to isolated cases. It contemplates a period when, 'the godly ceasing, and the faithful failing from among the children of men,' this should be the prevailing character."

We object *in toto* to the theory here adopted, and we do not think that Bishop Horne can be properly quoted, except for his piety, and the frequent excellent practical remarks which he makes. We also repudiate Dr. De Burgh's authority when he uses the expression "*so clearly*," and when he says "*it is impossible to mistake it*." He states what is not true, for the meaning he attaches to the Psalm is *not clear* to thousands of pious readers, and *it is possible* to mistake the interpretation he gives. There is something supercilious in such quiet confidence in his own views, opposed as they are to nine-tenths of those who are competent to form an opinion of Biblical exegesis.

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*Notæ Criticæ in Versionem Septuagintaveralem. Liber Deuteronomii, Curante Gulielmo Selwin, S.T.B., Dominæ Margaretæ in Sacra Theologia Lectoræ. Coll. Div. Johann. olim Socio. Cantab: Deighton. London: Bell. 1858.*

WE are glad to know that the study of the Old Testament in the original is increasingly cultivated at Cambridge, and by our Biblical students in general. There may have been a tendency on the part of Hebrew scholars to decry the Septuagint Version, especially at a time when vehement one-sidedness in opposite directions was the order of the day; when Catholics hated Hebrew because it was in the hands of Reformers, and the latter felt themselves bound to protest against everything which had been held in reverence by so corrupt a church. But the competent Hebrew scholar knows too well the extent of his ultimate obligations to the Septuagint Version to vilipend it; the Catholic Christian cannot forget that to the Gentile early church it was the only form in which the Scriptures of the Old Testament were accessible; and the devout Biblical student cannot observe how freely it was used by the apostles and by our Lord himself without feeling that at least in these cases he has the highest sanction for accepting it as the vehicle of Divine truth.

On these accounts we regard with much interest the labours of Professor Selwyn in this department. His lamented predecessor,

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"Such comments are not for a moment to be allowed here as that of Hengstenberg, who says:—'The expressions, "The godly man ceases; the upright fail," are not to be understood very literally.' Or of Luther:—'That the Prophet here speaks in such a manner as to make the matter more than it was in reality, arose from his intense zeal; for there are always holy persons upon earth. In the same style people still complain, from time to time, there is no longer any honesty among men; that they act in everything with deceit.' For this is to make the Psalmist use language of hyperbole and exaggeration utterly irreconcilable with the belief in his inspiration."

Professor Blunt, had done excellent service in a similar direction by exhibiting in its true light the value of Patristic literature, which had become extensively degraded and ignored; and we are thankful that a Christian scholar so well worthy to succeed him is using his influence in the general interest.

Our readers have already been made aware of the nature and object of these *Notæ Criticæ*. They are intended to place before his pupils, from sources less accessible to them, the means of forming their own judgment in cases where there are variations from the Vatican text, and thus to some extent to supply what Pearson spoke of as a *desideratum*. The *testimonia Patrum* which he has prefixed to these critical notes convey to the student valuable information as to the light in which this version was viewed in early Christian times.

With regard to this portion of his work, the Book of Deuteronomy, he remarks, that he has met with very few passages which, on comparison with the Hebrew, are not satisfactorily cleared up. In two places only the Hebrew text appears obscured by serious faults, in both of which the Seventy affords the means, as in many other cases, of emendation. But he remarks in general, that the nature and importance of the discrepancies between the Hebrew original and the Alexandrine Version will become more apparent from the labour of each year; a correct acquaintance with these, however, must be the result of personal investigation.

We are sure that the Professor's parting wish for his "courteous reader," is from the abundance of his own heart, that by God's help he may use to his soul's health and enjoyment that most sacred volume, whose contents were so constantly in the mind and on the lips of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by whose utterances He broke the snares of the Devil.

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*The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, after the Authorized Version.* Newly compared with the original Greek, and revised. By Five Clergymen. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1858.<sup>a</sup>

THE outcry by which the revision of our English version has been demanded did not arise amongst those who were most conversant with the original, nor chiefly amongst those who most revered the Word of God; and in our notice of the first labours of these five clergymen we expressed our satisfaction that the subject had been taken up by men in all respects trustworthy. Men of well-earned reputation for their attainments, some of them for their exegetical labours, and all for their conservative Christian feeling, had united their counsels in considering what *adjustment* the English version might require in order to adapt it to the present state of Biblical scholarship. One advantage to be expected from the results of such an investigation appeared to be that

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<sup>a</sup>. This notice appeared in the *Clerical Journal* for Feb. 22nd. The writer of it was about to supply a critique for our pages, but we thought this paper too good to be superseded, or to make it necessary to write another.

that excessive suspicion, which had been in various ways excited, would be put down when men of acknowledged competency and honesty of purpose had exhibited, for a portion of the Scriptures, the utmost of what could be done for the improvement of the version; and another, that the work of men whose opinions were so worthy of consideration on the part of scholars in general, thus given to the public, would be the means of eliciting, from a wider circle, valuable contributions to the same cause.

But it really required *great grace* on the part of this self-constituted tribunal to conciliate feelings which were sure to arise on both sides—on the side of rash innovation, and of unreasonable tenacity—at the appearance of their work. It is, however, chiefly on the latter side that they have been attacked. We by no means sympathize in the spirit of some remarks we have seen, in which a determination has been apparent to find fault, at all hazards, with what these revisers have done; yet we think they should have laid their account at having their work severely criticised, seeing that multitudes, who are not to be classed as *ιδιῶται*, have an affection for our version on grounds which they can justify, and would be likely to resist any change which was not imperatively demanded, “Some points there are,” says Archbishop Whately, “on which it seems impossible that any doubt could (in the present day) exist, and in which, accordingly, changes might be introduced without offending or alarming any reasonable person—changes very small indeed in amount and in absolute magnitude, but not of small advantage.” Yet he says, “I should be sorry to see any change made about which there could be any difference of opinion among persons entitled to respect.”

We considered, in fact, from the tone at first adopted by these five clergymen, that the results of their labours were published partly for the purpose of discussion—not indeed as mere suggestions on points imperfectly considered, but as *propositions* already well weighed on their part, and ready for the respectful consideration of their brethren, who might look at them from various points of view; and, apart from any expectation of their being introduced in their present state into the body, or even into the margin, of our version, they might still have formed a valuable companion to that version for the use of all students of the New Testament; and, perhaps, have contributed by degrees to a general consent as to those changes which are most needed.

There is, however, a tone in the present pretensions of these five clergymen, as expressed by their *prolocutor*, which many have felt, and we think with justice, that they have no right to assume. It was very natural for them to say, “We feel an increasing confidence in the general correctness of the changes we advocate in our present volume. We seem to ourselves to have gained much by our experience in the details of revision, and to be able now to discern more clearly where it is necessary to maintain a rigidly exact translation, and where to yield somewhat to the peculiarities of the Hellenistic Greek and to the requirements of English idiom;” but, while they profess herein to have been much

aided by the criticism with which they have been favoured, it appears that in what they reckon the higher department of their work, they have received no help worth mentioning. "In those matters where common sense and a sober judgment of the necessities of the English idiom make an appeal against the rigour of scholastic criticisms," they say, "we thankfully acknowledge that we have received many useful and judicious suggestions;" but, they tell us:

"It is, however, right to say that the observations that have been made upon our revision have not often led us, *where questions of scholarship are concerned*, to reverse our previous decisions or to change our practice. In these particulars we think our reviewers have failed to afford us that assistance which we should have gladly welcomed. . . . In these particulars then, and in questions of debated construction, we fear we cannot say we have received much assistance from our critics."

These remarks are enforced by an account of certain blunders on the part of one of their critics, by which his incapacity for judging in such questions is intimated.

Now, in this declaration of theirs, there appears to us a somewhat unseemly pronouncement of the *ne sutor*, as though not one of their critics had shewn himself qualified to raise his eyes above the shoe-latchet place of their structure. If this were so, it would be a matter for regret on various accounts. It would shew that scholarship was much rarer among us than it ought to be; or that our Biblical scholars had not taken a sufficient interest in the subject; or that none but inferior scholars had reckoned the labours of these five clergymen of sufficient importance to call forth their criticism; unless, indeed, this silence on the part of scholars was a tacit acknowledgment of the perfection of what had been accomplished.

It ought to be borne in mind by all parties that the unlearned reader can never be put into a position by which he can dispense with the instruction of those who have become at home in the original. In documents of so much importance as the New Testament, it is assuredly desirable that the version in common use should be made as perfect a representation of the original as may be; but no mere version can ever be more than an approximation to the image to be represented; and it ought to be remembered that it is the *mind*, the *thought*, of the original that is to be represented by vernacular signs of thought; and as to scholarship, we maintain that that man is the true scholar who has so learned to think in the original language as to bring away the pure idea conveyed by it, and to transfer it to the vernacular idiom without any chromatic discolourment from the forms of the learned language. An anxious adherence to foreign forms of speech under the idea of accuracy is a mistake, and besides resulting in barbarisms, beclouds the idea to be conveyed.

There is no doubt—and it is a matter of thankfulness—that in the present day our means for attaining to accuracy in the interpretation of the New Testament are, in some respects, much superior to those which were enjoyed by our translators. A strange bewilderment as to the language of the New Testament had come over the minds of

men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which, it appears, had not manifested itself in the times of the Reformation, and which, it may fairly be said, was never so prevalent among the scholars of our own country as it was abroad. It was not the fashion then for Englishmen to defer so absolutely as they do now to the authority of dominant names. Still there was much to be done in the way of establishing correct principles as to the language and grammar of the New Testament. The labours of Winer, in their successive stages of improvement, have been before the public for six and thirty years, and may be considered as exhibiting the results, not only of his own researches during that period, but those of many eminent scholars who have either directly or indirectly endeavoured to rectify the errors of former times. An important result has been a thorough vindication of the sacred writers from the charge of boundless licence which had been virtually made by those who professed the greatest reverence for them. It is the perpetual object of Winer to correct these errors in detail; to shew, for instance, that in the Greek of the New Testament, particles, cases, tenses, moods, etc., are not arbitrarily put for each other; that they are in fact used, in relation to the dialect in which the New Testament was written, with great precision.

But if Winer is not himself open to the charge which De Wette once brought against him of pedantry (*kleinmersterei*), we suspect that some of his devotees have partly misapprehended him. It is, no doubt, true that St. Paul, for instance, is not found putting one *Greek* particle or one *Greek* tense for another by an arbitrary *enallage*; and this is all that Winer ought, at least, to have contended for; but it does not follow that in our own or any other modern language a different form of expression may not be necessary in order exactly to convey the apostle's meaning. To take a particular case in illustration: it is a regular thing with Greek writers to use a past tense, commonly the aorist, in their *similes*. We have several cases of this within a few lines of each other in the third book of the Iliad. Thus v. 23. ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σῶματι κύρσας. And v. 33, "As when a traveller at sight of a serpent starts back, ἀπέστη—trembling seizes his limbs, ἔλλαβε—back he returns, ἀνεχώρησεν—and paleness takes his cheeks, εἶλε."

It is thus that the LXX. represent the Hebrew idiom. As in Isaiah xl. 8, the grass withereth and the flower falleth, ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσε, and, in a similar passage in Job. The passage given by Winer (p. 321, ed. 5) from St. James i. 24, is of this kind: "A man who beholds his natural face in a glass, κατενόησε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπελήλυθε καὶ εὐθέως ἐπελάθετο. He beholdeth himself, and has gone off, and forgetteth."

Now it is perfectly true there is no *enallage* of tense in these cases; the writers picture an event as past, and use a past tense accordingly; but it is equally true that a past tense in English would be incorrect, because we picture the thing as now before the mind, and in *this sense* the aorist is put for the present, which we believe was all

that was meant by some of the writers whom Winer contradicts. We have the same aorists in the eleventh verse of this chapter of St. James—"the sun *arose* and *withered* the grass, the flower of it *fell*, and its beauty *perished*"—where no modern version could use any but the present tense.

What we have remarked with regard to the use of the tenses is true of other peculiarities of the Greek in relation to modern idiom, that, while in the New Testament Greek there is no confounding of things that differ, it would often be mere pedantry, resulting in obscurity, to exhibit in a version the exact form of the original.

Many of the changes which are proposed in the version of the Epistles to the Corinthians are, as it appears to us, undeniable improvements, and some happy. Our space will not allow us to particularize these or the minor cases which appear to us doubtful. The following are a few of the instances contained in the first Epistle, in which we think their views are open to discussion.

In chap. i. 10, *κατηρτισμένοι* is rendered "be made perfect," instead of "perfectly joined together." But, considering that *ἀρ. ἀπε.* is to *fit*—*fügen zur Eintracht*: that *καταρτιζ.* is applied in the New Testament to mending nets, as it is in the LXX. to repairing walls; that it is often, perhaps commonly used, as it is here, in connections which imply disunion; and that the word *perfection* is generally used in the sense of *τελείωσις*, full-growth; we think that the Authorized Version is more exact in this place, and that 2 Cor. xiii. 11 should have been conformed to it, or rendered *be united*.

Chap. i. 18. To them that are *perishing*, "to us that are *being saved*." In these cases, and the following which we have noted, 1 Cor. xv. 2; 2 Cor. ii. 15; 2 Cor. iii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 3; 2 Cor. x. 14, there seems a needless anxiety to press Winer's argument, that the grammatical present is not put for other tenses. In these cases, as in that of Acts ii. 47, *τοὺς σωζομένους*, it would, of course, be grammatically inexact to use either a past or a future tense; but besides the "awkward English" which our revisers confess, we exceedingly doubt about their exegetical theory. We do not believe that the description *οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι* is meant to express the idea that any one of unbelievers is actually perishing, still less that all are, but rather *a property of their condition* as unbelievers. So in Heb. vii. 8, *ἀποθνήσκοντες ἄνθρωποι* does not mean men who are actually dying, but a general attribute of their nature as human—"sterbende Menschen," as Win., after Luther, says, though his explanation, "welche (einer nach dem andern) sterben," is not expressed by the tense. The phrase *Æsch. Ag. 777. (Bl.)*, *ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι* is generally interpreted as referring to the certain destiny of the Trojans. These remarks apply to almost all the passages of this kind altered by our revisers; and we should be sorry to have their un-English phrases substituted for those of our version, which at least do not convey an erroneous idea.

Chap. i. 21. The phrase "after that," for *ἐπειδὴ*, was probably intended by our translators to express the idea that the wisdom of the

world *had been tried*, which agrees with the first meaning of *ἔπει* or *ἐπειδή*. In Luke i. 34, *ἔπει δὲ ἐπλήρωσε πάντα* is read by Lach. *ἐπειδή*.

Chap. ii. 5. "In *persuasive* words." The idea conveyed by the Authorized Version in the word *enticing* is that of the *seductive* nature of the sophistic harangues. The *ἀπ. λεγ.* word *πειθός* with variation *πειθώ* seems to be used for *πιθανός*, as in *πιθανολογία*, Col. xi. 4, in a bad sense; *πιθ. λόγοι* are attributed by Josephus to false prophets, *πιθανοὶ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐπαγωγοί*. Ant. 8, 2, 8.

Chap. ii. 7. "God's wisdom." A change made "to preserve the more strictly *possessive genitive*, and to distinguish it from those cases where the genitive seems rather to imply origin or emanation." But this is *not* a possessive genitive. It is surely not God's subjective wisdom which the apostle is mentioning, but a wisdom which he has revealed in distinction from a wisdom which the world had invented; just as *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ* is not God's subjective righteousness, but one derived from Him.

Chap. ii. 13. "Interpreting spiritual things to spiritual persons." This is Bengel's rendering; but the version they have put in the margin is decidedly more in accordance with the context. The apostle had been shewing that both the things they preached and their methods of preaching were spiritual, which *things* we speak in *words* of the spirit, thus joining spiritual things together. The first meaning of *συγκριν.*, too, is *combine*.

Chap. iii. 6. "But God gave the growth." This is one among the many cases in which our versionists have shewn a want of care. It is an ugly alliteration; and the word *increase*, which is used throughout the Authorized Version, means the same thing.

Chap. iii. 12. "Wood, hay, *straw*." We observe that Luther and the Geneva version have *stubble*; and *καλάμη* is the proper word for stubble as opposed to *ἄχυρον*. Thus Exod. v. 12, "the people were scattered"—to collect stubble for straw—*καλάμην εἰς ἄχυρα*. The former is what is left in the field after the ears are gathered, which, mixed with clay, is used for building purposes.

Chap. iii. 13. "Each man's work, of what sort it is, the fire itself shall prove." There does not appear the slightest advantage to the sense in this adherence to the order of the original, which is quite unnatural in English.

Chap. iii. 17. "The which are ye." The same remark may be made about this dogged adherence to the Greek form; *οἷτινες* agrees by attraction with *ὑμεῖς*, but it is relative to *ὁ ναός*, and "which temple" is an exact rendering.

Chap. iv. 12. "Being persecuted we *endure*." The word *endure* is appropriated to *ὑπομένειν* in the sense of *persevering* in the Authorized Version, so that it conveys a wrong idea as the rendering of *ἀνεχόμεθα*.

Chap. v. 1. "It is *actually* reported." The word *ὅλως*, which is rare in the New Testament, appears to mean, rather, fully (*ὅλ*=voll.), *i.e.*, with perfect evidence, or *ubique*, *ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ*, Bretschneider. The division in the *Church* would not much attract the attention of

Gentiles, and that had been privately communicated; but a crime which would appear abominable to the heathen would be in everybody's mouth. We should say: it is *quite* the report; or, as the Authorized Version: it is commonly reported.

Chap. v. 10. "Yet not *absolutely*." We like this word as little as we do the word "actually," above.

Chap. v. 11. "But *as it is* I wrote." The words *νυνὶ δὲ* answer to *ποτέ* in Col. i. 21, "once alienated . . . but now *νυνὶ δὲ*, reconciled," as in chap. iii. 8, and Phil. v. 11. It is more likely that *ἐγραψα*. in accordance with the known use of the aorist of that word for a letter under hand, refers to what the apostle is now writing.

Chap. vi. 18. "Every sin *whatever*." This is a harsh result of a too anxious imitation of the Greek, *πάν ἀμάρτημα ὃ ἐάν*. "Whatever sin" would have been sufficiently exact; as in Col. iii. 7, *πάν ὅτι ἂν ποιῇτε*, "whatever ye do." But the Authorized Version is quite as good.

Chap. vii. 21. "Nay even if thou mayest be made free, use it rather," is apparently intended to imply that the apostle advises slaves to forego emancipation. Bengel thinks so; and Winer supplies *τῇ δουλείᾳ*, with *χρῆσαι*. But when the word *χρόμαι* is applied to *things*, it commonly implies a beneficial use, and not a mere endurance of a thing—meaning to *avail* yourself of. In this case Bretschneider renders "potius utere hac opportunitate." The *ἀλλά* is adversative to *μὴ μελέτω*, no doubt, which implies that a Christian slave should not be anxious to demand manumission; the alternative being the quiet preference of it, implied in the words *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι*.

Chap. xii. 2. The reading *ὅτι ὅτε* is certainly recommended by its difficulty, and for the sake of it our versionists have mistranslated. The participle *ἀπαγόμενοι* cannot be rendered "ye were led." The word "Gentiles" commonly, if not always, *includes* the idea of idolatry; and the apostle here says, "ye were Gentiles, by being carried away to dumb idols."

Chap. xiv. 2. "No man *heareth*." The word *ἀκούειν* is sometimes used as the Heb. *שָׁמַע*. The passage Gen. xi. 7, illustrates this: let us confound their language, that no man may *understand* them; hear them.

Chap. xv. 1, 2. Our versionists, in taking *τίνι λόγῳ* into the first verse, and making it dependent on *γνωρίζω*, have partly adopted Bengel's idea. But it is much more natural to construe *τίνι λόγῳ* with *εἰ κατέχετε*, as is done by Win. p. 645, who gives it as a case in which the dependent clause is put first in the arrangement of individual propositions, as in 2 Cor. xii. 7. The meaning is, "If ye keep in mind with what discourse I proclaimed it."

Chap. xv. 4. "And that He *hath* risen the third day." This is an impossible phrase in English.

Chap. xv. 5. The constant rendering of *ᾤφθη* by He *appeared*, instead of He was seen, is perhaps in accordance with an idea on which Dean Alford has laid too much stress, that the appearance of Christ to



His disciples after His resurrection was *apparition-like*. But the word *ἐπιδεσθαι* may easily be shewn to be used in a much stronger sense than the Dean's idea implies.

It is very possible that the doubts in these cases, and in some others which we had noticed, would have been modified if our five clergymen could have given more fully the *rationale* of their proceedings. They have given a "brief statement" of this kind, in deference to the wishes of many; but there is still too much the appearance as if they thought their own authority ought to answer all demands.

In the matter of verbal criticism they have exercised moderation; their changes of text being commonly those which may be reckoned conventional among modern editors. Whether the assumptions on which this convention has been founded are to be allowed to retain their ground is becoming more doubtful than it has been, and on this account the time has scarcely come for such a revision of our Version as should be founded on an amended text.

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*Christology of the Old Testament, and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions.* By E. W. HENGSTENBERG. Second Edition, greatly improved. Translated from the German by JAMES MARTIN, B.A. Edinburgh. Vols. iii. iv. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1858. 8vo., pp. 456, 460.

We are at length furnished with a complete English edition of this remarkable work, which has long excited attention both here and on the Continent. Perhaps we now have all that can well be said on the subject treated of, as far as materials go for forming a judgment; for we cannot for a moment suppose that Hengstenberg's views will be universally received. It is the nature of all exclusive studies to warp the judgment of those who pursue them; they become men of one idea, and the various modifications of their theories which suggest themselves to others, are apt to be kept out of sight. As in science nothing is more important than a general acquaintance with their whole circle, so in theology the larger the field of a man's sympathies the better it is. We think that Hengstenberg has, in some cases, strained his arguments, yet we do not think the work less valuable on that account. For facts, for the exegesis of particular texts, and for the bringing forward of the *minutiae* of Old-Testament doctrine and prophecy, the work is unrivalled, and will long remain a monument of the learning, genius, and piety of its author.

The author reaches Malachi about the middle of the last volume. The remainder is occupied with appendices, on the following subjects:—Importance of the Messianic prophecies;—Messianic expectations among the heathen;—the Divinity of the Messiah in the Old Testament;—the suffering and atoning Christ in the Old Testament;—history of the interpretation of the Messianic prophecies;—the nature of prophecy. A vast deal of important information is given in these sections, and we shall be glad if a future opportunity is afforded us of

exhibiting and discussing the subjects more fully. On the Messianic expectations among the heathen we find the following sensible remarks :—

“In heathen antiquity we find indications of a hope of the arrival of a period of restoration, and sometimes even of the coming of a personal Redeemer. To these anticipations a certain independence has frequently been attributed. They have been placed on a level with those of the Bible, and traced to some primitive revelation. But a critical examination of the materials in our possession leads to the conclusion that all such expectations, as far as they have a definite character at all, and have any essential connection with those of the Bible, are merely the *echo of the latter*; just as in the case of the creation, the fall, the flood, and the tower of Babel, the result obtained from a truly critical examination is, that the heathen analogies are not in any instance traceable to a primeval revelation, but, on the contrary, are invariably dependent upon the Biblical accounts to which they present an analogy.

“From the energy which characterized the belief in a coming Messiah among the Jews, we should naturally expect at the very outset that it would exert an influence in various ways upon the heathen world around; especially as the religious consciousness of the heathen was always distinguished by uncertainty, and resembled a soft clay, upon which impressions could easily be made by the stronger and more definite convictions of the people of revelation. An Old-Testament proof of this dependence on the part of the heathen we find in the case of Balaam; a New-Testament example in that of the wise men from the East. That the Messianic anticipations of the latter had no independent root is perfectly obvious. It is apparent from the evident connection between their star and that of Balaam. According to Matt. ii. 2 they are seeking the “King of the Jews,” the ruler who is to come forth from the Jews and extend his kingdom from the midst of them. And where they expect the dominion to commence, *there* will the source of their expectations be found. They travel to Jerusalem to learn something more as to the new-born king; and if they go for further instruction to the centre of Jewish life, it must certainly have been from the same centre that the first impulse was received.”

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*A Grammar of the New Testament Diction; intended as an Introduction to the critical study of the Greek New Testament.* By Dr. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER. Translated from the sixth enlarged and improved edition of the Original by EDWARD MASSON, M.A., formerly Professor in the University of Athens. Vol. i. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1859. 8vo, pp. 372.

The value of this work has been long felt by all Biblical scholars, and its presentation in an English dress, at a very low price, will be considered a boon of no ordinary importance. The Preface of the author bears date 1855, and this edition may be considered the final judgment which he pronounces on his interesting theme. He says: “The present edition, the sixth, will shew in every page that I have spared no effort to arrive at truth. Deeply, however, I regret, that in the midst of my labours a nervous affection of the eyes has brought me to the verge of total blindness. This calamity has compelled me to employ the eyes and hands of others to complete this edition.” At what a price to them do we often obtain the advantage of other men’s labours! We hope this undertaking of the Messrs. Clark will be extensively patronized, and we shall be happy to notice the volumes as they appear.

*The First and Second Advent, or the Past and the Future, with reference to the Jew, the Gentile, and the Church of God.* By the Rev. BOUCHIER WRAY SAVILE, M.A. London: Wertheim and Co. 1858. 12mo, pp. 500.

MR. Savile has, on former occasions, shewn his acquaintance, in our pages, with Biblical subjects demanding thought and research. On this account we felt that his volume would not take its place with the ordinary publications treating of unfulfilled prophecy, or of the various theories respecting the second coming of our Lord. And we have not been deceived in our judgment, for there is a vast deal in the pages before us which is well worthy the attention of the divine and the scholar. Mr. Savile has his own peculiar opinions, but he writes with much fairness, and is evidently more anxious to maintain what is true than to defend any private interpretation. He states that his object is two-fold—to shew, first, that the saints of old were warranted in looking, when they did, as Simeon and Anna are represented as doing, “for the consolation of Israel,” in the coming of the promised Shiloh at the time of the First Advent; and, secondly, that the Church of God is warranted on the same grounds, *at this present time*, in expecting the return of that same Messiah in all the glories of the Second Advent. But, in connection with his leading ideas, there are a great variety of Biblical topics treated of, as will appear from the table of contents, a part of which we quote:—

“Chapter I.: The Time of the First Advent—General expectation of the Messiah—Testimony of Heathen Writers—Jacob’s Prophecy—Daniel’s Prophecy of the ‘Seventy Weeks.’ Chapter II.: The date of the Crucifixion dependent on the time of the Decree for rebuilding the Wall of Jerusalem—True date of Artaxerxes’ reign—Phlegon respecting the Darkness at the Crucifixion. Chapter III.: Time of Herod the Great’s death—Taxing of Cyrenius—Star of Bethlehem—Shutting of the Temple of Janus—Guides for fixing the date of Christ’s Birth. Chapter IV.: ‘Jesus about thirty years of age’—‘The fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar’—The High Priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas—The number of Passovers during our Lord’s Ministry. Chapter XI.: Chronology of the Hebrew Text—the Samaritan Pentateuch—‘The LXX.’—Ptolemy—Josephus—Manetho—Diodorus Siculus—Velleius—The Talmud—The Monumental History of Egypt—Records of the Deluge and Confusion of Tongues found in the Cuneiform Inscriptions. Chapter XII.: Chronology—Date of the Eclipse of Thales—Of the Fall of Nineveh—Was ‘Darius the Mede’ the same as Darius Hystaspes? Chapter XIII.: The Jews—Their past History—The Prophecy of Moses concerning their present condition fully accomplished. Chapter XIV.—‘The little horn’ of Dan. viii.—How far fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes’ profanation of the Temple of Jerusalem.”

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*Select Memoirs of Port Royal; to which are appended, Tour to Alet, Visit to Port Royal, Gift of an Abbess, Biographical Notices, etc. etc. Taken from original documents.* By M. A. SCHIMMELPENNINGK. Fifth Edition. In three volumes. London: Longmans. 1858. 12mo.

THESE volumes open a page of history of no ordinary kind, and they cannot be read without exciting deep feelings for sufferers for conscience sake, and much admiration for their noble-hearted heroism.

The authoress has produced a narrative which has all the interest of a romance while it deals with nothing but the truth, and the object she has in view is well stated in the following passage :—

“Through God’s mercy a brighter, and we trust a better, day has begun to dawn upon us. Many Churchmen are now happily in the very condition for profiting by the ‘Memoirs of Port Royal.’ They are beginning to feel the want of reality and power which neither Church truths nor the holiest preceptive teaching can give, without the saving apprehension of the doctrine of grace, or, in other words, without realising the saving power of evangelical truth; and evangelicals, too, of the less polemical and more enlightened and devoted class, are evidently preparing for a wider range of truth, and for a more consistent and higher degree of holiness than can belong to any narrow and restricted system. It is a hopeful indication of the advancing state of the religious mind of the day, that the valuable sermons of the late Archer Butler, and other writings of a similar character, in which evangelical truth is exhibited in harmonious combination with Church truths, have met with such general acceptance; and the writings of Upham and Jakes, and of several others of the same school, are very promising earnest of still more enlightened productions from a class of minds which are rising far above the restricted expositions and systems which have so long been a reproach to Protestantism, and which have so powerfully hindered the growth of true Gospel piety among us.”

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*The English Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version.* Newly divided into paragraphs; with concise Introductions to the several Books; and with Maps and Notes illustrative of the Chronology, History, and Geography of the Holy Scriptures. Containing also the most Remarkable Variations of the Ancient Versions, and the chief results of Modern Criticism. London: Robert R. Blackader, 13 Paternoster Row.

We are glad to announce the completion of the New Testament portion of this valuable work, and we sincerely hope the part of the Old Testament, yet unfinished, may be speedily forthcoming. In the mean time we give publicity to the advertisement of the editor, put forth in the last part.

“The Editor of the ‘English Bible’ earnestly asks the help of all persons who think that our venerable Authorized Version can be rendered more generally useful by means of an improved arrangement, marginal notes (comprising the results of above two hundred years’ investigation), and other critical appliances.

“When he commenced this Edition of the Sacred Scriptures in 1853, his views as to what was needed were such as are exhibited in Part I., containing the Book of Genesis; the scheme was mainly that of a Paragraph Bible with Notes. Further consideration led to a partial change of plan; and each succeeding Part was, in some way or other, an improvement on its predecessor. In Parts IX., X., XI., containing the Gospels, there was a further addition made to the helps for the better understanding of the Sacred Texts; and in Parts XII. to XV., comprising the remaining Books of the New Testament, a still greater approximation to what is needed. These later Parts, perhaps, include every species of improvement possible in the limited space of two side columns.

“With Part XVI., he will resume the publication of the Old Testament.

“Part XVII. will carry forward the work into the Poetical Books. It is in these more especially that the absolute necessity of such an edition as the

'English Bible' is most felt. The want of proper divisions, headings, dates, and notes, often renders the Sacred Books, from Job to Malachi, almost unintelligible; or, at least, prevents their being perused with that pleasure with which such an edition as the 'English Bible' is capable of investing them.

"Experience has added greatly to the Editor's knowledge of what is required, and to his capacity to apply the abundant existing stores to the elucidation of the Sacred Text. In what remains of the task which he has set himself, the public will have no reason to regret the last five years' delay, inasmuch as the work will now have the benefit of his matured thoughts.

"The Editor will proceed with the publication on the 1st of January, 1859, and produce a part every two months; and he respectfully asks that the public will, on their side, purchase a sufficient number of each Part to pay its expenses. Purchasers need not fear that the work will be left unfinished, because the model having been shewn in parts I. to XV., there can be no difficulty (supposing the present Editor should fail in accomplishing his idea), in another hand taking it up, where he is compelled to leave off by death or other unforeseen impediments.

"This consideration will, it is hoped, outweigh the objection felt by many persons to works published in Parts.

"The present Editor has no desire to conceal his ardent wish himself to complete what he has projected.

"He thinks that if each person into whose hands this paper may fall would be pleased to examine the work, and (if he or she should approve generally of its plan and execution), would purchase the Parts already published, and the rest as they appear, inducing another person to do the same, (and this he respectfully presses on those who have already patronized his undertaking,) the 'English Bible' would not only be speedily completed, but such literary assistance might be obtained as would render the work everything that could be desired.

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*The Limits of Religious Thought Examined, in eight Lectures.*

Preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1858, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By HENRY LOUGUEVILLE MANSELL, B.D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College; Tutor and late Fellow of St. John's College. 3rd Edition. London: Murray. Oxford: Parker. 1859. pp. xliv., 440.

THIS work has too lately come into our hands to receive in the present number of our Journal the notice which its importance and value demand. We hope to return to it at the next opportunity; to give our readers some account of its contents, and to give expression to our high admiration of the manner in which Mr. Mansell has treated his very important subject. It is a matter of thankfulness that, if sometimes clouds of portentous error appear to rise from our Universities, in due time some commanding light springs up as the more genuine birth of those institutions, to disperse such clouds and restore to sight ἀληθείας τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ φαίδεόν.

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## INTELLIGENCE,

## BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

*Jewish Commentary on the Gospels.*—The following interesting paper is from the *Jewish Chronicle*, where it appeared in successive numbers. The view taken of the teaching of our Lord from such a point of observation, is important on more accounts than one:—

*A Guide for Rational Enquiries into the Biblical Writings.* Being an Examination into the Doctrinal Differences between Judaism and Primitive Christianity, based upon a Critical Exposition of the Book of Matthew. By the Rev. Isidore Kalisch, Rabbi and Preacher of the Congregation Bene Yeshuran, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Translated by the Author from the German. London: *Jewish Chronicle Office*.

A COMMENTARY on the Gospels, from a Jewish point of view, was a desideratum long felt, both by serious-minded co-religionists, anxious to see the arguments stated on which they refuse credence to Christian doctrines, and by thoughtful and conscientious Christians, equally desirous of hearing the grounds on which the believers in the Hebrew object to the Greek Scriptures. It is true there are several works in existence, the object of which is defence of Judaism against attacks from Christianity, some of them published even in our own country, such as the translation of *מסכת סנהדרין* by the late Moses Mocatta, or *The Question at Issue between Judaism and Christianity*, by Dr. A. Benisch. Still, these were not exactly the productions wished for. Co-religionists, who thought at all on the matter, and to whom principle was of higher importance than expediency, desired a book which would cast the rays of Jewish science over every nook and corner of the Christian doctrines, and not over a few of them; and high-minded Christians, better pleased with plain, out-spoken, broadly-stated arguments than with mere inuendos and civil evasions of the domain of religion, were disposed to accord an indulgent reception to a comprehensive work, entering fully on the merits of the Gospels. But the difficulties in the way of such a publication were not small. In Mahometan countries there was no need for it. The battle there had to be fought with quite different weapons, and in Christian countries in former centuries even the soberest criticism of any of the Gospel records would have been construed into a blasphemy, and would undoubtedly have brought destruction on the Jewish author, and perhaps on his whole community, from which no amount of scholarship, and no earnestness of desire to investigate the truth could have saved him. The rigour with which all Hebrew works were searched by individuals appointed for the purpose by governments, and the mutilations inflicted with an unsparing hand, even on the most ancient and harmless rabbinical works, by these paid oppressors of all spiritual progress, testify to the correctness of our statements. Cart-loads of rabbinical writings, snatched from their Jewish owners, were, during the middle ages, consigned to the flames at the denunciation of fanatic, ignorant priests, and favour-carrying apostates, who discovered a blasphemy in every passage not quite intelligible to their contracted minds; and even at later periods, when science had made more progress, so great was the dread of the clergy lest Jewish writings should contain anti-Christian views, that whole congregations were robbed even of their very prayer-books, and had for several months, whilst their literary productions were being examined, to recite their very prayers from memory. A publication, therefore, like that under review, could not have appeared, had there even been sufficient general scholarship among the Jews for such a production. It was reserved to our age to give birth to a literature which at no distant period will impress upon the daring assailants of Judaism the necessity of looking more after the home defences than foreign conquests. But still, what country was to be the cradle of the future Hercules? Not

Poland, for although it possessed the necessary rabbinical knowledge, it yet lacked the requisite general scholarship; not France, for although it possessed the necessary learning, yet we doubt its zeal; not England, for it lacks both learning and zeal; not Germany, for although in possession of both, yet its clergy would certainly have resented any attempt of the kind on the part of a Jew as an unpardonable encroachment upon its rights. The Christian clergy alone had the right of undermining Christianity. A Jewish Strauss would have expiated his daring in some dungeon for life. European ground, therefore, was as yet unfavourable to such a growth. But the deficiency of the eastern hemisphere is being supplied by the western. A German scholar, transplanted beyond the Atlantic, carrying with him teutonic learning and earnestness to American free soil, found in that atmosphere of complete religious liberty all those conditions requisite for making a beginning in the direction pointed out. As yet it is only a commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew which we have before us. But we cannot doubt but the author will complete the whole cycle of the Greek Scriptures, elucidating them in the same able manner in which he has discussed the book of the evangelist named. As we shall make ample quotations from the work as specimens we shall not enlarge upon the manner in which our author has treated his subject, but only state that he performs more than he promises. For he promised a critical exposition of the Gospel according to Matthew; and, lo! he gives us in addition a short inquiry into the grounds on which the divinity of the Hebrew Scriptures is maintained; incidentally, also, an exposition of the Biblical history of creation, so as to harmonize it with the results of geology; and, lastly, an Appendix, in which Genesis xlix. 10, as well as the doctrine of original sin, are discussed.

We will not examine in how far our author has been successful in harmonizing the Bible and geology; greater and abler minds than ours have discussed this subject to no purpose. We will only say, that while he discovers the greatest concord between the Biblical records and the geological data, such as are ascertained by the present state of science, the latest and most painstaking commentator of Genesis, the learned Dr. Kalisch, a namesake of our author, distinctly states, as the result of his researches, that the Mosaic account of the creation is wholly irreconcilable with the result of investigations instituted by science.

We conclude our notice by copying from the book before us the exposition on the fifth chapter of Matthew:—

Although Christ's sermon on the mount abounds with important lessons for all conditions of life, yet it is unjustly called the new legislation. For, mark well, dear reader, it contains nothing more than what the prophets had long before many times said and taught, as we shall now shew.

3. "Blessed are the poor in spirit."

"I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to quicken the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones" (Isa. lvii. 15). "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and feareth my word" (lxvi. 2). "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as are of a contrite spirit" (Ps. xxxiv. 19). "The Lord protects the poor in spirit" (cxvi. 6). So also we find in Talmud, Sanhedrin 43, the following sentence: "Come and learn how highly regarded the contrite of spirit are by God," etc.

4. "Blessed are those that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

"I, even I, am he who comforteth ye: who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man?" etc. (Isa. li. 12).

"I have seen his ways, and will heal him; I will lead him also, and restore comforts unto him, and to his mourners" (lvii. 18).

"Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself, for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended" (lx. 20).

5. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

"The meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in abundance of peace" (Isa. xxxvii. 11).

6. "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled."

"Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy, and eat; yes, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price . . . hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself with pleasure" (Isa. lv. 1 and 2).

7. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

"He that followeth after righteousness and mercy, will find life, mercy and honour" (Prov. xxi. 21).

"Whoso stoppeth his ear unto the cry of the poor, he also will cry himself, but shall not be heard" (ver. 13).

"He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given will he pay him again" (xix. 17).

"Blessed is he who considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of need" (Ps. xli. 2). See also Ps. cxiii. 5.

8. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

"Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? and who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart," etc. (Ps. xxiv. 3, 4).

9. "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

"As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth those who fear him" (Ps. ciii. 13). Who, however, may render himself worthy of the above name, may be seen from Zech. viii. 19, where we read: "Love truth and peace," and ver. 16, "These are the things which ye shall do; speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour, execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates."

10. "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

"The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue teacheth wisdom. The law of his God is in his heart, none of his steps shall slide. The wicked watcheth the righteous, and seeketh to slay him. But the Lord will not leave him in his hand," etc. (Ps. xxxvii. 30, 34).

11. "Blessed are ye when man shall revile you, and persecute you," etc., etc.

This is an imitation of Ps. xlii. 10; Jer. xx. 7, 11; Isa. l. 1, 6, 11; and, lastly, Isa. li. 7, 9, where we read as follows: "Hearken unto me, ye who know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my law. Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings. For the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool; but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation from generation unto generation."

In reading the exhortations contained in the sermon on the mount, we are involuntarily reminded of the blessings pronounced upon the mount Gerizim, and the curses held forth on Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 11). Aside from the fact that the form and substance of the sermon on the mount are borrowed from the law and the prophets, the Jewish Bible has this advantage, that it contains many other most beautiful and profound sentences of benedictions, of which we will here exhibit some in a systematic order.

THE PSALMS.—i. 1, "Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful," etc. This sentence is followed by a most beautiful though simple figure, representing the same sublime truth.

Ps. xxxii. 1, 2, "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile."

Ps. xl. 5. "Blessed is that man who maketh the Lord his trust, and respecteth not the proud, nor such as turn aside to lies."

Ps. xli. 2, 3, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will protect him and keep him alive; and he shall be blessed upon the land," etc.

Ps. lxxv. 4, "Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and causest to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts. We shall be satisfied with the goodness of thy house, even of thy holy temple."



Ps. lxxxiv. 5, 7, "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house; they will praise thee without ceasing. Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee, and follows thy ways with his heart—who, passing through the valley of tears, makes it a fount," etc.

Ps. lxxxiv. 13, "O Lord of hosts! blessed is the man who trusteth in thee."

Ps. lxxxix. 16, 17, "Blessed is the people that knoweth the sound; they shall walk, O Lord! in the light of thy countenance. In thy name shall they rejoice every day, and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted."

Ps. cvi. 3, "Blessed are they who keep judgment, and he who doeth righteousness at all times."

Ps. cxii. 1, "Blessed is the man who feareth the Lord, and delighteth greatly in his commandments. His seed shall be mighty upon earth," etc.

Ps. cxix. 1, 2, "Blessed are those whose way is perfect, who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, that seek him with their whole heart."

Ps. cxlviii. 1, "Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways."

Ps. cxliv. 15, "Blessed is that people whose God is the Lord."

Ps. cxlvi. 5, 6, "Blessed is he who hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that therein is."

THE PROVERBS.—iii. 13, "Blessed is the man who findeth wisdom, and the man who getteth understanding."

Prov. xiv., "He that hath mercy upon the poor, blessed is he."

Prov. xxviii. 14, "Blessed is the man who feareth always," etc.

ISAIAH.—lvi. 2, "Blessed is the man that doeth this, and the son of man that layeth hold on it; that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it," and keepeth his hand from doing evil."

JOB.—v. 17, 18, "Behold! happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty; for he woundeth and bindeth up—he lacerateth and his hand healeth."

SIRACH.—xiv. 20, "Blessed is the man who doeth wise things, and reasoneth of holy things by his understanding."

Sirach xvii. 41, "Blessed is he who trusteth in the grace of God, and receives his chastenings with patience."

Sirach xxv. 12—14, "Happy is he that doth not create his own misfortune with his tongue, and the respectable, who cannot be subjected to the wicked. Blessed he who findeth a true friend, etc. Blessed he that is not bent by poverty, and doth not lose his courage in his trouble."

Sirach xxxi. 13, "Blessed is the rich that is without blemish, and hath not been blinded by great treasures."

Sirach xxxiv. 15, "Blessed is he that worshippeth God; great is his deliverer, powerful his protector."

13. "Ye are the salt of the earth."

This metaphor is borrowed from Job vi. 6, where the godly life is compared, symbolically, to meat savoured with salt, and the ungodly life is called unsavoury food.

14. "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid."

These phrases are imitations of several passages in Isaiah. "It is an easy thing that thou art my servant . . . I will also give thee for a light unto the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth" (Is. xlix. 6). "I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth," etc. (Isa. xlv. 19).

15. "Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house."

The figures contained in this verse are taken from Prov. vi., 23, where we read: "For the commandment is a lamp, and the law is light," etc.; and Ps. cxix. 105: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."

16. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

This exhortation is taken from Ps. xl. 9, 12: "I delight to do thy will, O God. Thy law is within my heart. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation. Behold! I have not refrained my lips, O Lord! thou knowest."

(We should compare the above verse of the evangelist with Deut. iv. 5, 6. —Tr.)

17. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."

Christ here exhibits his whole mission as consisting in this, that he should complete the Mosaic law and the teaching of the prophets, which completion he terms a higher *Dikaïosyne*, "righteousness." But this completion had long before been begun by the prophets and other inspired men, and had reached such a degree of maturity that we read in *Ethics of the Fathers*, sect. ii. 4: "Make God's will thine own, that he may make thine his own, that is to say, if thou be just, righteous, and virtuous, thou livest entirely in God."

18. "For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the law till all be fulfilled."

"Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

Whatever general remarks I could make here may be found in the above pages, etc. I add only, that the phraseology of verse 18 is an imitation of Isa. li. 6; "The heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment . . . but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished;" while its contents are distinctly proclaimed in Isa. xl. 8: "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the sword of our God shall stand for ever."

The doctrine held forth in verse 19 may be found in the *Ethics of the Fathers*, sect. ii. 1: "Observe a slight commandment as the more important one, since thou knowest not the reward for the observance."

20. "For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven."

The reform plan of Christ is but a dim shadow of Isaiah's, who with glowing imagination, yet clear perception and correct judgment, begins (chap. i. 11, 17) to develop and exhibit the means for imitating divine mercy, joy and peace, love and grace, benevolence and goodness; breaks down with fiery zeal the barrier between the Divine and the human (see besides many other passages, chap. lvi. 1, and lviii. 1, 11); desires that the universe should be permeated by the light of genuine justice (chap. lx. 18, 20); and concludes his admonitions with the same doctrine, chap. lxvi. 1, 3.

But the Rabbins also most urgently taught the holiness and purification of the heart. In treat. Berachoth, sect. i., fol. 5), we find the following sentence: "It matters not whether the good ye do be much or little, as long as you do it for God's sake;" which means that everything which we undertake should be done from pure motives.

As we meet here with an invective against the Scribes and Pharisees, which is found on almost every page of the New Testament, and directed not only against their character, but often their doctrines, we deem it proper, with the view of enabling our readers to form a correct judgment, to communicate some historical facts with regard to the designs and aims of the authors of these sects, their views and mode of thinking, and the influence which they exercised over the moral character of the Jewish nation.

When, in consequence of the Babylonish captivity, the schools of prophets which had been founded by Samuel, and produced, especially in the time of David, men of exalted wisdom, did no longer exist, and no one appeared who was willing and able further to effect the spiritual and moral development of his people, the learned and inspired priest Ezra went to Palestine, in the seventh year of the reign of Artachshast (Darius Hystaspes) to accomplish the work of

reforming the religious affairs of the Jews, to arrange them according to Mosaic principles, and to appoint or dismiss teachers and judges; to which he was authorized, as he had so much ingratiated himself with the king and his seven counsellors that the jurisdiction of Judea was exclusively placed in his hand (Ezra vii. 25, 27). Wisely availing himself of the power thus given to him, he endeavoured to promote the spiritual culture of his people by the following institutions:—

He called the most gifted and learned men (see Nehemiah viii. 13), according to tradition, to the number of 120, to his aid (Megillah, ¶ 17, p. 2), endeavoured in conjunction with them (the Great Assembly, *אספת הגדולה*), to adapt the Mosaic law to the new circumstances, and the newly changed religious views of the people, and founded synagogues and religious schools, in which the Scriptures were read, and their contents explained to the people, in order that morality, virtue, and justice, these principal pillars of a state, and human society in general, might be diffused and promoted. The men educated in these schools were called *סופרים*, Scribes, learned in Scriptures, after the name of their founder, *סופר הכתובים*, Ezra the Scribe.

But the continual reading and study of the Holy Writ by degrees awakened a general desire for investigation, and the synagogue was thus soon converted into an academy of theology, philosophy, and politics, where doctrines were taught in which original individual views were mixed up with Indian, Egyptian, and afterwards also Grecian elements and ideas; and this combination was applied to the development, interpretation, extension, and authentication of Biblical doctrines. And as Grecian philosophy began with single sentences and proverbs of the so-called Seven Sages, so must we regard the profound maxims and ascetic doctrines of the first teachers, which are contained in the *Ethics of the Fathers*, and the *Aboth of Rabbi Nathan*, as the beginning and origin of philosophical studies among the Jews. Among the noble men who from the time of Ezra taught the principles of morality and virtue, we meet also with Antigonus of Socho, who flourished in the third century before the Christian era, and who probably acquainted with the doctrines of Socrates (Xenophon, *Mem.* i., 1, § 2, 3; iii. 9, § 15), pronounced the sentence, that doing right, even because it is right, and without regard to future reward, was worshipping God, was Religion. But in consequence of the conciseness of the language used in this sentence, his disciples, Zadok and Baithos, misunderstood its meaning, drew false conclusions from it, and adopted the system of the Stoics then flourishing in Greece.

Since, however, the Bible was and remained the centre and guide of all their investigations, it was but natural that their new philosophical system should have produced a new mode of interpreting the Bible, and with it a new religious sect.

The maxim of Antigonus, referred to above, runs literally thus: "Be not like servants who serve their master with the view of receiving reward, but be like servants who serve their master without the expectation of being rewarded; and then only ye will be truly God-fearing (*Ethics of the Fathers*, i. 3). This principle was propagated by the disciples of Zadok and Baithos in the obscure phraseology of Antigonus. Allured, probably, by Grecian Stoicism, some teachers strove to vindicate this system for Antigonus. They remarked, From what motives was this principle advanced; and why has it been upheld by later teachers? Is it to be imagined that a labourer should work the whole day without receiving due reward in the evening? If our fathers had acknowledged a life to come, and the resurrection of the dead, they would never have adopted this principle of Antigonus (*Aboth of Rabbi Nathan*, sect. v.)

By these and similar reflections they gained many votaries, established a school of their own, and assumed, after the names of Zadok and Baithos, the appellations Sadducees and Baithosians. The former term, however, remained preponderant.\*

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\* That the Sadducees and Baithosians were regarded by the Rabbins as one and the same sect, see Jost's *History of the Israelites* (larger work, in 12 vols.)

They assumed, like the Stoics, two eternal principles of all things, a passive one (Hyle, חַיָּל וְחַיָּל), and an active principle, God; hence their system is the Dualistic system. It was for this reason that they were designated by their opponents as heretics, as we read in Talmuth Horioth, fol. 11): "Who is a Sadducee? every idolator." (Compare also Talmud Sanhedrin, fol. 38, a and b, and Midrash Rabba, Genesis viii.) Although they regarded their soul as a part of the Deity, they nevertheless held it to be perishable, like every other material being; for they professed the conviction that it was absurd to believe in the existence of immaterial things; and it was this conviction that indicated the ironical question with regard to the resurrection of the dead which they addressed to Christ (Matt. xxii. 23—29).

The opponents of this system, led by the principle to keep the substance, but to cast away the shell, seem to have made an eclectic use of the Grecian philosophy, assigning as they did high authority to the Socratic Platonic, and Aristotelian schools.

As votaries of supernaturalism they entertained the following opinions:

God is an infinite (Midrash Rabba Genesis, lxviii.), unique, spiritual (treat. Chagigah, fol. 15), eternal, necessary, providential Being (Midrash Rabba Exodus, iii., and treat. Berachoth, fol. 9), which cannot be conceived by human understanding (treat. Berachoth, fol. 31).

He does not exist in the world, but the whole universe exists in him (Midrash Rabba, lxviii.), wherefore God is also called the "Infinite Space," חִסְדֵּי. He can be perceived only through his works (ibid. chap. i.) As regards the creation, they teach that out of the many systems of worlds which were present to his wisdom, he created the best possible one, and instituted the best order—*Optimism* (ibid. Gen. iii.) Hence the principle, "Whatever God does is well done" (ibid. Gen. iii., and treat. Berachoth, fol. 60). As a consequence of this principle, which is applicable to both physical and moral evils, they taught that we should thank God also for evil events (treat. Berachoth, 34).

There is no chance on earth, but all that happens is so ordained by God (treat. Chullin, fol. 7, b), except virtue and piety, which are entirely left to man's free choice (treat. Berachoth, fol. 16). He, however, who pursues, or endeavours to pursue the path of virtue, receives the support of God; whereas the designs of him who chooses the way of wickedness are not fixed from above, but entirely the fruits of his own choice (treat. Youmah, fol. 38). These principles are based upon Ps. xxxvii. 23, and Prov. xx. 23.

The soul is a spiritual (Midrash Rabba, Gen. xii., and Lev. iv.), unique, simple, everlasting (ibid. Gen. xiv., and Lev. iv.), self-acting being (ibid. Lev. iv.), which is called upon to perfect itself in this world, the antechamber of that to come (*Ethics of the Fathers*, iv. 21), that it may be admitted into the palace, the realm of the saints, where it will directly partake of God's majesty; that is to say, where it will increase in moral and intellectual strength in such an extraordinary degree as to fill it with unspeakable delight, surpassing all joys that this earth can afford (ibid. iv. 22). They believe in a doctrine of a separate creation of the soul, hence maintain its pre-existence (Midrash Rabba, chap. xxiv., and other passages). Like Plato (*Tim.*, vol. ix., p. 338, and *Theæt.*, ii. 176,) they teach that virtue consisted in imitating God; as the Mechilta observes: "We must strive to become like God. As God is gracious and merciful, so be thou gracious and merciful," etc. Or as Moses teaches (Lev. xix. 2): "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy." This injunction is furthermore held forth as the highest principle of virtue and piety. In former times, thus it is related in Maccoth, fol. 24, they enumerated 613 laws, affirmative and prohibitory, which had been delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai. But already David taught that all these Mosaic laws could be comprised in eleven principles: "To walk uprightly; to work righteousness; to speak the truth; to abstain from slander; to abstain from doing evil unto one's neighbour; not to bring any reproach upon one's fellow-man; to condemn vile persons; to honour the God—

fearing; to swear to one's own injury and keep the oath; to lend out money without usury ('even to the heathens,' add the rabbins); and to protect the innocent disinterestedly" (Psalm xv.) The prophet Micah again reduced them to three, to wit: "To exercise justice; to be benevolent towards every one; and to walk humbly before God" (Micah vi. 8). Isaiah, in his turn, reduced them to two principles (Isa. i. 1): "Justice and benevolence;" and Habakkuk, lastly, established one highest principle: "The righteous liveth in his belief," meaning that God desires the holiness of our sentiments and actions. This holiness, however, we can only attain when we elevate ourselves above all that attracts our senses, and obey the dictates of reason alone, as it is expressed in these few words: "Let all thy actions be directed to what is divine, sublime (*Ethics of the Fathers*, sect. ii., § 17), yet in a manner as admits not of the principle "the aim sanctifies the means" (Midrash Rabba, Lev. xxx., and tract. Succah, in several places). Similar to the Aristotelian doctrine, that virtue is manifested in seven cardinal characteristics: *Andria* (fortitude), *Sofosyne* (temperance), *Eleuteriotes* (liberality), *Megaloprepeia* (magnificence), *Megalopsychia* (magnanimity), etc., the opponents of the Sadducees teach them seven cardinal virtues: wisdom, justice, righteousness, probity, mercy, or meekness, sincerity, and peace (*Aboth of Rabbi Nathan*, sect. 37), but regard, like Aristotle, the virtue of "righteousness," *Dikaioeyne*, צדק, since it consists in the observance of all divine and civil laws, as the complex of all virtue. This virtue of righteousness balances all virtues (tr. Baba Bathra, fol. 9, a.) The Aristotelian doctrine of *Autarkeia* (self-contentedness) is taught as a duty towards one's self, as Moses Landau most ingeniously interpreted in the following proverbs: "If I am not satisfied with myself who could be? But if I think of myself also, what do I accomplish? And if I do not work now, when should I?" (*Ethics of the Fathers*, i. 14).

The categorical imperative is thus expressed by R. Hillel (100 B.C.E.): "Do not unto others as thou wishest not to be done to" (tr. Sabbath, 31, a.) As an enlargement upon this highest principle, the same sage teaches: "Judge not of thy neighbour until thou be in his situation (*Ethics of the Fathers*, ii. 5).

With this also Leibnitz (in his *Nouv. Essai*, 48) agrees, saying: "*Le véritable sens de la Règle est, que la place d'autrui est le vrai point de vue pour juger équitablement lorsqu'on s'y met.*"

The Scotch philosopher, Adam Smith, who at first studied theology, has made this rabbinical doctrine the basis of morals in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*.

They furthermore teach, like Socrates, (*Xenophon Mem.* iii. 9, § 5), that wisdom consists in practical knowledge. Thus we read (Berachoth, 17):—The aim of wisdom is improvement, and the achievement of good deeds. Again, in *Ethics of the Fathers* i. 17:—"Not study, but the practice thereof is the principal thing." Practice is man's destination. "However much thou mayest have studied do not boast of it, for thou hast been created for this purpose" (ibid. ii. 9). This alone will enable man to procure salvation: "He who hath acquired wisdom hath acquired for himself eternal life" (ibid. ii. 8).

With regard to church government and theological orthodoxy, they establish, among other beautiful rules, the following: "Do not pass any laws by which the majority cannot exist" (Tr. Baba Bathra, 60), which conveys the idea that due regard must be paid to local, temporary, and political conditions and circumstances whenever religious institutions and ordinances are intended to be established. "The rabbinical laws should not be multiplied from too great love for the law" Hierosol. Talmud, Tr. Nedarim, sect. 9).

The votaries of this system, in order to distinguish themselves from the Sadducees, who had likewise their origin in the midst of the "Scribes," סופרים, adopted the name of "Therapeutæ or Essenes." Philo calls them "Hosioi," "the holy ones," whilst their Hebrew name is סוסי, the Pharisees; either because this sect of communists, which grew into existence several decennia before that of the Sadducees more closely connected themselves with them when they had established themselves than with their adversaries, and were absorbed

<sup>5</sup> See Maimonides's *Commentary* on this passage.

by them; or because the Therapeutæ were truly pious men, and respected as such by the people.

In later times, however, they exclusively called themselves חכמים, "the sages," or in Chaldee, ܚܚܝܝܢ, "the learned."

The phrase, "And hate thy enemy," is not only not to be found in the law of Moses, but stands in diametrical contradiction to both its spirit and its doctrines.<sup>c</sup> Nothing less was intended by this barefaced misrepresentation than to cry down and disgrace Mosaism in the eyes of the Gentiles, who were unacquainted with the Hebrew Bible.

Some, however, may say that the addition, "and hate thy enemy," is a doctrine of the Pharisees, against whom Christ inveighs here. To this we would answer, that the Scribes endorsed and taught, unchanged, the Biblical doctrine, that it is God-pleasing to help and love an enemy (Baba Metsia 32).

That the same doctrine was taught also by the prophets is proved by a historical fact narrated in 2 Kings vi. 21, 22: "And the king of Israel said unto Elisha when he saw them (the Syrians), My father, shall I smite them? shall I smite them? And he answered, Thou shalt not smite them. Wouldst thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? Set bread before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their master," etc. Compare also the words of Solomon (Prov. xxv. 21): "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink." Nay, we are not even permitted to rejoice at our enemy's misfortune, as we read: "Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth," etc. (Prov. xxiv. 17). "Have I rejoiced at the destruction of him that hated me, or lifted up myself when evil found him?" etc. (Job xxxi. 29). "But as for me, when they (my adversaries) were sick, my clothing was sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting, and my prayer returned into my own bosom. I behaved myself as though he had been my friend or brother," etc. (Ps. xxxv. 13, 14).

In the same spirit our sages composed the following prayer, to be offered up every day: "I am ready to fulfil the law ('thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself') with all my heart. Mayest thou, O God! forgive also all mine enemies!"

The doctrine, therefore, that we should love also our enemy is not a new Christian one, but as old as Mosaism itself. Nay, it was clearly and convincingly taught even among the heathens, before Christianity was known.

"But," says Plutarch, in his moral writings, "it proves a noble soul not to take revenge on an enemy when opportunity presents itself. But whoever does not love a man for the sake of his kind-heartedness, and praises him for his righteousness, when he sympathizes with his distressed enemy, takes care of his children and substance zealously and readily, bears with him a black soul, made of stone or iron." And Cicero teaches (*De officiis*, lib. i. chap. xxv.): "*Nec vero audiendi graviter qui inimicis irascendum putabunt, idque magnanimi et fortis viri esse censebunt. Nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno et præclaro viro dignius placabilitate atque clementia.*" ("Nor, indeed, are those to be listened to who consider that we ought to cherish a bitter resentment against our enemies, and this is characteristic of a high-minded and brave man. For nothing is more noble, nothing more worthy of a great and a good man than placability and clemency.")

45. "That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust."

To base the doctrine of love for our enemy upon the fact that God loves his adversaries, the bad and unrighteous, nor deprives them of rain and sunshine, or, in a wider sense of the phrase, of general benefits, is logically incorrect.

<sup>c</sup> It is, indeed, strange how Christ could have made the above assertion. Can there be a higher, more sublime doctrine of love for our enemy than that contained in Deut. xxiii. 7: "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, for thou wast a stranger in his land?" This passage alone covers the whole question.—Translator.

For it is inconceivable that the Supreme justice and love, which are equitably bestowed upon all, should directly or indirectly afford benevolent assistance to injustice. God loves not his adversaries, as Sirach says (3, 5, 6): "Think not his (the Lord's) mercy is great; he will be pacified for the multitude of my sins: for mercy and wrath (punishment) come from him, and his indignation resteth upon sinners."

If God bestows general benefits upon the wicked, he does so not from love for them, but for this reason, because he would not, on their account, change the beautiful order of the universe. If he were to punish the foolish aberrations of men by changes in nature, indeed, he would be soon compelled to destroy the whole universe! This was long ago expressed by the Jewish elders in Rome. Being asked by some philosophers why God, if he really abhorred idolatry, did not destroy the idols, they replied, If such things alone were worshipped whose existence could be dispensed with without endangering the universal order, the Lord would long ago have destroyed them; but sun, moon, and stars, nay, even animals and human beings, being worshipped as gods, should the Supreme Being destroy the universe on account of fools? No; Nature retains her ordinary course, and the stiff-necked fools who do not listen to better instruction will have to give account thereof on some future day (treat. Abodoh Sarah, 54, b.)

And when we take the above verse 45 in its more limited and real meaning, we shall find that it is incorrect also with regard to facts. When we consider that Christ, according to Matthew x. 29, 30, adhered to the true opinion that nothing on earth happens by chance, not even the falling of a sparrow, but is worked out by the will of our heavenly Father; he must consequently concede this also, that when too dry or too rainy a season destroys the crop, and thus causes famine and a host of miseries in many countries, this does not happen by chance, or is to be ascribed to blind fate, but is so ordained, as already Moses and the prophets taught, by God himself, as a punishment for the sinners. Hence, God deprives the unrighteous of sunshine and rain, since it can be, and is done, without the least perceptible change of nature.

Regarding the true motive for the love of our enemy, I refer to my remarks made above on verses 43 and 44, which I have partially derived from Malachi ii. 10, where we read: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why then do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?"

46. "For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same?"

47. "And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so?"

The same doctrine is taught by the Scribes (*Ethics of the Fathers*, v. 18): "Four qualities are found with man; one says, Whatever is mine is mine, and whatever is thine is thine. This is the character of the ordinary men, or as others assert, was the custom of Sodom. Another says, Whatever is thine is mine, and whatever is mine is thine. This is the custom of the vulgar. Another again says, What is mine is thine, and what is thine is thine. This constitutes the character of the pious. Another, lastly, says, What is mine is mine, and what is thine is mine also. This is the character of the wicked."

That we have to fulfil the duties of brotherly love towards every one, whether or not he be one of our acquaintance, whether or not he belong to our creed and country, is most urgently enjoined upon us in many passages of the Old Biblical Scriptures, but especially in Lev. xix. 33, 34: "And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God."

48. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect."

In whatever way we may interpret this verse, it is entirely incorrect. If it means to convey the idea that we should attain on earth to the perfection of God himself, we ask, is this possible? How can poor mortal man exhaust the fathomless fount of virtue? Man can never, even by the most strenuous exer-

tions, reach divine perfection, as it is said (1 Kings viii. 46), and confirmed by sound reason: "There is no man that sinneth not;" or (Ecclesiastes vii. 20), "For there is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good and sinneth not." Again: If we assume that the above verse enjoins upon us the duty of imitating God, who loves the sinners though they are his adversaries, it is but a repetition of what verse 45 contains; and if this be really so, it contains the same incorrect reasonings on the love for our enemies as that verse.

We believe, on the contrary, that it is but an imitation of Leviticus xix. 2, where we read, "Speak unto the congregation of the children of Israel, and enjoin upon them, Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy." Yet the changed phraseology of Matthew has in a high degree missed the original. If we assume that the term *קדוש*, "holy," must be taken in a moral sense, expressing, as Kant has it, "the highest concord between the divine will and the law of nature;" that therefore the phrase, "and ye shall be holy," enjoins upon us the precept to do and learn but what is true and salutary, no objection whatever can be made, especially as the precept contains also an excellent rule of life which every man can most faithfully observe. On the other hand, if we take the term "holy" in this acceptation, "separated from the vulgar," "consecrated," "pure," "stainless," this precept contains again nothing that would surpass human power, and may, therefore, be well followed as our guide in all our actions.

*Climate and Seasons of Palestine.*—The seasons of the Holy Land are properly two—the rainy and the dry. The rainy season commences in the latter part of October, or early in November; and the first autumn showers appear to be what is meant in the Bible by the "first" or the "former" rain. "In Autumn," Dr. Robinson observes, "the whole land has become dry and parched, the cisterns are nearly empty, the few streams and fountains fail, and all nature physical and animal looks forward with longing to the return of the rainy season. Mists and clouds begin to make their appearance, and showers occasionally to fall; the husbandman sows his seed, and the thirsty earth is soon drenched with an abundance of rain."

These showers come up from the west or south-west. Thus our Lord says, "When ye see a cloud arise out of the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it is." Thus, also, after the three years' drought in the time of King Ahab, the messenger of Elijah, posted on Mount Carmel, and looking out over the Mediterranean, saw at length "a little cloud rise out of the sea like a man's hand;" this grew and spread towards the land, and soon "the heaven was black with clouds and wind, and there was a great rain." (1 Kings xviii. 44, 45.)

A few fine days follow these "early rains" of November, and afford the farmer an opportunity to sow his wheat and barley in the moistened earth. Then the rainy season sets in, with frequent showers, often heavy and accompanied with thunder and lightning. One of these thunder storms David describes in Psalm xxix., where he shows us the storm gathering upon the sea, bursting on the coast, rocking Mount Lebanon, and sweeping across the land, while in the temple the awe-struck people adore the mighty God of Israel.

During January and February the mean temperature of Jerusalem is 47 deg. 4 min. Snow sometimes falls, but does not rest long on the ground. The cold is not severe, and the frosts only touch the surface of still waters, without penetrating the earth. From November to March there is an abundance of moisture to loosen and fertilize the soil, and bring forth the grain—which, as the spring sun returns, grows rapidly. The rains, however, now become less frequent, and after March there are only a few highly-prized showers; the "latter rain," of Scripture, Deut. xi. 14., serving to swell and ripen the growing crops, which the hot sun soon after brings to maturity. Dr. Robinson records a thunder storm in May, with heavy rains; but considers it a very unusual phenomenon in Jerusalem.

In April and May the barley and wheat ripen and are harvested; and afterwards in succession, apricots, almonds, figs, dates, grapes, olives, &c. Mean-



while, not a drop of rain falls from the sky. Day after day its clear blue remains unbroken by a passing cloud. Rain in harvest time would be a memorable phenomenon, or even a remarkable interposition of Providence, as in the days of Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 16-18. Only "the dew of heaven from above," falling plentifully during the night, mitigates the parching heat. Toward the close of this season "the total absence of rain destroys the verdure of the fields, and gives to the whole landscape the aspect of drought and barrenness. The only green thing which remains, is the foliage of the scattered fruit-trees, and occasionally vineyards and fields of millet."

Yet the heat is not excessive, on the high table lands at least; the average temperature in July being 77 deg. 3 min. The climate therefore is justly regarded as healthy and invigorating. An occasional hot wind, however, from the southern or eastern desert, parches everything with its stifling heat. On the sea-coast, also, and in the sunken valley of the Jordan, the heat is sometimes extreme, and the climate is prejudicial to strangers.—*American Messenger*.

*Curious Books.*—The following are from a recent catalogue of Mr. Kerslake of Bristol:—

5185. *Ancient Manuscript upon Vellum*:—The *Salisbury Pie*,—Regula de omnibus historijs inchoandi, ect., written in red and black, small 4to., original binding.

This is one of the service books of the ancient Church of England, which were superseded by the Book of Common Prayer; and has the undivided distinction of being the only book which is the subject of direct criticism in that book, where it is complained that "the number and hardness of the rules called the *Pie*, and the manifold changings of the service" (to which this book is specially intended as the guide) "was the cause that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out." Concerning the service of the Church.

5186 An ancient Manuscript Song Book, both Scottish and English dialects, with music, Canto, oblong 4to., curious old gilt binding, dated 1611, 4l. 14s.

5187 *Theologia Teütsch*. Das ist ain edels vnd kostlichs büch lin, von rechtem verstannd, was Adam vnd Christus sey, vnd wie Adam in vnns sterben, vnd Christus ersten soll, etc., 1518. (With preface, by Doctor Martinus Luther, Augustiner zu Wittenberg, gedruckt zu Augspurg, 1518), with a bold and well-designed woodcut border, 4to.

This copy contains a great number of manuscript extracts from "Doct. Johan. Tauler," of parallel passages, entirely in the hand-writing of Martin Luther. They amount to five closely written pages, besides many which are entered on the margins. Each MS. passage is headed with "Thauler" or "Doct. Johan. Thauler."

It has been said that in consequence of the word "Teütsch" in the title of this translation being mistaken for an adjective instead of an adverb, this book has obtained the title of *Theologia Germanica*, or *Theologia Teutonica*, by which it is well known.

5157 *Antiphonarium proprium et commune sanctorum secundum ordinem sancte Romane ecclesie. summa cum diligentia reuissum: atque fideli studio emendatum per religiosum fratrem Franciscum de Brugis ordinis minorum regularis obseruantie de prouintia sancti Antonij.* (all the above red), Cum gratia et priuilegio. (in black), fleur de lys, etc., "L. A." (in red), printed by Lucas Antonius Junta about 1510. No date nor place. Printed in a fine large black letter type, red and black, with wood engravings, and with musical notes throughout, imperial folio, 238 leaves, complete.

Prefixed is a tract on the art of singing, by the editor Franciscus de Brugis, with a figure of a gigantic hand illustrating the musical scale.

This is believed to be the only copy known of this magnificent and most important product of the press of the Junta. It appears to have been unknown to Bandini the special historian of the press, and to all other recorders of books.

5160 *Ancient Manuscript, formerly the property of Lincoln Cathedral.* Ven.

Beda de Gestis Anglorum libr, 14th century, blue and red initials, folio, somewhat decayed, newly bound, half calf.

"Hunc librum legavit Willms dadyngton quondam vicarius de Barton supra humbre . ecclesie Lincoln . ut esset sub custodia Vicecancellarii." Most of this ancient inscription is still legible, but so long ago as 1515 it must have been decayed, and was then copied on the opposite page, with the following addition, in the same hand:—

"Scriptum per manus Nicolai Belytt (or Baytt?) Vicecancellarij iiii<sup>to</sup> die mensis Octobris Anno dui millecimo quingentesimo decimo quinto et Litera Dominicalis G et Anno pp henrici octavi sexto."

Modern hand:—"Nunc e libris Johis Thoresby de Leeds—empt: Executor<sup>us</sup>. Tho: Dni: Fairfax, 1673." Also a reference to Cat. MSS. Angliæ, p. 180, No. 3892, Codd. Fairfax, where it will be found entered thus:—Beda de Gestis Anglorum."

*Parties in the Time of the Maccabees.*—A small people, scarcely heeded by its very masters at the period immediately following its exile, whose territory appeared only as an appendage to another large agglomeration of provinces, and which, at the close of the period impressed with apprehension the mightiest people of the ancient world, through its bearing and internal greatness; a religious community, at first still and retired into itself, scarcely known beyond its own boundaries, whose name yet resounded at the conclusion of the period far and wide, over continents and seas, arousing both friends and enemies; two families, whose origin is lost in obscurity, and which, when merit or favourable circumstances had placed the fate of the people in their hands, at first led it to a flourishing state and afterwards to its ruin—such constitute the subjects of the period treated. On account of such contrasts the history of this period is the most interesting and attractive, whilst it is also the most eventful; within the narrow bounds of scarcely three centuries there is a fullness of events which raise astonishment and admiration; the thorough remodelling of the nations of the earth in regard to religion, customs, and mode of thinking, dates its origin from this epoch, and has its root in the soil of this people. For the configuration of Judaism these centuries formed the real period of regeneration, and it is they who have scattered the seed for the successive thousands of years, and laid down the germs.

Viewed superficially and externally the period bears a political character. It commences with an unexpected victory of a handful of enthusiastic combatants over a superior enemy, and concludes with a sanguinary defeat of the whole nation in a struggle with the world ruling Rome, the interval being characterised by complications which draw Jewish history into the sphere of mankind's history. There emerge in it heroes, princes, and generals, whose votes in the councils of nations were not without their weight. The victory of the Cæsarian monarchy over the old Roman republic was essentially promoted by the Jewish arms. A Jewish prince exercised a decisive influence upon the resolution of the Roman sway-bearers. The part taken by a general of Jewish descent raised an emperor, and contributed towards snatching the Roman monarchy from a sanguinary anarchy. Nevertheless, political advancement was not the motive power of this period. The population did not wish for authority or influence over foreign nations, but for undisturbed and uncontracted exercise of their religious laws in all their rigour and in all their details. Its struggle against external and internal enemies had for its object only the preservation of the law. The strivings for independence and liberty with Syrians and Romans, and the bitterness against these nations, had their ultimate cause in the religious impulse of the period. At no other period had Judaism met with such enthusiastic devotion, and such extensive recognition. In the subsequent period its adherents knew how to die for it; but it was in the present that they knew how to live for it, and to shape all relations of the state in unison with the guage of religion. The period after the exile not only begat resigned martyrs, but also courageous defenders of Judaism.

The fundamental character of this period is, therefore, undoubtedly religious;

from the religious impulse arose both the sympathies for and antipathies against leader and ruler, the affection and disaffection to parties, nay the partizanship which pervades the period, from its commencement to its very end, drew its existence and its duration solely from this source. That party was able to find adherents and to maintain itself which clung most to Judaism, identifying itself most thoroughly therewith. Two parties which pursued only worldly objects vanished without leaving any trace behind, whilst the others, with a religious motto—or rather one, only under various metamorphoses and names—continued to the end, and beyond that period. In the beginning, Assideans enter the arena against the contemners of the law and the power supporting them; laying hold, as it were, with one hand on Holy Writ and the other on the sword; and it was with their help that the Asmoneans were enabled to place themselves at the head of the movement. When the Asmonians, dazzled by the lustre of the crown, gradually became worldly, the same party, under the name of Pharisees, assumed an antagonistic attitude, and wrested the power from their hands. When a portion of the Pharisees, weary of the struggle against the power of the Romans and the Herodians, withdrew to the peace of the house of study, another portion revolted at the rapidly increasing worldliness, under the name of Zealots, erected the standard of insurrection, inflaming the whole nation with its own zeal for law and liberty, and devoting itself to death. After the destruction of the Zealots, the Assideans still continued their activity on the blood-stained battle field in a twofold form, as Pharisees or Tannaides, they begat out of themselves Talmudism, which sways the whole subsequent period of the Jewish history, and as Esseans they let go forth from their lap Christianity, which has imparted religiousness, severed from Judaism to the heathenish world, gradually drawing Greece and Rome, and all movements of the time, within its sphere.

Such are the springs of the period, the spiritual motive power of which is formed by Judaism. In this movement external and internal causes so coincide, that it betrays imperfect knowledge to tear asunder the internal bond, and to divide the history of the period into that of the war and learning. The chiefs of the Sanhedrin, the founders of parties and the leaders of the people, occupy the foreground of this period by the side of the princes and the warriors. Simon ben Shetach's anti-Sadducean Sanhedrical decrees, and Shammai's harsh prohibitions formed as efficient constituents thereof as the assumption of power by the Asmoneans and Herod's egotistical tyranny. All conspicuous personages, who may be considered as the prime movers of the history, however much they differed in individuality and mental powers, yet bear the impress of the same characteristics of the period. The Asmonean princes, Jonathan, Simon, Hyrkan, the Pharisees, Simon ben Shetach, Hillel, and Shammai, the Zealots, Judah the Galilean, Eleaser ben Anania, and John of Giskala, the Alexandrine Aristobul, and Philo, however different from each other, were yet fed at the same bosom, and aspired after the preservation, promotion, and glorification of Judaism, although their conception thereof, and the means for it, varied. If the fundamental religious character of the period be thus proved, it may with justice, when its combination with the political exterior is considered, be called the political religious epoch. If it be commenced with the return from the Babylonian exile it may be divided into three portions or periods.

The first period is formed by the time of the gradual growth into a nation of the returned colony; it commences with the return from exile, and concludes with the appearance of the Maccabees, or rather, with the death of Judah Maccabee, since this first movement only gave the impulse, without obtaining a permanent result (B. C. E., 536—160).

The second period is that of the flourishing state. The nation attained to independence and greatness only after the death of Judah Maccabee; through the exertions of the three first Asmonean princes it occupies in the rank of Asiatic peoples a worthy position, and free from external restraint develops itself internally; but it is only for a short interval, as the time for blooming, by its nature, is only of short duration (B. C. E., 160—105).

The third period is that of decay and ruin, brought about by the discord of

the brothers of the last Asmoneans and the interference of the Romans (a.c.e., 105—70 a.c.e.).

Jadea remained the seat of the events, only now and then it was transferred to Alexandria, the countries of the Euphrates, Syria, and Rome.—*Dr. Graetz.*

*Hebrew Literature.*—The *Jewish Chronicle* says:—"Many of our readers, especially those interested in Hebrew literature, will recollect Rabbi Hirsch Edelman, who some years ago assiduously copied Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian library, and subsequently took his abode in London, where he published several works. Mr. Edelman afterwards went to Berlin, where he settled, but soon died, his intellectual powers having been previously greatly impaired. Family misfortunes are said to have brought on the catastrophe." The same respectable Journal, under the head of "How is it that Hebrew Writings are sometimes found buried in the Ground?" has the following interesting paragraph:—"Some sensation has lately been created in the continental literary world by the unexpected reintegration of a Caraitic manuscript in the imperial library of St. Petersburg, originally coming from Cairo by some loose leaves, evidently belonging to the same volume, brought from the Crimea, whither they had been carried from Jerusalem, where they had been buried before. Dr. Tischendorf, who had procured the originally defective manuscript, in a letter to the imperial librarian, shares his astonishment at the extraordinary manner in which the missing leaves had been recovered. This functionary writes, 'What may have induced the Caraitic community at Jerusalem to bury some leaves of its manuscript, whilst the remainder wandered into Egypt, remains uncertain; that they should, however, meet again at St. Petersburg, was certainly not dreamt of by those who mutilated the manuscript. The erudite Dr. Steinschneider, in noticing in the new number of his "Hebraische Bibliographie" (Hammaskir) this correspondence, observes: 'To us the matter admits of a simple explanation, by supposing that the same leaves became accidentally loosened at the time that the manuscript wandered to Cairo, and consequently remained at Jerusalem. They were then, in consequence of the well-known veneration of Jews for the very fragments of Hebrew writings, on account of the name of God (Shemoth) which they might contain, removed out of the way, in order to protect them from the profane use which is often made of waste paper. It is this veneration to which the discovery of several valuable ancient printed fragments is due. Books, however, were sometimes also buried from superstitious motives, as stated by Wagenseil (Sotah, 1180). With this custom may be compared that of the Turks, who consign the copies of the Koran executed by the sultans to the tombs in which the bodies are deposited. Hebrew works, however, were also, buried in times of persecution, in order to save them from destruction. Thus, the burial of books has sometimes preserved literary treasures, and at others robbed us of them.' "

*Archæological Institute.*—Nov. 5, Professor Donaldson in the chair. The Rev. C. W. Bingham gave a detailed account of a tessellated pavement at Dorchester Castle, which had apparently been erected on the site of a Roman villa. He sent a photographic representation of the mosaic design, printed in carbon by a new process, of which this is the first specimen. It is produced by Mr. Pouncy, of Dorchester, and is supposed to be wholly imperishable; whilst photographs printed in the usual manner are inferior in clearness and beauty, as also in durability. The pavement has been removed very successfully to the chapel of Dorchester Castle, under the care and direction of the governor of the gaol, Mr. Lawrence, to whom its preservation is due. Several mosaic floors had previously been brought to light at Dorchester, one of which is preserved in the County Museum; and, although of a less striking class of art than the pavements with figures found at Cirencester and Woodchester, they prove the extent of Roman occupation in Dorset. Professor Donaldson adverted to the variety and beauty of works of this description in England, such as the floors discovered at Leicester, in Yorkshire, and other counties. One of the most remarkable examples—that formerly to be seen at Northleigh, Oxfordshire—had totally

perished, through neglect of keeping up the building which served to protect it from frost; and it is much to be feared that the remarkable mosaics and villa at Bignor, in Sussex, must speedily be destroyed through a similar cause. Mr. F. Carrington, Recorder of Wotton Bassett, read some curious notices of usages at baptisms, marriages, and funerals at Monmouth and South Wales. He cited certain instances of the baptism of an infant on the coffin of the mother, deceased shortly after its birth, and this took place either at the parent's funeral or in the church porch; the water being occasionally placed on the coffin instead of in the font. He gave an account of the bidding previously to a wedding, when the relatives of the betrothed couple are invited to assemble and present their wedding gifts; also of the bride's ale on the wedding morning; the procession to church, with the fiddler, and the peculiar custom known as the horse wedding, when the nuptial party mount and scamper across country to the church as if in a steeple chase. Among funeral practices Mr. Carrington instanced the offering money on the communion table—possibly a relic of Roman Catholic times—and originally intended to provide prayers for the deceased; also the decoration of graves on Palm Sunday, and certain other local customs. Mr. Burges described the mural paintings lately brought to light in Charlwood church, Surrey, and preserved through the good taste and zealous exertions of the rector, the Rev. T. Burningham. The subjects portrayed are the legends of St. Nicholas, St. Edmund, St. Margaret, and St. Eulalia, with a remarkable representation of the allegorical subject, known as "*Les trois vifs et les trois morts*," of which other examples, but of later date, exist at Battle, and in several Norfolk churches. Mr. Burges gave some valuable remarks on the processes of art employed in these paintings, which may be attributed to the times of Edward II., a subsequent addition in the fifteenth century having apparently concealed great part of the first design. Mr. Yates offered some observations on Roman metallurgy in Britain, and produced facsimiles of inscriptions upon blocks of lead found in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and other localities, bearing the names of Hadrian, Vespasian, and several emperors. Mr. Augustus Franks noticed the curiously ornamented coffin of lead, a relic of Roman times, lately dug up in Shadwell Docks. Amongst objects of interest brought for inspection were the matrix of a seal of Lady Jane Grey, during the brief term of her titular reign; it is in Mr. Bernhard Smith's collection; drawings by Mr. Burges of the paintings discovered at Charlwood, and of mural paintings in Jersey; an exquisite illuminated service book, from the library of Mr. W. Tite, M.P.; several fine mediæval enamels, caskets, reliquaries, etc., contributed by Mr. Webb and Mr. Farrer. Mr. Rohde Hawkins brought a beautiful ivory mirror-case carved with subjects of romance, and the matrix of the Chapter Seal of Udine, lately obtained at Venice. The Rev. J. Beck exhibited several personal ornaments, relics of ancient usages, collected in Sussex, and a specimen of richly decorated hangings of leather, stamped and painted, representing Meleager and the Boar. It was brought from an old mansion in Oxfordshire.—Dec. 3. Octavius Morgan, Esq., M.P., Vice-President, in the chair. A communication was received regarding the proposed excavations at Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury, the Roman Uriconium. The proposition lately made at the meeting of the Shropshire and North Wales Antiquarian Society, when the president, Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., offered a contribution of fifty guineas towards the exploration of that interesting site, had been taken up with great spirit. The Duke of Cleveland, on whose estates the ruins of the Roman city exist, had cordially given his consent; and liberal subscriptions promise to ensure the complete investigation of the remains, which will doubtless bring to light numerous valuable relics of ancient art, to enrich the museum at Shrewsbury. Mr. Calvert, brother of the Consul of Great Britain on the coasts of Asia Minor, gave a very interesting report of his excavations in the Troad, illustrated by numerous drawings of sepulchral and other antiquities discovered. A memoir by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt was read, relating to certain vestiges of the Knights Templars in Worcestershire, and the memorials of the deceased members of the order, characterised by peculiar symbols. Mr. Westwood related the results of his recent tour in the North of Europe, and of various relics which he had

noticed in Denmark, Holland, and other countries. Mr. Waller sent for examination a rubbing of a remarkable incised slab from a church near Tongres, in Belgium. It is the figure of a knight deceased in 1279, and represents him with banner, armorial ailettes and shield, and various singular details of costume. Mr. Waller gave an account of this and some other remarkable engraved memorials in Belgium.

*Syro-Egyptian.*—*Jan. 11.*—The Rev. Dr. Hewlett in the chair.—“On the Triple Mummy Case of Aroeri-ao, an Egyptian-priest,” by Messrs. Sharpe and Bonomi. Mr. Bonomi described this valuable case, or rather cases, which were sent to England by Mr. Salt, and are now in the possession of Dr. Lee, at Hartwell. Mr. Pettigrew unrolled the mummy contained in the innermost case at the Royal Institution in 1836. The name of the embalmed man was at that time read as Asiriao. Mr. Sharpe described the various pictures and writings in the different cases, confining himself, however, more particularly to those on the arched top of the outer case. Among the more interesting pictures was one of a boat, in which Horus Ra is seated, steered by Horus the son of Isis, and pushed forward by the deceased priest. In another, the blue vault of heaven is represented by the goddess Neith, while beneath is the deceased with two bodies. His earthly body is red, and is in the act of falling to the ground; whilst his spiritual or heavenly body is blue, and stands upright, raising his hands to heaven. In this interesting way did the Egyptians express in a picture their belief in the immortality of the soul. It is remarkable that the mummy-case of the grandfather of Aroeri-ao, who appears to have been an eminent member of the priesthood, and to have belonged to a family of wealth and distinction, is in the Museum of the College of Surgeons of London.

*Syro-Egyptian.*—*Feb. 8.*—The Rev. Dr. Hewlett in the chair.—A paper was read, being “Observations on the Syriac Language and Literature,” by the Rev. Mr. Cowper. The writer remarked that the Syriac language was not peculiar to Syria, but was at various times spoken over a large part of Western Asia. It is one of the Shemitic languages. When it originated is unknown, but in all probability at an early period. The documents now extant in Syria are all subsequent to the Christian era. The language had a distinct alphabet, and was characterized by dialectic peculiarities. It received successive additions from various quarters, and at length ceased to be spoken, although a real Neo-Syriac is now in use among the Khaddis or Nestorians in Kurdistan. The character and period of the various known translations of the Scriptures; the leading authors and translators; the introduction and history of the Syriac literature in Europe; the collections of Syriac MSS. in European libraries; their value and importance; and the desirableness of promoting the study of the language and literature, were all dwelt upon at length by the author.

*Royal Asiatic Society.*—*Jan. 22nd.* Col. Sykes, M.P., President, in the chair. Sir Henry Rawlinson exhibited a cast of an ancient Himyaritic inscription, from a bronze tablet found in the neighbourhood of Sana, a transcript and version of which he read to the meeting, and promised a paper on the subject for the Society's journal. Sir Henry also read a letter which accompanied the inscription, the writer of which informs him that a large number of similar inscriptions on bronze exist at the same place, and that he hopes to be able to obtain casts of them. The Rev. J. Edkins, of Shanghai, read a paper entitled “A Sketch of Buddhist Mythology, as represented in a Chinese Sheet-tract.” This sheet contained a series of more than 130 pictorial sketches, illustrative of the successive steps through which the disciple passes from hell, the lowest of the six states embraced in the metempsychosis to the point of perfect perception, when he becomes equal to the highest Bodhisattwas. Round the figures, and on the margin of the sheet, are descriptive notes of the various states represented by the figures. The tract constitutes a sort of Buddhist “Pilgrim's Progress.” At the foot of the sheet are seen, next to the Avichi Naraka and other hells, representations of the animal stage, the state of Pretas, of Asuras, of men, and of Devas. Among the Devas are

figures of Brahma, Indra Sakra, and other Hindú divinities. The disciple passes step by step through these states, till he takes his place among the immediate followers of Buddha. After passing beyond the condition of Devas, there are four ranks through which he must proceed on the path to the Nirvana; but these ranks are very minutely subdivided. In the Buddhist metaphysics great use is made of number. There are ten degrees of faith, ten of confirmation, etc. This extended use of number, so common to the logic of metaphysics, assisted the maker of this sketch in describing pictorially the successive crises in the Buddhist interior life. Among these, a life of Buddha is introduced in six scenes, from the time he left his father's palace till he entered into the Nirvana. Most of the higher personages are seated on the lotus, an honour not given to the Devas of the popular Hindú mythology. The means for progress in the path to perfection are found in attention to the mind itself; in Chinese *sin* (mind) figured at the top of the entire series, and the constant use of the invocation—*Namo Amitabha Buddha*. Many of the higher personages represented in this tract, although only intended as signs of ideas or mental states, have come to be popularly adored as divinities. They might, therefore, be called a new pantheon, elevated above the ordinary Hindú pantheon, and they are revered as such by the inhabitants of Buddhist countries.

*Royal Asiatic Society.*—Feb. 19. Colonel Sykes, M.P., in the chair. Professor H. H. Wilson completed the reading of his analysis of the *Travels of Hiouen Tshang*, a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited India and the contiguous countries to the north and north-west, in the first half of the seventh century, A.D.; and who, after a journey of some twenty-five thousand miles, and a sojourn of seventeen years, returned to his own country, bringing with him a journal of the observations he had made during his long pilgrimage. Professor Wilson observed that Hiouen Tshang appears not to have published any account of his lengthened wanderings, but that two of his disciples wrote, and gave to the world, a biography of their master, of which his diary forms the chief portion; and this was translated in 1853 by M. St. Julien, who has very recently published a translation of another Chinese work called the "*Si-yu-ki*," which was said to be compiled from Sanscrit sources, but which was most probably obtained from the *Travels of Hiouen Tshang*, and in a great measure published in his own words. An analysis of the "*Si-yu-ki*," made by M. de St. Martin with reference to a map of Central Asia, which was printed with M. Julien's translation, complete the materials from whence the paper was written; and they give a better account of the journey of Hiouen Tshang, and of the state of Central Asia in the seventh century than can be gathered by a native of China from the original works. Professor Wilson observed that Hiouen Tshang was one of those early Chinese travellers who went to India for the sole purpose of visiting as a pilgrim the holy places of the Buddhist faith; and that their writings were chiefly interesting as giving some account of the country at a time when nothing was derivable from other sources, owing to the singular deficiency of anything geographical and historical throughout all Indian literature, which was only supplied in any considerable degree by the Mahomedan writers, long after the period of the Buddhist pilgrimages. At the same time, much of the interest which might have been expected from these Chinese journals was destroyed by the almost exclusive attention of the writers to an account of Buddhist institutions, and of the relics of Buddha. Professor Wilson passed a high eulogium on M. Julien's work, and the admirable way in which he had succeeded in getting the Sanscrit names out of the uncouth forms in which they were entangled by the Chinese mode of writing; and he had given tables of Sanscrit equivalents for Chinese characters, which cannot fail to be essentially useful to all who may in future investigate ancient Indian history from Chinese sources. Hiouen Tshang began his journey in 629 A.D. at Leang-cheou, in the north-west of China; went to the country of the Ouigurs (I-gou), and thence westward, in a line north of the great desert of Gobi, as far as Talas (Talos-se), on the Jaxartes, his furthest northern point. Talas was then, as now,

chiefly inhabited by Turks (Tou-kiomé). He then proceeds to Samarkand (Samo-kien), and to Bamian (Tan-yen-na), where he saw the colossal statues which have been described by Burnes. From Bamian he goes south and west; crosses the Hindu Kush, and passes into India, by the Taxila of the Greeks, through the Punjáb to Muttra (Ma-thou-lo), Canouje (Kei-jo-kio-ché), where he notices the legend of the hump-backed damsel (Kamja Kubja) from the Ramayana; and proceeds along the valley of the Ganges, noticing especially Kapilavestu (Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu), the birth-place of Buddha; and makes a long stay in Magadha, the holy land of the Buddhists, the country where many relics of the faith remain to this day. Hiouen Tssang subsequently went to the Dekkan. The most southern period appears to be Kanchipura (Kien-chi-pu-la) the modern Conjeveram, forty-six miles from Madras. From hence he goes, west by north, till he reaches the Western Ghats, and thence, by a long sweep to the North, through the Konkan to Valabile (Fa-li-pi). In this part, as observed by M. St. Martin, there is great confusion in bearings and distances, the former being often inverted, and the latter greatly exaggerated; and Professor Wilson is inclined to believe that we have here a relation of detached journeys or even of routes, derived from information unvisited by the pilgrim. The route is now through Guzerat and Scinde, to Kabul, where he names the capital, Hupina—the Alexandria Opiana of Stephen of Byzantium, still named Hupian. From this region he returned home through the valley of the Oxus, the cities of Cashgar and Yarkand, and the great desert of Golie, to the place from whence he had set out seventeen years before.

*Royal Asiatic Society*,—March 19. The President, Captain Sykes, in the chair. The Director, Professor H. H. Wilson, read a communication from Raja Radhakant Deb, a well-known native gentleman and Sanskrit scholar of Calcutta, in which he questions the accuracy of the conclusions drawn by the professor of the erroneous reading of the text of the Rig-Veda, hitherto cited as the authority for the burning of widows. The Rajah opposes to this the authority of a portion of another Veda, the "Taittiriya Sanita," of what is usually known as the "Black Yajush," quoting two verses which contain the address of the widow to the fire, praying for courage to support the ordeal she is about to undergo. He cites also passages from other works connected with the Vedas, containing directions for the ceremonial. With respect to the particular verse cited by Mr. Colebrooke, the reading of which was shewn to be wrong by the professor, he admits that, as far as that goes, the error exists, but that Mr. Colebrooke might have taken his version from some other Satehá, branch or school, as readings do vary in different branches. He maintains, also, that it does not relate to the actual ceremony, but to one that is held ten days after cremation, and that it has nothing, therefore, to do with the rite of *Sati*—it being the intention of all the authorities, and, according to the Raja, the practice of all respectable families, to give the widow, to the last moment, an opportunity of retracting, as although such retraction was blameable, the fault might be expiated. The Raja then pointed out the antiquity of the practice, as it is described in the "Mahábhárata," and noticed by classical writers, citing especially Boyse's metrical translation of *Propertius de Uxoribus Indiciis*. The Director observes that he had never intended to deny that texts might be found in some of the Vedic authorities for the rite; his object was to shew that the particular text which alone had been cited in its support had really prohibited it, and this Radhakant had not been able to invalidate. With respect also to the authority on which the Raja mainly relied, he looked upon it as at least questionable. It was not the text of the "Black Yajur Veda" itself, but of the "Narayaniya Upanishad," a supplementary portion of that Veda the genuineness of which was questioned by the great commentator of the Vedas, Mádhava Acharya, an observation which was confirmed by the remarks of Professor Goldstücker at the meeting.

Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq., concluded the reading of a paper "On the Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana." Mr. Priaulx gave a condensed version of the account published by Philostratus, about 200 A.D., of Apollonius's journey; his departure from Antioch about the middle of the first century, A.C.;



his arrival at Babylon, where he remained eighteen months; thence to the Hindu Kush, where he saw the chains of Prometheus; his climbing up Mount Nysa, where he saw the ivy, laurel, and vine, planted by Bacchus; thence to Taxila, where he saw an elephant nearly 400 years old, which had fought in the battles of Porus against Alexander; how he conversed with king Phraotes in good Greek; how at the city of Paraka he attained to the knowledge of the language of birds by eating dragon's heart and liver; of his visiting the Sophoi (Brahmans?); and how, after a sojourn of four months with these wonderful men, he returned to Babylon by the Indus, the Persian Gulf, and the Euphrates. Mr. Priaux observed that as, immediately the story leaves the writers who had mentioned India at that time, such as Strabo, Ctesias, and the historians of Alexander, it went into all kinds of marvels, he was of opinion that the journey is wholly fabulous, and that the work is made up, partly by a compilation from cotemporaneous writers, and partly from absurd tales, either invented by Apollonius or Philostratus himself, or else from accounts picked up at Alexandria.

*Bible Making.*—The history of the Bible has repeatedly been written, and an interesting history it is. For it is curious to trace the various books of which it is composed back to their ascertained or traditional source. Much learning is necessary to do this, and some learning is requisite to understand it. A more popular and intelligible work would be one which should take up the Bible from the time it was thrown before the world through the invention of printing, down to the present time, when every family has at least one copy of the Holy Scriptures.

In the middle ages, the Bible was multiplied only by the tedious and laborious process of transcription. The religious in monasteries piously employed themselves in copying, with great patience and much skill, not only the Bible, but other good books—such as the writings of the early Fathers of the Church. Sometimes, when it was difficult to obtain new parchment for this purpose, the copyists would take old manuscripts, obliterate the writing as far as they could, and make their own transcription upon the comparatively clean surface. These parchments, thus treated, are called palimpsests. On some occasions the obliterated matter was more valuable than that which replaced it. We are acquainted with one instance of this. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, there was a palimpsest of vellum, on which was written, in Greek, what appeared to be a monkish legend of the thirteenth century. The erudite and eccentric Dr. John Barrett, college librarian, carefully examined this manuscript, saw nearly effaced earlier letters upon the vellum, and, after years of persevering examination, discovered that the almost obliterated writing comprised a large portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew, part of Isaiah, and some orations of Gregory Nazianzen, all written in the uncial Greek letter, probably as early as the second century. He transcribed every letter, and the discovered treasure was published in quarto, in 1801, at the expense of the University, a copperplate of each page being engraved, containing a *fac-simile* of the uncial Greek, with the ordinary Greek version opposite, and Latin notes and references at foot.

The Psalter was the earliest printed portion of the Bible, in Hebrew, and appeared, in small form, in 1477. Eleven years later, the entire Hebrew Bible was first printed at Soncino. From the Gerson edition, printed at Brescia in 1494, Luther made his translation; but the earliest volume produced by Gutenberg's types, 1450--55, was a Latin Bible. There is a tradition, which we met only in an old French book, that when this Bible, in which the initial letters were printed in bright red ink, (to imitate the illuminated letters of the manuscripts), was offered for sale at Paris, for a sixth of the selling price of a written book, the copyists, not detecting that it was mechanically executed, made a serious complaint to the magistracy that the work must have been executed with diabolical aid, and that the vivid red of the initial letters was made by using human blood. The bookvender, it is said, to avoid being burned as a sorcerer, had to communicate the secret of the newly-discovered art of printing. The story does not seem

very probable, but there can be no doubt that Bible transcribers were soon thrust out of the market by the cheapness, facility, and dispatch of the Bible printers.

In England, as early as 1290, nearly two centuries before the invention of printing, there was an English version of the Bible, and portions had been translated into Saxon by Aldhelm, Egbert, Bede, and others, between the eighth and tenth centuries. Wycliffe, Tyndale, Coverdale, and others, made English translations. At last, by direction of James I., the present English Bible was executed on the basis of Bishop Parker's version, (called the Bishop's Bible), published in 1568. There were forty-eight learned divines employed six years in making the translation, authorized by King James, which was published in 1611, by Robert Barker. One of the early reprints of this is commonly called "The Breeches Bible," because in Genesis, chap. iii. ver. 7, instead of the words "They sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons," the compositor put "made themselves breeches." There was another English Bible in which the seventh commandment, "Thou shalt *not* commit adultery," was carelessly rendered with the *not* accidentally omitted.

In Great Britain and Ireland a singular monopoly in Bibles is permitted. We have an English Bible before us now, dated London, 1846, and "printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's most excellent Majesty." In Scotland, the printer would be Sir D. Blair; in Ireland, George Grierson. These persons respectively hold the patent of Queen's Printer, and, in at least one case, this patent has been over one hundred years in the same family. In England, it yields a net annual income of 50,000 dols., and in Scotland and Ireland about half as much. These patents secure to the respective holders the exclusive privilege of printing the Bible, the metrical version of the Psalms (by Tate and Brady), and the Prayer Book of the Established Protestant Episcopal Church. Should any other person print these interdicted works he would be subjected to a state prosecution. In England there is a uniform duty of three cents per pound upon paper of all qualities. But, with the nominal view of reducing the cost of the Word of God, all paper used for Bibles, Psalters, and Prayer Books, is duty free. This monopoly of Bible printing, commenced nearly two centuries ago, was originally based on the necessity of having the book accurately printed, which, it was thought, irresponsible private parties might fail to effect. The Roman Catholic version, rendered from the Douay Bible, slightly differs from the common English translation, and, therefore, is not subject to the restrictions of the patents.

In the United States there is no monopoly in Bible printing. Capital, enterprise, and good business connexion, have built up, here in this Philadelphia of ours, one of the largest Bible producing establishments in the world. The population of Great Britain and Ireland is much on a level with that of the United States, but for every two Bibles used in the "old country" five are sold in this.

Jesper Harding and Son are great Bible makers. The energy, tact, and enterprise of the senior partner have made the business. He entered into it, many years ago, on a very moderate scale, and now the business will rank among the leading establishments of the day. They employ three hundred persons every week, at the corner of Third and Carter streets (the office of their friendly competitor, the *Inquirer*), and, in addition to this large building, occupy the three next-to-ground floors of the building in which the post-office is located. This is independent of the fact that, to supply his own consumption alone, Jesper Harding has a paper mill, in New Jersey, at full work all the year round.

Harding's Bibles have the text revised and corrected from the original edition of 1611, and the American Bible Society's Standard of 1816. There are in all, we believe, over sixty different Bibles issued by this firm. These differences are made by the various descriptions of binding—from "sheep" to "Turkey super extra bevelled boards, full gilt sides and clasps, and oil coloured engravings from original designs by Devereux." Of the quarto Bibles there are over a dozen varieties, ranging (wholesale prices) from less than one dollar to twenty-five. There is a little 32mo. edition, with metrical version of the Psalms, gilt edges, and

illustrated, from forty cents to one dollar—over 1,100 pages of small but clear type. The immense sales, which are heaviest in the spring and fall, swell small profits into a good aggregate of remuneration.

The superintendent of Messrs. Hardings' establishment, Mr. Andrew J. Holman, a gentleman of information and intellect, lately shewed us the whole machinery of this immense Bible making. On one story of their building wood engraving is carried on. Next, is a foundry for stereotyping the plates. Then we mounted to the composing rooms, where the type is set up and the stereotypes "picked out" and corrected. Then, a department where half-a-dozen steam presses are perpetually printing off the plates. Next, the bindery room, in which the sheets were subjected to hydraulic pressure, folded, arranged according to their respective "signatures," sewed, cut, gilt, bound, lettered, and clasped. After that, to the counting-house (directly over the *Inquirer* office), where samples are kept and orders for shipment executed. Lastly, underneath the newspaper office, in fact, under the pavement of Carter-street, the steam engine, of twenty-horse power, which sets all the machinery at work, and can be managed by a child. . . .

*Canon Law and the Jews.*—The Pope having decided the Mortara case in accordance with the canonical laws passed in the darkest of centuries, and by the most sanguinary of councils, it is but right that the world should know what kind of regulations the head of the church is going to revive, and what kind of canons have been appealed to. The forcible abduction is justified by one of the canons passed in the councils of Spain, previous to her conquest by the Arabs. We will translate a few of them.

De Baptismo, dissert. 3, art. 4.—If it happens that children of infidels have been baptized they must be separated from them (their parents) for fear of apostasy. In this case the paternal right offers no obstacle, because the right which the church has acquired by baptism must prevail, the exercise of this right protecting the interests of the child, the honour of God, of religion, and the sacrament, which would sustain a grave injury by the future apostasy of the child, and which is morally certain.

Cap. Judæorum 11, causa 28, qu. 1, ex conc. Tolet 4.—Corpus Juris can. T. 3, p. 1545.—Lest the sons and daughters of Jews become imbued with their (the parents') errors, we decree that they shall be separated from their parents, sent to convents, or entrusted to God-fearing men or women, in order that under their guidance they may learn the rites of their faith, and that, well brought up, they might make progress in respect to religion and good morals.

Causa 28, q. 1, cap. xii., concil. Tolet., t. iv., p. 1545 et 1546.—Let there be no intercourse between the Hebrews who have passed over to the Christian faith and those who persist in their ancient practices; for it is feared lest they be corrupted by the contact. Consequently, all those who have been baptized and do not forthwith give up all intercourse with them, are to be delivered over into the hands of Christians; as for the Jews, the punishments denounced against them will be called into operation.

These punishments are all of a material character, and inflicted on the body; "For," says the *Glossary*, "as to spiritual punishments, the church does not award any against them. Indeed, she could not excommunicate them; he that is out of the pale of the church cannot be cut off from the church." Further on it is enacted:—

Causa 28, q. 1, cap. xiii. Ex. sexta synodo. C. 21. Corpus Juris can., t. 1, p. 1546.—Let nobody, clerk or layman, eat with the Jews, lodge with them, call them in in his sickness, take any physic from their hands, or bathe with them. In case of transgression, if it be a clerk let him be deposed, if it be a layman let him be excommunicated.

The question, whether the guilt of bigamy is incurred by a man who, having been married before his baptism, marries again after he has been baptized, is answered, on the authority of St. Jerome, in the negative, as by baptism the old man is cast off.—Corpus Juris can. t. i., p. 1550.—*Jewish Chronicle*.

*The Chronological Institute of London.*—Dec. 21. Dr. William Bell read a short notice he had received from Professor Lepsius, at Berlin, on the conformity of the Phoenix cycle with the Egyptian to this period. A very learned paper was read by the Rev. William Wilson, jun., A.M., on a comparison of the lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho, in which the deductions of the writer, proving a conformity of the genuine Egyptian records with scripture history were necessarily deferred, for want of time, to another meeting. Dr. William Bell shortly pointed to the opinion of Professor Lepsius, in his most recent work (*Das Königs Buch*, p. 13), that the lists of Eratosthenes, as handed down to us, are in a state incurably corrupt; and the treasurer, Mr. J. W. Bosanquet, closed the discussion, by showing how his own calculations, from independent data, coincided within a year or two of the dates which Lepsius obtained from Egyptian monuments, of the important synchronisms of Sennacherib, Tirhaka, and Hezekiah.

A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* extracts, from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, what is called "a correct transcript of the sentence of death pronounced against Jesus Christ." The following is a copy of the most memorable judicial sentence which has ever been pronounced in the annals of the world, namely, that of death against the Saviour, with the remarks which the journal *Le Droit* has collected, and the knowledge of which must be interesting in the highest degree to every Christian. Until now I am not aware that it has ever been made public in the German papers. The sentence is word for word, as follows:—

Sentence pronounced by Pontius Pilate, intendant of the province of Lower Galilee, that Jesus of Nazareth shall suffer death by the cross.

In the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberias, and on the 25th of the month of March, in the most holy city of Jerusalem, during the pontificate of Annas and Caiaphas.

Pontius Pilate, intendant of the province of Lower Galilee, sitting in judgment in the presidential seat of the prætor, sentences Jesus of Nazareth to death on a cross, between two robbers, as the numerous and notorious testimonies of the people prove:—

1. Jesus is a misleader.
2. He has excited the people to sedition.
3. He is an enemy to the laws.
4. He calls himself the Son of God.
5. He calls himself falsely the King of Israel.
6. He went into the Temple, followed by a multitude carrying palms in their hands.

Orders the first centurion, Quirilius Cornelius, to bring him to the place of execution.

Forbids all persons, rich or poor, to prevent the execution of Jesus.

The witnesses who have signed the execution against Jesus, are—

1. Daniel Robani, Pharisee.
2. John Zorobabel.
3. Raphael Robani.
4. Capet.

Jesus to be taken out of Jerusalem through the gate of Tournea.

This sentence is engraved on a plate of brass, in the Hebrew language, and on its sides are the following words, "A similar plate has been sent to each tribe." It was discovered in the year 1280, in the city of Aquill, in the kingdom of Naples, by a search made for the discovery of Roman antiquities, and remained there until it was found by the commissaries of art in the French army of Italy. Up to the time of the campaign in Southern Italy it was preserved in the sacristy of the Carthusians, near Naples, where it was kept in a box of ebony. Since then the relic has been kept in the chapel of Caserta. The Carthusians obtained by their petitions that the plate might be kept by them, which was an acknowledgment of the sacrifices which they made for the French army. The French translation was made literally by members of the Commission of Arts. Dénon had a *fac simile* of the plate engraved, which was bought by Lord Howard, on

the sale of his cabinet, for 2,890 francs. There seems to be no historical doubt as to the authenticity of this. The reasons of the sentence correspond exactly with those of the Gospel.

[We insert the above as a curiosity, but with no faith, at present, in its genuineness. Ed. J. S. L.]

*Heraldry in the Bible.*—The existence of heraldry as a science dates from about the period of the first crusade; but the emblems and national devices were conferred as marks of honourable distinction from the very earliest ages. Each of the Jewish tribes had its own particular banner. These were distinguished by a sign derived from the blessing pronounced by Jacob, at his death, on the twelve patriarchs. It is believed that each emblem was displayed upon a flag, corresponding in colour with that one of the twelve precious stones on the high priest's breast-plate on which the name of the tribe was graven.

*A New Translation of the Book of Job.*—A new translation of the Book of Job from the original Hebrew into French, by M. Ernest Renan, has just appeared. It is highly spoken of, and, as far as the translation goes, exhibits the powers of the French language in a very striking degree. The high reputation for Semetic learning enjoyed by the author is, perhaps, a sufficient guarantee for the faithfulness of the text. The work is preceded by an essay on the age and character of the poem, in which the mystic tenets of this very learned, but unhappily, unbelieving writer, are curiously developed.

*Large Libraries.*—The proportionate magnitude of the ten libraries which at present make claim to the possession of more than 300,000 volumes of printed books, is:—The Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, 800,000; British Museum, 560,000; Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg, 520,000; Royal Library at Berlin, 500,000; Royal Library at Munich, 480,000; Royal Library at Copenhagen, 410,000; Imperial Library at Vienna, 365,000; University Library at Göttingen, 360,000; Royal Library at Breslau, 350,000; Royal Public Library at Dresden, 305,000. Within twenty-three years the British Museum Library has made such strides as to have attained the second place instead of the seventh on this list.—*Edinburgh Review*.

The British Museum has got two new trustees. One the Rev. W. Cureton, of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and Canon of the Abbey, appointed to the vacant royal trusteeship, which has been unfilled since the death of the old Duke of Cambridge. Mr. Cureton was once employed in the library of the Museum, and has gained much celebrity as a Syriac scholar. It may be doubted whether mere scholarship, without the aid of such patronage as the Prince Consort, would have led to such a result. It is stated that, before this appointment, no person outside the pale of the royal family has ever held the post of Royal Trustee to the British Museum. The appointment will be hailed with satisfaction by the literary world, as a recognition of the eminent services which Mr. Cureton has rendered to the science of Biblical criticism, and which has secured for him an European reputation.

## NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

*In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.*

### FOREIGN.

- Berton.—Dictionnaire des parallèles entrediverses Doctrines Philosophiques et Religieuses, d'une part, et la foi Catholique, de l'autre. 8vo.
- Besser (W. F.)—Die Apostelgeschichte St. Lucä in Bibelstunden für die Gemeinde ausgelegt. (St. Luke's Acts of the Apostles explained for the Churches, in Scripture Readings). Part I., chap. 1—12. Halle. 12mo, pp. xii, 612.
- Bock (Fr.)—Geschichte der Liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters. (History of Liturgical Vestments of the Middle Ages.) Part II. Bonn and London. 8vo, pp. 300.
- Bungener (Felix.)—Rome et la Bible: Manuel du Controversiste Evangélique. Paris and Geneva. 12mo, pp. viii, 516.
- Dalmer (Karl E. F.)—Auslegung des Briefes St. Paul an die Colosser. (Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians). Gotha. 8vo, pp. vi, 226.
- De Chantelaube.—Le Père de la Chaise, Confesseur de Louis XIV. Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse. Lettres et Documents inédits. 8vo.
- Dometian.—Vies des saints apôtres serbes Siméon et Sabba. Abrégées et épurées par Givkovich. 4to.
- Epiphani librorum adversus Hæreses procemium. Cum Præfatione G. Dindorfii. 8vo.
- Ewald (Henry.)—Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft: Neuntes Jahrbuch, 1857-1858. (Year Books of Biblical Science: Ninth Year Book, 1857-1858). Göttingen and London. 8vo, pp. 300.
- Eyzaguirre (Jose Ignacio Victor, Presbitero.)—El Catolicismo en presencia de sus Desidentes. Barcelona. 2 tom.
- Gabirol (Salomo ben, of Malaga.)—Hebrew Poems. Collected from manuscripts at Oxford, Parma, and Vienna, elucidated and published for the first time by Leopold Dukes. Hanover.
- Gatien-Arnoult.—Histoire de la Philosophie en France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours. Tome I. Période gauloise. 8vo.
- Gfrörer (A. Fr.)—Pabst Gregorius VII. und seine Zeitalter. Pope Gregory VII. and his Age). Vol. I. Schaffhausen. 8vo, pp. xvi, 670.
- Graf (K. H., Lic. Theol., Dr. Ph.)—Der Segen Moses (Deuteronomium c. xxxiii.) Erklärt. (The Blessings of Moses explained). Vol. II. Paris. Leipzig. 8vo, pp. 88.
- Guettee (L'Abbe.)—Histoire des Jesuites, composee sur Documents Authentiques en partie inedit. Tome Premier. Paris. pp. 507.
- Harless (G. C. A. Von.)—Commentar über der Brief Pauli an die Ephesier. Zweite Auflage. (Commentary upon Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians). Second Edition. Stuttgart. 8vo, pp. lxxviii, 574.
- Jaquin (Abbe.)—Dictionnaire de Théologie à l'usage des gens du monde. Paris. 12mo, pp. 544.
- Lange (J. P.)—Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk, etc. Des N. Testaments zweiter Theil. Das Evangelium nach Markus. 8vo, pp. 172. Dritter Theil. Das Evangelium nach Lukas. Von J. J. van Oosterzee. 8vo, pp. 410. (The Second and Third parts of Dr. Lange's Theological and Homiletical Work on the Bible).

- Ledderhose (K. F.)—Johann Philipp Fresenius Epistel-Predigten, oder auserlesene heilige Reden über die epistolischen Texte aller Sonn und Festtage. Auf's Neue herausgegeben mit einem Lebensabrisse des Verfassers. (John Philip Fresenius' Sermons on the Epistles, or Select Godly Discourses upon the Epistles for all Sundays and Holydays. Newly published, with a Sketch of the Author's Life). Frankfurt-on-the-Main: 8vo, pp. xvi., 703.
- Le Rashol.—Essai Historique et Critique sur les sectes religieuses en Russie. 8vo.
- Martensen (H., Bishop of Zealand.)—D. H. Martensen's Bischof von Zealand Predigten. Deutsch von J. C. Jacobsen. (Sermons, translated into German, by J. C. Jacobsen. Gotha. 8vo, pp. 308.
- Mehring (H. J. F.)—Der Brief Pauli an die Römer, übersetzt und erklärt. (The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, translated and explained). First part, containing Chapters I.—V. Stettin. 8vo, pp. viii., 518.
- Otte (Heinrich.)—Archäologischer Katechismus. Kurzer Unterricht in der Kirchlichen Kunstarchäologie des deutschen Mittelalters. (Archæological Catechism. A Short Introduction to the Archæology of Ecclesiastical Art of Medieval Germany). Eighty-eight Woodcuts. Leipzig. 8vo, pp. viii., 98.
- Parthey (G.)—Ägypten beim Geographen von Ravenna. (Egypt after the Geographer of Ravenna). From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Sciences at Berlin, 1858. Berlin. 4to, pp. 38.
- Pestalozzi (Carl.)—Heinrich Bullinger: Leben und Ausgewählte Schriften. Nach handschriftlichen und gleichzeitigen Quellen. (Henry Bullinger: Life and Select Writings. From MS. and contemporary sources. Elberfeld. 8vo, pp. xii., 646.
- Pressensé (E de.)—Histoire des Trois Premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne. Vol. II. Paris. 8vo, pp. 520.
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CONNEXION BETWEEN OUR LORD'S DOCTRINES, MIRACLES,  
AND PROPHECIES.

THERE is no want in our theological literature of separate works on the Doctrines, or of separate works on the Miracles, or of separate works on the Prophecies. Yet amidst an abundance of excellent helps to the study of each of these subjects, when isolated and detached from each other, we do feel a want of helps to the study of the whole three, in such a combined view as would shew their essential connexions, their oneness of teaching, their harmony of meaning, their mutually interwoven support to the redemptive mission of our Lord. One or two essays we have met with, shewing to a certain extent the connexion between two of these three great subjects, but not touching on the connexion, still more important, which unites all the three. Without pretending that the following thoughts supply this desideratum in our theological literature, we hope they may, perhaps, be useful in giving a few outlines of the way in which an introductory investigation of the subject might be carried on.

The doctrines, miracles, and prophecies, being all parts of what our Redeemer said and did; addressed all equally to the men He came to redeem, must be all *redemptive* in their nature, purpose, and meaning. The doctrines may be called *redemptive truths*, the miracles *redemptive acts*, the prophecies *redemptive*

*promises.* Being therefore parts of one great scheme, it is natural to suppose that they are intended reciprocally to support, explain, and guarantee each other. And on examination it soon becomes clear that each doctrine, or class of similar doctrines, is confirmed by a kindred miracle or class of similar miracles; and that these two together become the foundation for a kindred prophecy, or class of similar prophecies, for whose fulfilment they are the joint pledge.

It will be seen that this proposed way of viewing these three subjects together, makes them ultimately rest on the miracles as the necessary demonstrated proof for the truth of the others; a position in strict accordance with our Lord's own way of presenting them to notice. He directly appealed to what He *did*, as the most convincing support to what He *said*. "The works that I do bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me" (John v. 36). "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works" (John x. 38). "The words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me he doeth the works;" "believe me for the very works' sake" (John xiv. 11, 12).

Our Lord not only wrought miracles to support His doctrines when these had been advanced, but so much importance did He attach to miraculous evidence as a means of gaining admission for truth into the human heart, that He frequently deferred the announcing of His doctrine until He had worked the miracle which was to support it; so that the attention of the lookers-on was arrested, and their hearts prepared to believe a doctrine which came from the same possessor of divine authority who had already exhibited His miraculous credentials. There is no doubt that in almost every case such proof was necessary for those who lived in our Saviour's time. For though the truths of Christian doctrine have in themselves a living power, a moral majesty, a soul-satisfying beauty, which, to a mind of unbiassed judgment, high candour, and moral purity, may seem not to need any miraculous support; yet even such minds must have every favourable predisposition existing in their moral constitution, and enjoy every opportunity for examining and appreciating the truth, before it can attain, even with them, such a paramount position. These mental conditions could not be often found among the Jews of Christ's day, even among their most educated and enlightened men; and very seldom, indeed, could occur among the great mass of Christ's ordinary countrymen. Truth unaided could not hope to win its way by its own inherent charms, while opposed by inveterate prejudices, old antagonistic

habits, national and personal exclusiveness, suspicious rival teachers, and all the bias of Judaistic institutions. Something more palpable, more directly appealing to the mind, straight through the unbiassed evidence of the senses, was needed to override and scatter these obstacles, before the doctrines had a fair field for their work. Here, then, miracles found their proper sphere, as the heralds, couriers, or advanced guard of doctrines. And most amply, most kindly, did our Lord supply what His wisdom saw was needed. He worked such miracles as would shew unmistakeably His divine commission; proving therefore that whatever He said must be as authoritative as what He did, He being the author of both alike. There was an additional merit, too, in His miracles, besides their being "signs and wonders." Our present inquiry will lead us frequently to notice, that the miracles were not done at random, not the first wonderful thing that could come to hand the soonest, but were most carefully chosen, and most exquisitely adapted to the nature of the doctrines which they were meant to confirm: so that any attentive observer would perceive them to be of a *kindred character*. Both were evidently the products of One great master mind, unfolding the same great truths harmoniously by both.

When to these two great branches of Christ's teaching, the convinced Jew found a third added in the prophecies, it also on examination would be soon recognized as still the consociated product of the same master mind, kindred in its object, and calculated to exhibit the same truths, in still another instructive and attractive position.

In all past ages, indeed, the office of a prophet had to some extent always embraced the three duties of teaching doctrine, working miracles, and announcing prophecies of future events. But it was reserved for Christ, the Great Prophet, to display their wonderful power of mutual confirmation, and to blend together the various influences exerted by them into one redemptive result. He seems to have ever kept this object in view, and meant us also to recognize it; so that we should study all these parts of his prophetic office, not separately, as single independent subjects, but together, as supplementary to each other, and each most necessary for the right understanding of the others, as Christ intended them to be understood.

We will at first take some examples, from the Gospels and the Book of Revelation, in which the connecting links are more easily traced, leaving less obvious ones for a further stage in our considerations.

I. One great fact which our Lord often impressed on his

hearers was, that He alone is the source of true life and support for the soul. He told them, "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you." "They said therefore unto him, What sign shewest thou then that we may see and believe. Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. Then Jesus said unto them, My Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world." "I am that bread of life." "Your fathers did eat manna, and are dead; this is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die." "He that eateth me even he shall live by me; I am the living bread" (John vi). The doctrine announced by our Lord, with these illustrations from bread and manna, is a call to all men to seek for spiritual food as His gift, and to feed on Him in their hearts by faith with thanksgiving.\* From day to day, like its companion the body, the soul needs its portion of nourishment. Christ holds out Himself as the supplier of its wants, the sustainer of its health. He does not point men to God our Father only, or God in general, but to Himself, the Christ, the Son of God and Son of Man, as the sole medium of communication between divinity and humanity, as uniting in His redeeming office all the qualities, attributes, and powers, which can bear upon human nature for its restoration and continuance in spiritual strength.

Now let us inquire by what kindred miracle this doctrine was supported. It is found in the feeding of five thousand men by the multiplication of five barley loaves (and two small fishes) until they had enough and twelve baskets full to spare (John vi. 1—14). This is a case in which the miracle, exactly suited to bring home the truth of Christ's words, had been already wrought by Him (the previous day); in anticipation of His giving out the doctrine, and to prepare their minds for it. We say the miracle was done in anticipation of it, for although at first sight the narrative seems to exhibit the miracle as suggested by the presence of a starving multitude, and the after discourse, containing the truth in point, to be but an improvement of the occasion, suggested by the miracle: yet inasmuch as miracles were subordinate to spiritual truth, useful simply for enforcing it, and also ever used by Christ with careful "economy," only when His teaching needed such illustration, we for these reasons believe that Christ, seeing alike into the future as into the pre-

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\* Communion Service.

sent, permitted that crowd to assemble round Him, and worked that miracle, with the double intention of not only ministering mercifully to their present necessities, but also of making that the means of gaining their hearts to receive, more readily than they otherwise would, the grand truth which He was going next day to announce; "I am the bread of life."

How excellently this miracle was adapted to confirm the doctrine Christ taught, will be seen at a glance. It was an undeniable act of inherent divinity, done in the presence of thousands, who not only saw the bread multiplying under his creative touch, but also, by actually feeding upon it, tested its reality, and positively felt its life-reviving benefits circulating in their own veins. No wonder that, "when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, those men said, This is of a truth that Prophet who should come into the world" (verse 14). Their grateful admiration even went so far as to wish "to make him a king." Christ, however, avoiding their efforts to do this, waited till the next day, when their excitement was sufficiently calmed down to allow of His quietly addressing them. Then, after a slight reproof for the greater eagerness they shewed for their temporal than for their eternal well-being, He announced the doctrine for whose reception He had so carefully prepared the way. If any thing could have rivetted their attention and opened their hearts to receive the truth that Christ was the bread of life, needed for their souls, surely it was that previous act of supplying them in so astonishing a mode with abundance of bread for the support of their fainting hungry bodies. They could reason from the one to the other. A miraculous blessing, in its nature bodily, tangible, able to be tested by the senses, was the best guarantee for the reality of a similar blessing to the soul, which in its nature could not be otherwise than invisible and beyond the test of sense. The former blessing required the exercise of divine power as much as the latter; and the actual display of such divine power in the one, by the same Christ Jesus who announced the other, was ample pledge for the vital truth of what that wonder-working Speaker taught. They might confidently trust their soul's safety to the same potent goodness that had compassionated and sustained their corporeal life in its hour of need. In the very abundance of the fragments that remained, creation's voice was raised to attest the fulness of spiritual blessings distributed to believers by the "Bread of life."

Present support for body and soul was not, however, all Christ had to offer. He opened a wider prospect. The doctrine, supported as it was by miracle, he also beautified by a most glorious and encouraging prophecy, "He that cometh to

me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. This is the will of him that sent me, that every one who seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me" (John vi). "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna" (Rev. ii. 17).

Such future blessings as these promises exhibit were most appropriate to the subject He had been teaching and working to enforce. The full divine support and preservation of the soul, if once begun, would evidently go on unceasingly, and result, as its natural consequence, in a life eternal, as the eternal One who gave it. It implies an endless state of freedom from every want, of closest communion with or dwelling in Christ, and of eternal support by that mysterious "hidden manna;" for the soul will in eternity be ever still as directly dependent on Christ, its Saviour, as while on earth; still as much in need of that Almighty Redeemer, who multiplied the barley loaves, and declared himself the living Bread from heaven.

Prophetic words so kindred in nature to the others Christ had spoken, would at once sink into any hearts that had witnessed the miracle, and believingly heard the doctrine. All this that was promised for the future was certainly within the reach of divine power to accomplish. Christ had already shewn that He possessed divine power to support life; who then could ever take this power from Him, or hinder the fulfilment of His promise? What could change His loving concern for men's safety, or shake the steadiness of this predetermined intention of exercising it for their good in the everlasting state they were created to enjoy? On the contrary, were not such prophecies just what might have been expected to come from the worker of that kindred miracle, and the announcer of that kindred doctrine? Was it not most probable and fitting, that such combined power and goodness as shone forth in them, to attract and bless and cheer men's bodies for this life, would also send forth rays of brightest hope for the life beyond the grave, so much more to be desired? All Christ did and taught could be valuable mainly in proportion as it helped the soul to look for, prepare for, and hope in that eternal life; how necessary, then, as an accompaniment to His wondrous acts and spiritual teachings on earth, was this influx of eternal hopes, so carefully and wisely blended with his other words. It was the way to shew how much lay in the redemption offered by Him, how secure beyond every risk was the happiness of all that trusted Him with such a precious charge.

This redemptive promise was, indeed, the fitting sequence to the redemptive truth and the redemptive act.

Reviewing now the whole three, we may better feel the necessity of each for the full exhibition of the great idea running through them all. Any two without the third, would be defective in some vital point. Were the doctrine and prophecy deprived of the miracle, they would lose the attested visible evidence for the divine authority and truth of what they announce. Were the miracle and prophecy deprived of the doctrine, the guiding truth for man's soul in this life would be so obscured, that the miracle would lose its point, and the prophecy would have no distinct allusion to a known truth, such as it needs for its explanation. Were the doctrine and miracle deprived of the prophecy, they would lose that attractive stimulus to embracing them, which is contained in the glorious future reward promised to the believer. They would then, apparently, be bounded in their aim by the present life; it would seem to have been not worth while for Christ to appear on earth for such a narrow purpose; and little inducement would remain for His hearers, at certain loss and risk to "leave all and follow him." It was to the three together that Christ's hearers would trust; and by them, as by a "threefold cord not quickly broken," our own hearts are drawn in fullest confidence to the gracious Redeemer, who prepared this triple link between heaven and earth.

II. Our next example will be taken from the character Christ assumed as the great healer of bodily and spiritual disease. "And behold, they brought unto him a man sick of the palsy lying on a bed: and Jesus seeing their faith, said unto the sick of the palsy, Son be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee" (Matt. ix. 2). Our Lord here claims divine authority of the highest possible kind. Such an assumption as this, that He was able to forgive sins done against God, involved in its truth or falsehood most momentous consequences. All that guilty man could long for hung upon its truth,—its falsehood would plunge any who believed it into irreparable ruin. The clearest confirmation of its truth certainly was urgently needed.

The way in which Christ thus first addressed the palsied man must have seemed to the sufferer somewhat perplexing—perhaps even disappointing. For he was in the height of expectation, full of the instant relief from pressing disease, which he expected to receive; and he might have thought sadly within himself—"Tis not of sin I was thinking—what bodily relief am I to get,—cannot even He cure me?" But a double cure awaited him: and from the pointed prominence given by Christ to the soul's disease, the man afterwards would learn to be more



grateful for the spiritual cure than even for the healing of the palsy. He would see that besides the pity which moved Jesus to help him, there was a deeper feeling in the healer's breast,—a Redeemer's compassion for his soul, and a wish to give instruction along with ease. As for the more critical among the audience, we are told what they thought. "Certain of the scribes said within themselves, This man blasphemeth. Who can forgive sins but God only?"

Christ alone "knew what He would do." He had ready to support His doctrine, a miracle of kindred nature and most satisfying result. "Wherefore," said He, "think ye evil in your hearts; for whether is it easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then saith He to the sick of the palsy), Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house. And he arose, and departed to his house."

How exquisitely this miracle was calculated to support the doctrine. The disease cured was one of those inveterate ones, hopeless with human remedies, curable only by the same Almighty hand that inflicted it: yet by Christ's word of command, pronounced in His own name (without a shadow of doubt on His part of its success, or a moment's delay of the disease in recognizing and obeying it), the man before buried so wretchedly in that living death, arises, walks, and once more luxuriates in the life of healthy vigour, which seemed so utterly destroyed. Here was a demonstration as perfect as analogy could supply. This healer of the palsy thereby proved Himself to be "very God," in whom must necessarily reside equal power over everything, and particularly over the soul, to heal its diseases by forgiving its iniquities. Equally easy it must undoubtedly be for Him to do both. And since they could not actually see the process of soul-healing or forgiving, he showed them the other which they could see, the healing of the body by its redemption from the outward primitive effects of sin. Removing these ravages due to the curse entailed on sin, was the best possible (indeed the only possible) evidence for the reality of His assumed power to remove the curse itself. The Jewish mind would the sooner believe this, from the fact that disease was always considered by them as a special type of sin. The miracle was thus exactly the one fitted to support the doctrine; and the doctrine just such as might have been expected from the worker of such a miracle. The two harmonized completely.

Let us now notice how a kindred prophecy comes in, one made both to rest upon and to deepen the impression jointly produced by the miracle and the doctrine. Christ prophesies

that He will hereafter exercise at the great day of judgment, the same power to forgive or to retain sins. "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left. Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world. Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal" (Matt. xxv. 31—46). Though accompanied by additions of grander solemnity, and more extended magnificence, this position in which Christ represents Himself as hereafter to occupy, is still the same in nature as that which He did actually assume at the bedside of the palsied man. The judicial power which, while veiled in humanity, could effectually pronounce and miraculously support that absolution to one suffering mortal, would evidently be entitled to assume, in its full development, all the majestic universal authority ascribed in the prophecy to the glorified Son of man. "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee," finds its true meaning, only when considered as the preliminary private declaration of a sentence to be finally and publicly ratified in the words, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you." The earthly absolution would lose its full power to cheer and comfort, if no prophetic promise had been given to shew that it conveyed real and eternal benefits: any earthly deliverance would be incomplete and less acceptable, did it not point onwards to another heavenly welcome. It is together that they bring "pardon and peace" to Christ's faithful people, uniting them to Him in closest truest friendship. And we may observe that one great charm in that wondrous union lies hid in the fact, that besides procuring a possibility of sins being forgiven in heaven, for His sake and through His merits, our Lord has also gained the power and right of directly forgiving sins Himself. So that the sufferer discovers in Him not only a way by which he might hope, perhaps, at length to obtain relief from a distant God, but also the very relief itself, near and ready, waiting for him in that loving Saviour's hand, which can heal all it touches, and touches all who come to be healed.

To each sin-palsied soul lying at Jesus' feet, does not the whole subject repeat with stirring emphasis these words of life,

"Son, thy sins be forgiven thee?" The miracle is there, to set at rest all doubts of the healer's power. The doctrine is there, pouring in the balm of peace on the wounded conscience. The prophecy is there, to eternalize the blessing begun with those words of pardon; exhibiting to the soul, while convalescent on earth, how perfect a cure will be completed for it in eternity.

III. The life and death, or rather the death and life, of Lazarus at Bethany supplies us with the next examples. Intentionally staying away from the home of his humble friend until the third day after his death, our Lord then came to make up most fully for his seeming neglect. His greeting of consolation to the sisters contained a doctrine which even the departed Lazarus would think it worth while to have died for, when he found that thereby he had been both the occasion of its announcement, and the exemplification of its truth. "I am the resurrection and the life" (John xi. 25). It was not only to those much tried mourners that our Lord revealed this truth. A world was in His thoughts. Those whose hopes of Christ's assistance had seemed to die a lingering death along with their departed brother, and to be buried with Him in His rocky tomb, stood there the unconscious representatives of the whole family of mortal men: and through them He addressed earth's countless mourners, themselves all in turn to be laid low and mourned for. For their comfort during every age this doctrine was announced declaring Christ Jesus to be the Lord of life and death. Both the power of resurrection for the body, and the source of life to the soul, are claimed by Christ as His own; possessed by Him so entirely that they are spoken of as part of His own very nature, the essential offspring of His divine existence. He not only claims to *have* them, but to *be* them. How changed the aspect of earth's saddest scenes if this doctrine be true! When the Speaker implied that the mouldering body is not annihilated, and the soul, though disappearing, is still full of unquenchable life, simply because He has them both in His care, He claims to have planted such a holy light in the midst of the "valley of the shadow of death," as may assure each trembling entrant that in the gloom he need "fear no evil."

For this all-important doctrine to be brought home to men's hearts some proof of the most undoubted certainty was needed, and was given. The well-known miracle which followed exactly supplied the required proof. Although the body of Lazarus had now been so long dead, that the speedy corruption of a hot climate already had done much of its dreadful work, yet at the voice of Christ's command, it was revived, renewed, restored to instant perfection of faultless health: and although the soul

had fled days before into the unknown obscurity brooding behind the shroud of death, yet at Christ's command it too re-appeared with existence unhurt by divorce from the body; and the two, re-uniting, did homage to the life-giving voice that summoned them to appear. "Jesus cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth; and he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave clothes, and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go." In the presence of all the wondering spectators, that restored body would give to Christ its testimony, "Thou art the resurrection;" and the adoring soul proclaim, "It is indeed true; Thou art the life." At such a sight, what heart would not find its doubts, like the restored man's grave-clothes, all being loosened and cast away; and itself emerging to a new life of faith, and hope, and joy, and love, centered and settled for ever on this Almighty redeemer, who so gloriously wielded "the keys of death and Hades." The doctrine was safe. That kindred miracle had crowned it with triumphant truth.

But even still our lesson is not complete. Other words had been breathed by Christ on the eve of that wondrous sign; these would now flash across the recollection with a revealed depth of meaning before unfathomable. "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die" (John xi. 25, 26). This prophecy accompanying the doctrine, would, after the miracle, become invested with irresistible attraction. In the first part of the promise hope is given for the frail body of each believer in Christ, that although in it he must undergo death, yet even that part of his nature shall again live: and in the second part of the promise hope is given for his true self, his soul, that he shall be unhurt by separation from the body or by any of its consequences; and shall never die.

So suitable is this prophetic promise to the kindred doctrine, and so firmly planted along with it on the certainty of miraculous evidence, that its hopes win their way into the heart, without requiring any additional effort for their reception; and nestling there become soon necessary to any true happiness. At the mouth of Lazarus' opened tomb it is not hard to understand that each believer is a Lazarus, one whom Jesus loves, and who is sure to be called forth by that loving friend. The prophecy is the generalizing for all Christians of the principle applied to one case at Bethany. The meaning of that one great act would altogether be lost if it did not foreshadow some event, certain to affect all those who depart this life in Christ's faith and fear, quite as powerfully as that one act affected

Lazarus. We can all rejoice in Christ's "Lazarus, come forth," because the same Redeemer says, "Verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live. All that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life" (John vi. 25, 28, 29). "He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death" (Rev. ii. 11). While the soothing redemptive promise of bodily and spiritual safety murmurs lovingly around the rocks of Bethany, we ourselves in our turn may lay us down in peace, fully assured that Christ "is able to keep that which we commit unto his trust."

Before going on to other examples we may notice that the three foregoing ones, while complete in themselves as illustrations of the connexions which link together doctrine, miracle, and prophecy, do not, as they stand, shew more than a part of the whole cumulative evidence, by which each great truth is actually substantiated throughout the New Testament. In example I., for instance, the single miracle of feeding the five thousand, is only one of several miracles of a similar class, whose united evidence should be considered if we wish to form a correct survey of the amplitude of the foundation on which the doctrine rests. Every case in which our Saviour shewed His power to provide a miraculous supply of food, or to affect the natural constitution of substances used for food, told the same great truth that the nourishment of the body, and therefore of the soul also, was entirely in His hands. The other miracle of feeding nearly as many persons with seemingly most inadequate means; the changing of water into wine at Cana for the supply of the wedding guests; the large draughts of fishes twice provided for the needy disciples, after they had toiled in vain for food; accompanied in the second case with an equally miraculous supply of bread, and a burning fire of coals for preparing the food;—all these were miracles of similar import to the one chosen for our example: all pointed to Christ as the Bread of Life. So also in example II. the miraculous cure of the palsied man, is only one out of a very large number of miracles of healing, which our Saviour worked in abundance wherever He went; forming a magnificent class of similar witnesses to the truth of His doctrine, that He is the only Great Healer of disease for the soul, as He was for the body; able as easily to cure the inward sin and curse, as He evidently was to heal the outward effects of the curse on sin, troubling the body with its divers diseases. Again, in example III., the raising of Lazarus is only one of a progressive series of similar redemptive acts;

including the restoration to life of the widow's son at Nain, and of the ruler's daughter at Nazareth; our Lord's own resurrection by His own inherent power; with the subsequent resurrection of a large number of departed believers, recorded thus by St. Matthew, "And the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the Holy City, and appeared unto many." By these various wonders Christ shewed His power of restoring the dead in every stage of death's dread captivity, and in every stage of human life subject to that universal bondage. Nothing is left undone which could be required for the perfect satisfaction of all who trust Christ's words, "I am the resurrection and the life." Thus carefully, considerately, and with His usual graciousness, our Redeemer has multiplied the foundations of faith.

We need do no more than just notice how with regard to the doctrines and prophecies there is also throughout the New Testament the same multiplied and cumulative evidence, supplied in each case by a large class of similar sayings, which may be easily grouped together round each central truth. Our examples only required one or two from each class, to shew the threefold connexion we are treating of—many others will at once suggest themselves to each attentive searcher of the Bible.

IV. Leaving more obvious instances of the threefold relationship we are following out, we will now turn to some in which it is not so clear, owing to the greater intervals of space or time which separated the subjects of each example from each other, or to the briefness of their mention in the sacred narrative. Going upon the principle that every doctrine has its kindred miracle and prophecy attached to it, our object is, when we meet with any one of these standing apparently alone, to find out the other kindred pair forming with it a complete redemptive trinity of truth, act, and promise.

Our Saviour frequently used the natural phenomena of light and darkness as significant spiritual emblems. "This is the condemnation that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light" (John iii. 19, 20). "While ye have light, believe in the light" (xii. 36). "I am the light of the world" (vii. 5).

Of these two contrasted spiritual conditions, Christ asserts that He is the source of the better one, Himself the soul's light. Away from Him, separated from Him by ignorance or sin, we dwell in dangerous darkness; and this is the case whether we

have withdrawn ourselves from Him, or He has withdrawn Himself from us. And the saving light of knowledge and virtue in us has to be kindled and fed by coming to Him in spirit and in truth, and by abiding ever in His communion, to meet the beams streaming forth from our "Sun of Righteousness." From Him as their luminous centre, the Holy Trinity dispense their three-fold benefit, like the blended action of the warming, lightening, and chemical rays which unite to form each natural sunbeam. He is the light of the world, to warm human affections, to light up human understandings, to change human dispositions, till they become "children of the light."

This doctrine is clear in itself; we now wish to find what miraculous evidence was given to attest its truth, and encourage men to seek Christ with the prayer on their lips, "Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord." We might find a miracle to a certain extent fulfilling this purpose, in Christ's opening the eyes of the blind; which He did, in one case, immediately after announcing Himself as the Light of the World (John vii.) Opening that blind man's eyes to see the light of day with all the objects made visible by it, does typify the need there is not only of spiritual light existing to be seen, but further of our being enabled, with opened eyes, to see it: since otherwise, like a blind man, dark in the very midst of light, an unbelieving mind might never be any the better for the existence of Christ's truth all around it. But while this miracle does thus illustrate the power of Christ to open our hearts to see truth; it does not quite bear upon the point of Christ being Himself the source and substance of all the spiritual light or truth which our hearts when changed can perceive. The fitting proof of this doctrine would evidently be some miracle exhibiting Christ's possession of divine power over the natural element of light, in such a way as to prove by analogy, that having that power over natural light, He must also have like power over the spiritual conditions represented by light and darkness. Indeed we may say that for the full illustration of the doctrine, two miracles would be required; one, in which Christ produced light in the midst of darkness; and another, in which He produced darkness in the midst of light. By two such miracles together, He would shew his possession of such a complete mastery over the glorious element in every circumstance, as could leave no doubt whatever of His having equal authority over spiritual states; able (for our encouragement) to turn its darkness into light, and also able (for our warning) to withdraw the light entirely, even when we fancy we have it in fullest possession.

For two such miracles we do not search in vain. Both were

given; and they are exactly such as meet the wants of our inquiring faith. The first case,—of producing light amid darkness, is found in the transfiguration. “Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them into an high mountain apart; and was transfigured before them; and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light” (Matt. xvii. 1, 2). Though not distinctly stated, yet it is pretty clear, for several reasons, that this took place at night. Turning to the parallel account in Luke ix., we find that it occurred on one of the occasions when our Lord withdrew himself to pray (ver. 28) which was generally at night; at its beginning His disciples were “heavy with sleep” (ver. 32); and they are said (ver. 37) to have come down from the mountain “on the next day.” This nightly exhibition would serve to heighten the magnificence of the scene; and would leave no room for doubting the divinity of the power producing such light from out of darkness. The second case, of creating darkness in the midst of light was reserved for a time most fitting for such a miracle—the crucifixion. He who was the light of the world had come to the hour of His greatest voluntary humiliation in our stead, having allowed Himself to be crucified “by wicked hands;” and while His human life was ebbing fast away He gave a wondrous token of what our spiritual condition would be if we were left under that curse due to sin, which He was then bearing for our salvation on “the accursed tree.” “It was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour, and the sun was darkened; and about the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me” (Luke xxiii. 44, 45; Matt. xxvii. 46). The spiritual desolation and banishment from God into “outer darkness,” which, but for Him, would have been our lot, could not have been better represented than by that three hours’ gloom, which He made to settle down over the land of Judæa, beginning, we must remember, at full mid-day. And the relief from the fear of the curse finds its type in the passing off again of that darkness, the resuming by Christ of His light-giving character, after such a sufficient indication of His awful power to be also a darkness-giver to His enemies. On the whole, we cannot conceive a more satisfying basis for our belief in the doctrine that Christ is the light of the world, than is furnished by these two differing, yet similar, displays of His divine supremacy over natural light. We need not fear that our longings and strivings for the beams of knowledge, hope, holiness, and communion with a Redeemer will be unanswered, when we remember the comforting truths, that the glory of the crucifixion and the passing darkness of the cross combine to establish.



When, pondering these things in our hearts, we next turn to look for some kindred prophecies on this subject, we feel as we would on meeting some expected friend, when our eyes light upon such words as these,—“I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in me should not abide in darkness” (John xii. 46). “To him that overcometh I will give the morning star” (Rev. ii. 28). “I am the bright and morning star.” “He shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God; and her light was like unto a stone most precious. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the light thereof. And the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it: there shall be no night there” (Rev. xxi. 10, 11, 23, 25). “Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in their heavenly Father’s kingdom.” When the brilliant hopes of that eternal day stream into the soul, how few of its dull recesses remain in shadow. These prophetic promises at once are welcomed as the easily recognized results of Christ’s being the light of men. Since He was so at His advent, He must be so for ever. If while humiliated in mortal flesh He could surround himself with such “excellent glory” and draw such humble homage from the orb of day, our present faith can foresee, though our present senses could not bear, the splendours of the actual and mental light, which, when glorified, He will shed around and in His redeemed assembled at that promised city. Even here the children of light find themselves constantly gaining such additions of enlightened knowledge, affections, and pleasures, as are surprizing to themselves, when they look back at what they were before. Their path has been “like the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.” Most fitly then does the idea of a nightless everlasting day, of which Christ, the Lamb will be the light, foretel the coming vast and blessed increase of Christian perfections and enjoyments, whose faint early dawnings are even now lightening upon us. Only then shall we attain our greatest measure of all that is meant by “light,” because only then will He be seen in His full glory who is our “light.” Unless that “consummation and bliss” were in prospect both for Him and us, He never would have considered it worth His while to leave that higher state, and suffer here on earth a partial eclipse. But with that prospect in view, the promises, the miracles, the doctrine, which He has brought into the world to lighten its darkest hearts, become all full of glory to Him, and harmoniously intelligible to us.

V. Our next instance will be taken from some of our Lord’s most comfortable words: “Come unto me all ye that labour

and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you; and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (Matt. xi. 28—30). "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid" (John xiv. 27). The attraction of such words is powerfully felt by any sin-laden, sorrow-troubled heart: it is predisposed already to embrace the doctrine that rest and peace are to be found in Christ; all that it wants to make it wholly repose on these loving words, is the complete assurance that Christ *can* give the rest and peace He offers. It asks, "Is He really able to refresh the careworn spirit, to quiet the tossings of passion, to calm the storms of a foreboding conscience: to give, in short, all that is meant by 'rest unto the soul.' I long to trust Him, but the wildest elements of nature could not prove more untameable than my rebellious self has hitherto been: divine power alone can control me; has He then got this power? How can I be sure?"

Searching therefore for a kindred miracle, such as may make sure the truth of Christ's doctrine, we find that one completely meeting all our wishes was granted by Him, as we might expect from His usual considerate kindness. "Now it came to pass on a certain day, that he went into a ship with his disciples: and he said unto them, Let us go over unto the other side of the lake. And they launched forth. But as they sailed he fell asleep: and there came down a storm of wind on the lake; and they were filled with water, and were in jeopardy. And they came to him, and awoke him, saying, Master, master, we perish. Then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the water; and said unto the sea, Peace, be still; and they ceased, and there was a great calm. And he said unto them, Where is your faith? And they being afraid wondered, saying one to another, What manner of man is this! for he commandeth even the winds and water, and they obey him" (Luke viii. 22—25; Mark iv. 39). So many of our ordinary terms expressive of mental states are borrowed from the action of wind and water, that the bearing and appropriateness of such a miracle as this needs no pointing out. Nor will any one who has ever witnessed some of the grand accompaniments of a storm, been impressed with the tremendous nature of the forces at work, and felt his own insignificant powerlessness over them, be slow to believe how completely divine must be the controlling word which in a moment could thus sink them all to rest. He will be convinced that when the same commanding voice says to the

soul, "I will give you rest; Peace, be still;"—it is as certain of supremacy over the elements of mind as of matter; and to the gracious speaker of such soothing words, he will come for relief in every spiritual agitation or mental disquietude, certain of feeling a great calm, a rest to his soul, soon succeeding to the tossing which he calls on his master to still. The peace of God which passeth all understanding was proclaimed, by every crest-fallen wave on the waters of Galilee, to be Christ's sure "gift for men;" if coming to Him according to His invitation, we thereby entitle ourselves to rest on His atoning merits, to trust in His prevailing intercession, and to place the deserved empire of our will and homage of our grateful love at His disposal.

Feeling this combined impression of the Saviour's words and act, let the reader next send his thoughts onwards to the end of this present world, when mental and physical convulsions will reach a climax of unspeakable awfulness; and cast his eyes over the pages of Scripture to find if any kindred prophetic promise has been vouchsafed, to assure the sinner that even then Christ's peace will be his stay, never to fail nor to forsake him. "Let not your heart be troubled; these things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world" (John xvi. 33). "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea"—no more sea, *i.e.*, no more of the troubles and fears which the restless ocean so well represents. "And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men: and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, nor any more pain, for the former things are passed away" (Rev. xxi.). Such promised peace for enduring ages, in full possession, and without alloy, is worthy of One who gives "not as the world gives," only for a time, only in part, and only with alloy. We can indeed see that it is what must follow, when all that shall be saved having come to him for rest, the last storms of time shall be hushed, to let the overflowing goodness that on earth spoke words of peace, "fulfil us with his heavenly benediction." The same great truth is evidently woven into the prophecy, as into the doctrine and the miracle. Then what though we now pass through "the waves of this troublesome world," they will last no longer, nor rise higher, than our controlling Saviour permits; and in the end will bear our bark onwards to that eternal quietude which "no storms can prevent or destroy."

VI. The perishable nature of this world's possessions gave our Saviour frequent opportunity of urging His disciples to expend their lives in a more lasting investment; and at the same time of assuring them that He was able and ready to provide them with "all things requisite and necessary for the body," if they would devote their lives to His service. When He sent them away from Him on evangelizing work in different directions over the country, instead of previously furnishing them with money and other necessities that seemed absolutely essential for unknown missionaries travelling among strangers, His directions included these most astonishing rules: "Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, nor money; neither have two coats apiece" (Luke ix. 3). Again, when addressing Himself more generally to all Christians, Christ's bidding is, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. Take no (anxious) thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? for after all these things do the Gentiles seek; but seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. vi. 19, 20, 31, 33). Beautiful and consoling as these words are when heartily believed by a well disciplined faith, yet at first faith does need some firm standing ground before it can grasp with all sincerity this doctrine of such unreserved trust in an unseen Provider. The natural human endowment of prudent forethought instinctively leads us to make effort to secure temporal supplies as a paramount object in life; and suggests innumerable misgivings which drag faith back, by undermining its footing. Faith therefore seeks some reassuring proof, that if it trusts this doctrine it will not trust in vain. It inquires, "Was this course of life ever tried? Did Christ ever actually shew that where no previous provision had been made by themselves, He could miraculously provide His obedient disciples with every necessary, and make everything become tributary to the frequently recurring wants of men otherwise perfectly poor?"

Making allowance for its infirmities, our Lord has given a gracious answer to such unfledged faith, incapable yet of soaring to the eagle heights of Christian assurance. For the actual results of the missionary directions already quoted did most fully realize all that the most sanguine of the disciples could have expected. Of no single thing were they ever in want; and long after that period He recalled this fact for their en-

couragement : "When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, lacked ye anything? and they said, Nothing" (Luke xxii. 36). Miracles had waited upon their footsteps, and been their purveyors. But, besides that, our Lord gave another miraculous token of more general applicability, by which all heaven seeking Christians may be assured that their wants will be cared for. He and one of His disciples were once suddenly asked for the usual customary tax levied upon all Jews by Moses' command for the support of their national worship and services. They were placed by this question in a dilemma. From the depths of their usual poverty not a coin could be produced; yet not to pay the tax would have seemed impious. Where was the money to come from? This difficult position was a sample of many others like it, which the forebodings of doubt would suggest to the mind as likely to occur among poor Christians devoting their chief energies to the kingdom of God: and the way in which the difficulty was removed is therefore worthy of most careful remembrance. "Jesus saith unto Peter, Lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth thou shalt find a piece of money; that take and give unto them for me and thee" (Matt. xvii. 27). Peter, a fisherman, would not soon forget this wondrous capture. From his own ordinary occupation he was taught a memorable spiritual lesson. How easily could the same authority, evidently Almighty, which summoned up supplies so unusual from these all engulfing ocean depths, watch over him at every time of need with equal solicitude. And Christians all may bear in grateful memory the appearance at Christ's command of so capricious a creature, bearing its unwonted burden of a piece of money; to assure us that its great master is able to provide for each hour of our needy existence, and for every unforeseen difficulty, even, if need be, by most unexpected and seemingly impossible means. With quiet confidence we may indeed determine not to fear for the future contingencies of life, since it appears from this miracle, so clearly, that the promise will be to the utmost verified, for those who seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.

Since these instructions of our Lord's, on the wisdom of avoiding any too great devotion of labour and anxiety for the securing of earthly possessions, are based on the hope of consequently obtaining still greater and more enduring treasures in the next life; this naturally creates the expectation of finding some distinct prophecies on the same subject, unfolding some idea of the heavenly inheritance, for which we are called upon

to forego worldly accumulations. Nor are we disappointed in our search. "Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." "Peter said unto him, Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee : what shall we have therefore?" "And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye who have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and inherit everlasting life" (Matt. xix. 21, 23, 29). "I go to prepare a place for you" (John xiv. 2). "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life" (Rev. ii. 10). "He that overcometh shall inherit all things" (Rev. xxi. 7). Do we not feel in reading promises, so kindred in nature to the previous doctrines, that since they come from the same miracle-giving Saviour, they are as certain of fulfilment as were the declarations to the unprovided missionaries, or the secret command, heard and obeyed by a creature of the deep, to be the bearer of instant subsidies for a needy disciple. And how befitting the generous character of our Lord it is, that, when those dangers to the soul arising from worldliness and the deceitfulness of riches are over, He should, from the splendours of His restored majesty, lavish all the blessings and enjoyments figured by the "treasures" and "crowns" of "everlasting life," upon those who at His bidding forsook all earthly acquisitions. Most unworthy of Him it would have been to cut short men's earthly hopes, without such a recompense in heavenly ones. Christians would in that case have been "of all men most miserable." Had death closed in our prospects, what a meagre meaning would have seemed to emerge from Christ's miracles and words, exhorting to present self-denial : it is only when we view them in the light of eternity, focussed by these prophecies, that we see anything worth seeing of the real glorious intentions of our Redeemer's words and works. His provident care of His disciples here was but the 'earnest' of what He will do hereafter; but the rough sketch of the plan left to be finished then; only slight indications of the immense capabilities to be called forth at a future day, to enrich "the poor in spirit," who have become "heirs of the kingdom of heaven."

VII. Part of the deeply interesting conversation between our Lord and His disciples on the last evening they spent together, is devoted to the doctrine of union with Him, its mode of subsistence, its necessity to any real religion, and the danger of be-

coming for any reason cut off from him,—the source of vital spirituality. “I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch that beareth not fruit by me he taketh away ; and every branch that beareth fruit he pruneth it that it may bring forth more fruit. Abide in me, and I in you : as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine, no more can ye except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches. He that abideth in me and I in him the same bringeth forth much fruit, for without me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, and men gather them, and cast them into the fire and they are burned. Herein is my Father glorified that ye bear much fruit.” The vine was probably suggested as the immediate illustration of this doctrine, by the “fruit of the vine” they had just been partaking of at the Paschal supper, or by some tree trained up the wall, and shewing its rich early clusters, at the window of the house they partook of the supper in ; or perhaps by the carefully tended vineyards which they would be passing on their way out to Gethsemane. But any fruit bearing tree would evidently have supplied the requisite illustration. The vigorous decision of our Lord’s doctrine here leaves neither believer nor unbeliever in doubt as to their prospects or conditions in God’s sight. Either, as indicated by this passage, they, by faith and well used means of grace, are in living union with their soul’s life-giving Lord ; or, separated by sin, and cut off by careless disregard of divine ordinances, they have no prospects should such disunion continue, but that dread withering and gathering for the burning. When we examine the method in which grapes are produced on a sound healthy branch, united firmly to the parent stem, we find it is by gradual changes, under the action of light and air, produced on the plain rain water sucked up by the lower stem and roots, and passed on through the main stem to the furthest extremity of the branch. The action by which the water there becomes modified into so different a fluid as the wine, derived ultimately from the grapes, is one of the slow and mysterious natural processes ordained by the omnipotent Creator, which man cannot explain or imitate. If, therefore, our Lord by His own independent miraculous power could produce some such similar result, evolving from pure water the ripened juice of the grape, that would clearly be an appropriate token to the believer that He could also, equally well, nourish the vitality of any soul united to Him, until it brought forth the acceptable fruits of good works. While, on the other hand, if Christ, by His own independent miraculous agency, could shew His power to arrest the vitality and destroy the

natural functions of any fruit-bearing tree, so that its branches become lifeless and fit only for burning, that would be an appropriate and sufficient token to the unbeliever, that if his communion with Christ is discontinued by sin he will wither away, and becoming fit for nothing in the great Husbandman's eyes, has only that awful burning to look for as his end.

Now both these tokens were vouchsafed by the Lord. The first of these proofs, which reason requires for the support of faith, is found in the miracle at Cana's marriage feast; which, while teaching many other direct lessons, furnishes us, in the mode of its performance, with the required illustration. For water, the simple fluid supplied to the tree in rain, was then, at Christ's word, instantaneously turned into perfect wine, the ripened and finished produce of the vine. Christ thus did rapidly, and without using even the intermediate means of sap, stem, branches, sun, air, etc.—what is done by the Creator in nature slowly and with these means, whenever the vine is made to bear its fruit. The same hand must therefore be at work in both cases: Christ proved Himself to be one with the God of nature. He must therefore also be able to work all those sanctifying changes in those united to Him by faith, which are able through the means of grace to make them living, fruit-bearing, and pleasing to the owner of the spiritual vineyard. By this, the believer's encouragement to keep himself by all means united to Christ is strengthened to the utmost.

The other required display of Christ's power to destroy a fruitless vitality is found in the miracle of withering up the barren fig-tree. "Now, on the morning, as he returned to the city, he hungered; and when he saw a fig-tree in the way he came to it, and found nothing thereon but leaves only, and said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforth for ever. And presently the fig-tree withered away" (Matt. xxi. 18, 19). The principle of vitality being the same in the fig-tree as in the vine, this difference, in the tree operated upon, changes nothing in the significance of the lesson deducible from its destruction. We learn from it that the same destroying word can produce as certain a withering of spiritual life, in any who excite his displeasure. Reluctantly, indeed, and not till after long patience, would our Lord send forth such a withering sentence not on a senseless tree, but on a feeling soul: yet, if it is sent forth it will cause as decisive and irresistible a blight. The unholy man's warning is exhibited here perpetually.

Now, combining these two miracles together they will be seen to comprise all that could be required to give credit to the doctrine. They shew the designed connexion between Christ's



teaching and working; placing the former upon the same level of indisputable divinity as the latter so majestically occupies.

The same idea of the fruitful tree is finally carried on into the distant future by kindred prophecies. "I have chosen you and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain" (John xv. 16). "Every plant that my heavenly father hath not planted shall be rooted up" (Matt. xv. 13). "To him that overcometh will I give to be nourished by the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. And on either side of the throne there was the tree of life which bare twelve fruits and yielded her fruit, and the produce of the tree was for the healing of the nations. And there shall be no more curse" (Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 1—3).

Having in these foregoing examples indicated some of the many mutual connexions which we believe to exist throughout all Scripture, between the three great components of God's revealed word, doctrine, miracle, and prophecy; we for the present will leave the subject to the reflections of the reader. We do not think we lay too much stress on this principle of mutual connexion, if we claim for it the position of a distinct rule or *canon* for the interpretation of these three grand branches of Scripture truth. It will, if he follows it out, be found applicable to all the miracles and teachings of Old and New Testament prophets and apostles, in a less uniform manner indeed than to the results of our Lord's own prophetic mission, but yet quite clearly and decisively. Many wonderful meanings and hidden instructions will meet him in his search, by which we feel sure he will find himself abundantly rewarded for the time and thought he may give to such sacred investigations. Many a time he will feel the language of the apostle stirring his heart's adoration:—Oh, the depth of the riches, and of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God!

C. H. R.



### REVISED ENGLISH VERSION OF THE BOOK OF JOB.\*

THAT the English translation of the Book of Job, in our authorized version of the Scriptures, is exceedingly faulty, is, we presume, generally admitted by all persons competent to form an opinion on the subject. It is in fact incomparably the worst-translated book in the whole volume—almost every page abounding with errors more or less serious.

The extreme incorrectness of the common version of Job is by no means an accidental circumstance, but arises from causes which are patent to every scholar. In the first place, the subject-matter of the book has a great deal to do with this. Instead of being simple historical narrative—like the greater part of the sacred volume—it consists of grave moral disquisitions. Then the book is, in all probability, the most ancient of all the inspired writings. Even the five books of Moses, in the judgment of some of the ablest modern critics, must yield the palm to the book of Job, as regards antiquity. In addition to which, as is well known, it is composed in a language of which there are no remains, except what the Old Testament itself contains. If to these considerations we add, that the ancient versions of Job—the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac, are exceedingly incorrect and faulty, it will cease to surprise any reader, that an English translation of this book, made upwards of two hundred years ago, utterly fails to convey a fair representation of the original Hebrew.

Indeed King James's translators found the task on which they had entered so far beyond their ability, that in many instances they not only failed in giving the *true* meaning of the passage before them, but were reduced to the deplorable necessity of inserting sentences which have *no meaning at all!* Nothing would be easier than to extract scores of passages from the book of Job, which convey to the English reader no more meaning than if they had been couched in Egyptian hieroglyphics!

Take for instance the following:—

"The things that my soul refused to touch are as my sorrowful meat" (vi. 7).

"And that he would shew thee the secrets of wisdom, that they are double to that which is" (xi. 6).

"He shall deliver the island of the innocent, and it is delivered by the pureness of thine hands" (xxii. 30).

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\* *Revised English Version of the Book of Job.* By T. J. Conant, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Rochester Theological Seminary, U.S. Trübner and Co., London.

"Dead things are formed from under the waters; and the inhabitants thereof" (xxvi. 5).

"The flood breaketh out from the inhabitant; even the waters forgotten of the foot, they are dried up, they are gone away from men" (xxviii. 4).

"If the men of my tabernacle said not; O that we had of his flesh! we cannot be satisfied" (xxxi. 31).

"Should it be according to thy mind? he will recompense it, whether thou refuse, or whether thou choose, and not I" (xxxiv. 33).

"But now because it is not so, he hath visited in his anger; yet he knoweth it not in great extremity" (xxxv. 15).

"The noise thereof sheweth concerning it; the cattle also concerning the vapour" (xxxvi. 33).

"By reason of breakings, they purify themselves" (xli. 25).

Now these passages—and it would be easy to add to them—are not mere misrenderings; they are absolute nonsense. It is quite obvious that the translators were at a loss how to render them, and were thus compelled either to pass them quite by, or else insert the ridiculous absurdities which we have just transcribed.

The vast progress which has been made of late in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, happily enables us to remove these, and many other, unsightly blots, from this portion of God's holy Word. During the present century, Hebrew literature, indeed, has been cultivated with surprising success. And as we might naturally expect, no portion of the Old Testament Scriptures has received so much attention as the book of Job. We could name at least ten or a dozen elaborate and valuable commentaries on this book alone, published in Germany by Hebrew scholars during the last quarter of a century.

Having indulged in these preliminary remarks as to the imperative necessity of a new translation of the book of Job, we now proceed to an examination of the merits of that now before us.

As regards the qualifications of Dr. Conant there can be no question that he is thoroughly competent for the important and responsible task which he has undertaken. He is well acquainted with the original language of the book. Report speaks of him as the first Hebrew scholar in America. He is moreover a good German scholar—familiar with the works of most of the continental commentators and philologists. The importance of this knowledge can hardly we think be overrated. To the want of it may be ascribed the signal failure of all the attempts hitherto made by our own countrymen to produce a trans-

lation of Job worthy of supplanting that in our English Bible.

The first five chapters of the New Version present comparatively few variations from the authorised translation. But the sixth chapter contains numerous alterations; and in order to give the reader a fair idea of the style of the New Version we shall give this part of the work *in extenso*, and then offer a few remarks on certain passages in it.

#### CHAP. VI.

- 1 Then answered Job, and said :
- 2 O that my grief could be fully weighed,  
And all my calamity be laid in the balances.
- 3 For now it would be heavier than the sands of the sea ;  
For this cause, my words have been rash.
- 4 For the arrows of the Almighty are within me,  
Whose poison drinketh up my spirit ;  
The terrors of God array themselves against me.
- 5 Does the wild ass bray, by the fresh grass ;  
Or lows the ox at his fodder ?
- 6 Can that which is tasteless be eaten without salt,  
Or is there any relish in the white of an egg ?
- 7 My soul refuses to touch !  
They are as food which I loathe.
- 8 O that my request might come ;  
That God would grant my longing :
- 9 And that it would please God to destroy me ;  
That he would let loose his hand, and cut me off.
- 10 For it should still be my solace,  
Yea I would exult, in pain that spares not,  
That I have not denied the words of the Holy One.
- 11 What is my strength that I should hope,  
And what is my end that I should be yet patient ?
- 12 Is my strength the strength of stones,  
Or is my flesh of brass ?
- 13 Is not my help within me gone ?  
And recovery driven away from me ?
- 14 Kindness from his friend is due to the despairing,  
Ready to forsake the fear of the Almighty.
- 15 My brethren are deceitful like the brook.  
As the channel of brooks that pass away :
- 16 That become turbid from ice,  
The snow hides itself in them.
- 17 At the time they are poured off they fail ;  
When it is hot they are consumed from their place,

- 18 The caravans, along their way, turn aside ;  
 They go up into the wastes and perish.  
 19 The caravans of Tema looked ;  
 The companies of Sheba hoped for them :  
 20 They were ashamed that they had trusted ;  
 They came thither and were confounded.  
 21 For now ye are become nothing ;  
 Ye see a terror, and are dismayed.  
 22 Have I said : Give to me ;  
 Or Bestow of your wealth for my sake.  
 23 Or Deliver me from an enemy's hand,  
 And from the hand of the violent set me free ?  
 24 Teach ye me, and I will keep silence ;  
 And make me know wherein I have erred.  
 25 How forcible are right words !  
 But what does your upbraiding prove ?  
 26 Do ye intend to censure words,  
 When the words of the despairing are as wind ?  
 27 Ye would even cast lots for the orphan,  
 And dig a pit for your friend.  
 28 And now consent to look upon me ;  
 For I will not speak falsely to your face.  
 29 Return, I pray ; let there be no wrong,  
 Yea return ; I yet have a righteous cause.  
 30 Is there wrong in my tongue ;  
 Cannot my taste discern that which is perverse ?

A comparison of this chapter with the translation in our common English Bible will shew that there are no less than *twelve* variations — all of them seriously affecting the sense. Let us look a little at them, and see how far they are justified by the original Hebrew.

(1.) The first alteration of any importance occurs at the third verse: where instead of "therefore my words *are swallowed up*," the new version has: "for this cause, my words *have been rash*."

Contrary to his usual practice, the translator has no note explaining the reasons for this new rendering. A very slight examination however will suffice to justify the change. The word  $\psi$ , translated "swallowed up" in our version is one of the numerous *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* of the book of Job, and the only possible means of ascertaining its meaning is by referring to the ancient versions, or to the cognate dialects. In the present case unfortunately, the versions are so contradictory that their testimony is of very little worth. The learned Castell gives the meaning of the Arabic root, "to be rash." And Gesenius

adopts this as the true sense of the passage here. Rosenmüller's translation is substantially the same "my words *exceed due moderation*." On the whole, therefore, we think Dr. Conant's rendering about the best that can be given.

(2.) The next variation occurs ver. 7, where the common version reads :

"The things that my soul refused to touch,  
Are as my sorrowful meat."

Instead of which Dr. Conant translates :

"My soul refuses to touch!  
They are as food which I loathe."

Here there can be no question that the common version is wrong. Indeed it is utterly impossible to extract any meaning from it. It is sheer nonsense. There is nothing in the original answering to the first three words of that translation, which ought to have been in italics. By omitting these, and translating the personal pronoun (אני) the new version is the result. There can be no doubt that it is correct.

(3.) The 10th verse presents the next variation.

In our common version it runs thus :—

"Then should I yet have comfort; yea I would harden myself in sorrow: let him not spare; for I have not concealed the words of the Holy One."

Instead of which Dr. Conant translates :

"For it should still be my solace.  
Yea I would exult, in pain that spares not,  
That I have not denied the words of the Holy One."

That the new version is incomparably better than the old, in this instance, is obvious at first sight. It is moreover that adopted by Gesenius and Hupfeld—critics of the highest eminence. The original Hebrew amply sustains it.

(4.) For "prolong my days" (ver. 11), Dr. Conant renders "be yet patient," in which he has the support of the Greek version of Aquila, and the Latin Vulgate—as well as of many eminent modern critics, *e. g.* Gesenius, De Wette, Ewald, and Heiligstedt.

(5.) The next variation is a very striking one, presenting as it does a complete contrast to the Authorized Version, ver. 13. We place the two renderings in juxtaposition.

"Is not my help in me? And is wisdom driven quite from me?"

"Is not my help within me gone?  
And recovery driven away from me?"

Here, again, we have no doubt Dr. Conant is right. Not only is the sense that which exactly suits the context (see ver. 11, 12), but all recent commentators, Umbreit, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, etc., agree substantially with the new version. Still we entertain some doubt respecting the word ~~was~~ in the second member, rendered "recovery." Perhaps "deliverance," or "safety," would be a preferable word; and in this opinion Gesenius, Ewald, De Wette, Hirzel and Heiligstedt agree.

(6.) "To him that is afflicted pity should be shewed from his friend; but he forsaketh the fear of the Almighty."

"Kindness, from his friend, is due to the despairing,

Ready to forsake the fear of the Almighty" (ver. 14).

Here there can be little doubt, that both the old and the new translations are at fault. As to the common rendering, it is sufficient to say, that it has no meaning; and we cannot believe that Job on this occasion uttered absolute nonsense. The translation of Dr. Conant, it is true, makes good sense of the passage; but we think few Hebrew scholars would allow that the original admits such a rendering. The translation he has given in the margin, "Else he will forsake the fear of the Almighty" is certainly admissible; but the statement then is incorrect. We are perfectly satisfied that the text of this verse is corrupt, and it appears that Kennicott and De Rossi found a considerable number of manuscripts (23) with the reading ~~עב~~ for ~~עב~~. We would certainly recommend the adoption of this variation.

(7.) "What time they wax warm, they vanish; when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place."

"At the time they are poured off they fail.

When it is hot, they are consumed from their place." (ver. 17).

There is great difficulty in fixing the sense of the first member of this sentence. The word ~~וַיִּשְׁרָם~~ rendered in our version "they wax warm" occurs nowhere else in the Bible, and lexicographers are anything but agreed as to the meaning. On the whole we see no sufficient reason for departing from the Authorized Version in this instance, especially as the Septuagint translates in the same manner; and the parallelism seems rather to require such a sense.

(8.) "The paths of their way are turned aside; they go to nothing and perish."

"The caravans along their way turn aside;

They go up into the wastes and perish." (ver. 18).

Here the new version has strong claims to be received. "The paths of their way" certainly seems an unnecessary tautology, to describe the courses of streams; and what is still more to the

purpose, the word *ḥayyā*, translated "paths," occurs in the very next verse in the sense of "troops" or "caravans." The word *ḥayyā* translated "nothing" in the second member is correctly rendered "wastes." Barnes, indeed, in his commentary asserts that the word "does not occur in the sense of a desert elsewhere in the Scriptures;" and he accordingly adheres to the common version. But this is not true: it is found in Deut. xxxii. 10 in that signification; and also in this same book, chap. xii. 24, "and causeth them to wander in a wilderness" (*ḥayyā*).

- (9.) "Ye see my casting down, and are afraid,"  
 "Ye see a terror, and are dismayed." (ver. 21).

In this alteration Dr. Conant is fully sustained by all the lexicographers whom we have consulted.

- (10.) "Do ye imagine to reprove words, and the speeches of one that is desperate, which are as wind?"

"Do ye intend to censure words,  
 When the words of the despairing are as wind?" (ver. 26).

This is an improvement upon the common version, and is probably as good a translation as can be made, of the somewhat difficult passage.

- (11.) "Now therefore be content, look upon me, for it is evident unto you if I lie." (ver. 28).

This is manifestly incorrect; it is indeed impossible to suppose that Job could have uttered such complete nonsense. The new version is a decided improvement; and has the support of several eminent critics. There can be little doubt that it is the true sense of the passage.

"And now consent to look upon me,  
 For I will not speak falsely to your face."

- (12.) The last instance to be noticed occurs ver. 29.

"Return I pray you, let it not be iniquity;  
 Yea, return again, my righteousness is in it."

Here again we have a sentence which it would puzzle Solomon himself to understand. The new version is decidedly preferable, and is probably correct.

"Return, I pray, let there be no wrong:  
 Yea return; I yet have a righteous cause."

The critical examination which we have thus instituted must we think be pronounced, as on the whole, highly satisfactory. Only one or two instances occur of doubtful or objectionable renderings; whilst, the remaining variations are so important and so valuable, that a flood of light is poured on this hitherto obscure chapter.



We now select one more passage for investigation :—viz., the difficult description of mining operations in chap. xxviii.

CHAP. XXVIII. Ver. 1—12.

- 1 For there is a vein for the silver,  
And a place for the gold which they refine.
- 2 Iron is taken out of the dust,  
And stone is fused into copper.
- 3 He puts an end to the darkness ;  
And he searches out, to the very end,  
Stones of thick darkness, and of death-shade.
- 4 He drives a shaft away from man's abode ;  
Forgotten of the foot,  
They swing suspended far from men !
- 5 The earth, out of it goes forth bread ;  
And under it is destroyed as with fire.
- 6 A place of sapphires are its stones ;  
And it has clods of gold.
- 7 The path, no bird of prey has known it,  
Nor the falcon's eye glanced on it ;
- 8 Nor proud beasts trodden it,  
Nor roaring lion passed over it.
- 9 Against the flinty rock he puts forth his hand ;  
He overturns mountains from the base.
- 10 In the rocks he cleaves out rivers ;  
And his eye sees every precious thing.
- 11 He binds up streams that they drip not ;  
And the hidden he brings out to light.
- 12 But wisdom, whence shall it be found ?  
And where is the place of understanding ?

In the first verse, we think, *וְ* is correctly translated "for." It seems to have here its true causal force, as confirming the previous course of argument. In this rendering Ewald, Hirzel and many recent commentators agree.

The principal variation occurs in the fourth verse, which presents altogether different meanings in the two versions. There can be no doubt the new translation suits the context admirably, but will the *usus loquendi* admit of it? Let us examine the Hebrew, word by word.

*וַיִּשְׁלַח מַיִם* rendered in the common version, "the flood breaketh out," and by Umbreit and others "the stream bursts forth," is here "he drives a shaft." Gesenius renders the words the same, following Schultens. To this interpretation it is generally objected, that *וַיִּשְׁלַח* nowhere else bears any such signification

throughout the Scriptures. It means a *stream of water*, and a *water channel*, but nowhere a *shaft of a mine*. This is certainly the case, but there are several instances in which it denotes a *valley* or *gorge*, quite apart from any connexion with water. See especially Numb. xxiv. 6. "As the valleys are they spread forth," and Gen. xxvi. 17, 19; and 2 Kings iii. 17. From this signification the transition is very slight to that of a passage into a mine. And accordingly the version "he drives" or "sinks a shaft" is adopted by most of our recent commentators. As to the objection to the meaning here assigned to the verb *רָחַץ*, we think this of very little force. Its common meaning is to "*break*" or "*rend*," and here the word refers to the act of *breaking*, or *cutting through the earth*, in order to open a passage to the veins of precious metal.

*וְהָיוּ כְּמִצְחָהּ* These words, denoting, according to the translation in the common version, "they are dried up, they are gone away from men," are by Dr. Conant, and many recent commentators, rendered "they swing suspended, far from men." This sense suits the context certainly; but we think there is some difficulty about the translation. The verb *הָיוּ* it is true is said by Gesenius to mean *pendit*, *pendulus fuit*, but the only passage he adduces as supporting this meaning is the very obscure and doubtful one in Prov. xxvi. 7. "The legs of the lame are not equal," or as he renders it, "The legs hang down from the lame." It certainly were to be wished, that some more clear and obvious passage could be cited in support of this signification. Yet the argument from the cognate languages is of great force, and perhaps may be allowed to decide the question. The verb *רוּ* undoubtedly does mean in Kal *to swing to and fro*, or *to vibrate*, as may be seen in 1 Sam. i. 13, and Isa. vii. 2.

The only other variation of importance occurs in the following verse. The second member *וְהָיוּ כְּמִצְחָהּ* is rendered in our common version—"is turned up as it were fire," and by Dr. Conant, "*is destroyed, as with fire*." We are rather dubious as to this rendering. Certainly the train of thought seems to require some such meaning as that in our version. The *surface* of the earth produces *bread*; the *bowels* of the earth contain stones of fire, as precious stones are elsewhere denominated, Ezek. xxviii. 14, 16. Comp., Stat. Theb., "*arcano florentes igne smaragdi*." It is important, too, that the Septuagint confirms the common version here, *ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς ἐστράφη ὥσπερ πῦρ* "underneath it, is turned up as it were fire."

Our space will scarcely allow us further to quote any extended passages, but we are desirous of directing attention to a few additional instances of decidedly improved rendering which

have come under our notice. We propose to give first the common version, and then Dr. Conant's amended translation.

- Ch. iii. 8. "Who are ready to raise up their mourning,"  
 "They that are skilled to raise up the leviathan."  
 Ch. iii. 24. "For my sighing cometh before I eat."  
 "For with my food comes my sighing."  
 Ch. iii. 25. "The thing which I greatly feared is come upon me."  
 "I feared evil and it has overtaken me."  
 Ch. iv. 19. "Which are crushed before the moth."  
 "Who are crushed like the moth."  
 Ch. v. 15. "But he saveth the poor from the sword,  
 From their mouth and from the hand of the strong."  
 "So he rescues the victim from their mouth,  
 And the needy from the hand of the strong."  
 Ch. vii. 9. "So he that goeth down to the grave."  
 "So he that goes down to the under-world."

The word *under-world* is similarly translated wherever else it occurs. Without question the term *under-world* is the very best English equivalent that can be found for this word. 'Grave' is altogether incorrect, and 'Hades' is a Greek word which many English readers do not understand.

- Ch. x. 1. "My soul is weary of life, I will speak in the bitterness of my soul."  
 "My soul is weary of my life,  
 I will give free course to my complaint."  
 Ch. x. 15. "If I be wicked, woe unto me, and if I be righteous,  
 yet will I not lift up my head. I am full of  
 confusion; therefore see thou mine affliction."  
 "If I am wicked, woe unto me!  
 And if righteous, I may not lift up my head,—  
 Filled with shame, and the sight of my misery."  
 Ch. x. 16. "For it increaseth. Thou huntest me as a fierce  
 lion; and again thou shewest thyself marvellous  
 upon me."  
 "If it lift itself up, thou dost hunt me like the  
 lion;  
 And shew again thy wondrous power upon me."  
 Ch. x. 17. "Changes and war against me."  
 "With host succeeding host against me."  
 Ch. xi. 7. "Canst thou by searching find out God?"  
 "Canst thou find out the deep things of God?"

- Ch. xv. 8. "Hast thou heard the secret of God?"  
 "Hast thou listened in the council of God?"
- Ch. xv. 29. "He shall not be rich, neither shall his substance  
 continue, neither shall he prolong the perfection  
 thereof in the earth."  
 "He shall not be rich, nor shall his wealth endure,  
 nor shall their possessions spread abroad in the  
 earth."
- Ch. xvii. 12. "They change the night into day; the light is short  
 because of darkness."  
 13. If I wait, the grave is mine house; I have made  
 my bed in the darkness."  
 12. "Night is joined to day: light is just before dark-  
 ness."  
 13. Lo, I wait my abode in the under-world, in the  
 darkness I have spread my couch."

These instances of improved rendering will, we think, suffice to convince the reader of the immense superiority of the new translation over the Authorized Version. A very careful and minute examination of the whole work has impressed us with the belief that it is unquestionably the best English version yet executed. Barnes's translation at the end of his commentary on Job occupied that position previously, but it must certainly yield to that now before us. The two translators, indeed, cannot for a moment be placed on the same footing as Hebrew scholars. Many passages in Barnes contain errors which have no place in Conant's translation. The acquaintance of the former with modern German commentaries appears also to be very slight indeed; a circumstance which seriously detracts from the value of his translation.

The following, amongst other examples, have struck us as decided errors on the part of Barnes, corrected by Dr. Conant.

- Barnes.* "Truly wrath destroyeth the fool  
 And indignation kills the man easily seduced [to  
 sin]."
- Conant.* "For grief slayeth the foolish,  
 And envy killeth the simple" (chap. v. 2).
- Barnes.* "Return now, let it not be assumed to be evil,  
 Return again, for my vindication is in it (in my  
 argument)."
- Conant.* "Return, I pray, let there be no wrong.  
 Yea return, I yet have a righteous cause" (vi. 29).
- Barnes.* "So he that goes down to the grave cometh up again  
 no more."

**Conant.** "So he that goes down to the under-world shall not come up" (vii. 9).

The word ~~was~~ never means the grave, but answers to the Greek *Hades, the invisible world—the separate state*. The only solitary passage in which it seems to be correctly rendered, *grave*, in our common version—Psalm cxli. 7, "Our bones lie scattered at the grave's mouth," is, in all probability, an error. The passage should be translated "By the command of Saul." It is well known that the Hebrew letters for *Sheol*, the under-world, and *Saul* are exactly alike, with the exception of the vowel-points, which were not inserted in manuscripts originally. It is most probable, therefore, that the verse means "*Our bones lie scattered, at the command of Saul.*"

**Barnes.** "If he arrest, and imprison, and bring to trial,  
Who then can prevent him?"

**Conant.** "If he pass by, and shall apprehend,  
And call an assembly, who will answer him?"  
(Chap. xi. 10.)

The verb ~~was~~ evidently means *to answer*, here, as it is correctly rendered by our translators in chap. xiii. 22.

**Barnes.** "For deceitful man would seem to have a heart."

**Conant.** "But vain man is void of understanding" (xi. 12).

It is difficult to attach any meaning here to Barnes's rendering. Dr. Conant's removes every difficulty.

**Barnes.** "And would declare to thee the secrets of wisdom;  
For they are double what we can understand."

**Conant.** "And would shew thee the secrets of wisdom.  
How manifold is understanding" (xi. 6).

**Barnes.** "He that is ready to slip with his feet,  
In the eyes of him that is at ease,  
Is as a cast-away torch."

**Conant.** "There is scorn for misfortune  
In the thought of the secure,  
Ready for those who waver in their steps" (xii. 5).

**Barnes.** "His bones are full of his secret sins."

**Conant.** "His bones are full of his youth" (xx. 11).

There is no word in the Hebrew here signifying "sins;" and the Syriac, Chaldee, and LXX. agree in rendering as Dr. Conant does. Some commentators have referred to Psalm xc. 8, in defence of the translation "secret sins." But, as Heiligstedt remarks, the context there naturally suggests such an explanation.

*Barnes.* "Lo, their good, [you say] is not in their hand,  
(Far from me be the defence of the wicked)."

*Conant.* "Lo, their good is not in their hand,  
Far from me is the council of the wicked" (xxi. 16).

Here Barnes appears to have entirely missed the train of thought. Job means to say—"Do not think, because I say the wicked sometimes prosper, that therefore I regard their prosperity to be owing to themselves, or to be in their own power. On the contrary—How often is the lamp of the wicked put out, and how often cometh their destruction upon them" (ver. 16).

*Barnes.* "Would he contend with me with his mighty power?  
No: he would give me strength."

*Conant.* "Would he with great power contend with me?  
No! he surely would give heed to me" (xxiii. 6).

This is a decided improvement upon the old and absurd translation, and was first pointed out, we believe, by Le Clerc.

*Barnes.* "For what is the hope of the hypocrite when (God)  
cuts him off?  
When he taketh away his life?"

*Conant.* "For what is the hope of the impure though he despoil,  
When God shall take away his soul?" (xxvii. 8.)

The new translation is unquestionably the correct one. It is supported by the Chaldee, the Syriac, and Jerome. Also by Schultens, Rosenmüller, Gesenius and others.

The passage in chap. xxxi. 15—so often quoted as a motto—"O that one would hear me! . . . and that mine adversary had written a book," disappears both in the version of Barnes and Conant. We cannot but think however that the former has mistaken the true meaning. We place both renderings before the reader.

*Barnes.* "O that he would hear me!  
Behold my defence! may the Almighty answer me!  
Would that he who contends with me, would write  
down his charge!"

*Conant.* "O that I had one who would hear me!  
Behold my sign; let the Almighty answer me,  
And my adversary write a charge."

Or as he gives it in the margin:—

"And the charge my adversary has written."

This appears decidedly preferable. We think Barnes altogether in error in supposing Job to desire that God would write

down his charge against him. For how could he with any propriety go on to say in the next verse:—

“Surely I would take it upon my shoulder,  
And bind it as a crown to me,” etc.?

How was it possible for him thus to triumph in a bill of accusation coming from the God of truth? The idea is altogether preposterous.

*Barnes.* “Although thou sayest that thou canst not see him,  
Yet justice is with him; only wait thou for him.  
But now the visitations of his anger are almost as  
nothing.  
And he has not taken cognizance with strictness of  
transgression.

Job hath opened his mouth with understanding,” etc.

*Conant.* “Much less when thou sayest ‘Thou regardest him  
not.’

The cause is before him; and wait thou for him.  
But now because his anger visits not,  
Nor does he strictly mark the offence;  
Therefore Job fills his mouth with vanity,” etc. (xxxv.  
14—16.)

It would be easy to add to these instances. Indeed the superiority of Dr. Conant’s translation is marked throughout the whole book. Still it must not be supposed that we regard it as faultless. Already we have had occasion, in some few cases to express doubts as to the correctness of the new version. But we have yet to notice three or four striking errors of judgment on the part of this eminent Hebrew scholar—which afford another exemplification of the truth of the remark, how unsafe it is to entrust the translation of the inspired writings to any *one* individual however accomplished.

The first instance of decided want of judgment we have to notice occurs in the thirteenth chapter, verse 15, where Job expresses his unwavering confidence in God—in terms the most striking that can possibly be conceived:—

“Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.”

which Dr. Conant has altered into the miserable sentiment:—

“Behold he will slay me, I may not hope.”

And on what ground is this alteration made? It appears that the Hebrew text in most MSS. favours Dr. Conant’s translation, but these same MSS. have a note called *Keri* which informs the reader that the text is in one word erroneous, and that it should be read as our common version gives it. Under such circum-

stances one would suppose the safest course would be to follow the Masoretic reading. But, by some unaccountable caprice, critics have chosen to reject it, and to adhere to the—as we think—corrupt reading.

What renders such a step utterly inexcusable here is the fact that all the ancient versions are against them. The Septuagint, Syriac, Chaldee, Vulgate, Arabic of Saadiah, all read

“Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.”

We trust then the present meaningless language will not be allowed to supplant one of the very finest and noblest expressions of confidence in an unseen God, amidst the most trying circumstances, which the whole Bible contains.

Another passage occurs to us as erroneous in chap. xxxv. 2.

“My righteousness, thou saidst, is more than God’s,”

where the Authorized Version agrees with Dr. Conant’s reading. Still the sentiment is so truly blasphemous that we cannot think it possible that this is the correct rendering. The meaning evidently is—“My righteousness is before God,” or as the Septuagint has it—“I am righteous in the sight of God.”

Another erroneous translation, as we cannot but think, occurs chap. xxiv. ver. 1, where Dr. Conant’s version has—

“Why, if times are not hidden from the Almighty,

Do they that know him not see his days.”

Now, we would submit to the reader whether there be any meaning in the first member of this sentence. Is not the bare supposition, that times can be hidden from the Almighty absurd in the extreme? Why not adopt the rendering given by some recent commentators?—

“Why are not seasons (of judgment) appointed by the Almighty?

And why do not those who know him behold his days?”

In fairness we ought to add that the marginal reading in Dr. Conant’s version is very much less exceptionable; and is substantially that of Schultens.

“Why are times not treasured up by the Almighty?” etc.

Still, it is difficult to know how times can be said to be *treasured up*. Surely the term *treasured up* is better translated *appointed*, which it seems to mean in chap. xv. 20.

One more mistake we venture to point out in chap. xxxviii. ver. 31 :—

“Dost thou bind the soft influences of the Pleiads,  
Or loose the bands of Orion?”

Two objections occur to the translation of the first member of



this sentence—It tends to favour a belief in astrology—and it fails to preserve the antithesis. If the Almighty did address Job thus respecting the “soft influences of the Pleiads,” we hold that it is impossible to deny that that constellation exerts certain beneficial influences upon the earth. We are aware that the expression is commonly explained as referring to the vernal influence of spring, when the Pleiads first appear. But such an interpretation does violence to the language, which can only fairly mean, we think, that a *direct* influence for good is exerted by that collection of stars upon the present world.

Then, too, the antithesis is not sustained by the translation before us. In the second member of the sentence Jehovah asks “Dost thou loose the bands of Orion?” What we should expect in the first member, therefore, in connexion with *bind* or *fasten* is, the *bands* of the Pleiads. Accordingly, Gesenius gives this as the only meaning of the word *רִמָּה* in his *Thes.* and his *Manual Lexicon*. The Septuagint translates it by the same term *δεσμός*, a *chain* or *band*. So does the Targum, and both Kimchi and Jarchi. The majority of the most able modern critics adopt the same rendering, *e.g.* Umbreit, Hirzel, Heiligstedt, Schlottmann and Hahn. Why Dr. Conant should return to the old rendering of the authorized version is altogether incomprehensible. He seems also to have entirely missed the meaning of the passage itself. In the note he speaks of the bands of Orion being *loosed* during the spring, because it was then invisible. But we conceive nothing can be plainer than that the reference is to the bond by which the various stars forming the constellation Orion were united together. “Dost thou hold together the stars of the Pleiads; or canst thou loose the bond which unites those of Orion?” It will be granted, that this translation conveys a far more sublime sentiment than that contained in the version of Dr. Conant.

There are also some other passages which we cannot regard as giving the true sense of the words, but it should be remembered that no commentator hitherto has succeeded any better; and probably the original text is itself corrupted. As an example we give the following passage:—

“But if thou art filled with the judgment of the wicked,  
Judgment and justice will lay hold of thee.”

“For beware, lest anger stir thee up against chastisement;  
And a great ransom shall not deliver thee” (xxxvi. 17, 18).

Another is found in chap. xxxix. ver. 13:—

“The wing of the ostrich waves exultingly;  
With pious pinion and plumage?”

As the ostrich is notorious for the want of all natural affection towards her offspring, and, indeed, "leaves her egg in the earth," "forgetting that the foot may crush them," etc., ver. 14, 15, Dr. Conant endeavours to make good sense by inserting the mark of interrogation at the end of the verse. But the introduction of the question in such a connexion has the most ludicrous effect, and is altogether out of place. There can be little doubt that the text is corrupt here. No commentator has ever succeeded in getting any tolerable sense from the passage.

Before closing, we would make one more remark on the version before us. This has reference to the translation of the word *qan* in the different places where it occurs in the first and second chapters. Our translators have uniformly rendered it there by the word "curse;" but Dr. Conant renders it "for-sake," "renounce," and in one case "bless." The following are his translations:—

"It may be that my sons have sinned, and have forsaken God in their hearts" (chap. i. 5.)

"But put forth now thy hand, and touch all that he hath,—if he will not renounce thee to thy face!" (ver 11, and chap. ii. 5.)

"Dost thou still hold fast thy integrity? Bless God and die!" (chap. ii. 9.)

In all these instances Dr. Conant places in the margin the reading of our common version, viz., "curse," and we would strongly urge its adoption in the text, having ourselves no doubt that this is the proper translation. Not only does this sense best suit the context, but the ancient versions, with hardly a single exception, render the word "*curse*." The Old Latin version, or, as it is usually called, *Italic*, adopts "*maledico*" as the translation; Jerome does the same. The LXX. substantially agrees, and the ancient Syriac translates in every one of these instances by the verb *ܩܢ* "to curse."

We have thus endeavoured to give the reader as full and exact an idea of Dr. Conant's Job as the limited nature of our space will allow. It will be perceived that we have formed a very favourable impression of the work. It is in our judgment unquestionably the best translation of that valuable and interesting book which has ever appeared in the English language. Indeed to those who have perused the miserable performances which passed for English versions of Job, previous to that of Barnes, it is really refreshing to meet with a work like this. The present translator, as we have already observed, is fully qualified as a first-rate Hebrew and German scholar for the task

to which he has given himself. He also possesses what is almost equally necessary—a good knowledge of vernacular English—and moreover a sound judgment not easily led astray by ingenious fancies and unfounded theories. Thus furnished, he has produced a work of which America may well be proud; a work which we fully believe is destined to remain an enduring monument of the ripe scholarship, solid judgment, and unquestionable ability of the learned translator.

W. E. T.

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### THE EARLY CHURCH HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

To ascertain what the inhabitants of Scotland have obtained from Christianity it is right and proper that we consider for a little the darkness and superstition from which the glad tidings released them. This will enable many of us to appreciate more than we have perhaps hitherto done, the blessings of a Church establishment, whether supported voluntarily or by the State. Fully to realize the blessings of Christianity and of religious liberty, we must try to ascertain what the reign of superstition really is, just in the same way that a man realizes the blessings of health when he recovers from some severe illness.

When Julius Cæsar (August 26th, B.C. 55, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus) led his conquering legions into Great Britain, and for the first time informed the Roman Senate that such a place as Britain existed, the Celtic tribes then inhabiting the island were governed and instructed by a peculiar class of priests called Druids. These Druids or Pagan priests were found by the Romans wherever tribes of the great barbarian nation called the Celtæ existed. All the information we can now obtain regarding the Druids is found in the works of several Roman writers, especially those of the great Julius Cæsar himself. From such authorities we learn that the Druids were the Pagan priests of the nation called the Celtæ, and that they everywhere, especially in Britain, opposed the progress of the Roman nation. The two principal schools, or rather settlements, of the Druids in Britain were situated on two islands; viz., the Island of Iona in Scotland, and the Island of Anglesey in Wales. We may here remark that the ancient name of Iona was Isle of the Druids, and that Druidical remains are said by antiquaries still to exist on it and the adjoining Island of Mull. In the year of our Lord 61, the Roman general Paulinus destroyed the establishment

in Anglesey. From the destruction of the Anglesey establishment we must date the gradual decline of Druidism in South Britain. In Scotland or North Britain, it existed longer, because the Romans were never able totally to subdue the inhabitants of that part of the kingdom. "We know," says Wilson, in his *Archæology* (p. 345), "that the period when the annals of our island are first embraced within the limits of authentic written history, a native priesthood existed, combining not only the sacerdotal and judicial characters so frequently found united in the priesthood of even comparatively civilized races, but also such influence as leaders and chiefs, that the Romans found in them their most implacable and unrelenting foes. Hence their religious rites were early proscribed by the Imperial lieutenants; and the Druid priest who held fast by his mysterious faith and passionate love of national independence, fell back before the advancing legions of Rome, till he found partial and temporary repose within the ancient groves of the Caledonian Celt, beyond the Tyne and Solway."

Before we proceed to consider the introduction of Christianity into Britain, it will be necessary to describe what the Druids believed and taught. The word Druid is derived from the Celtic word that means magician or wizard, in which sense the term is still used. They worshipped, according to some antiquaries, the sun, and had no buildings, properly so called, for the performance of their rites. Beside streams and ancient oaks they erected what has been termed Druidical-circles. Such a circle consisted of large stones, "surrounding an area of from twenty feet to thirty yards in diameter," having in the centre the altar or rather a stone of immense size, and sometimes the stone was flat, supported by perpendicular stones. Dr. W. L. Alexander, in his work entitled *Iona*, calls the altar a "*cromleach*." Now, as the *cromlech* is a "sepulchral chamber," we are surprised to find such a statement in a book written by a Fellow of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, especially since it has been proved that cromlechs are sepulchral chambers, and not Druidical altars, so long ago as 1816! It is maintained that the Druids never performed any ceremony of great importance without going thrice round the stone circle from east to west, following the course of the sun. We are not, however, to imagine that all the stone circles found in Great Britain are Druidical circles. Sir Walter Scott is of opinion that the circles of stones existing in Britain are not to be considered as peculiar to the Druids, and he states that there can be no doubt "all the

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\* See Wilson's *Archæology*, p. 65.

northern nations marked by those huge enclosures the places of popular meeting, either for religious worship or the transaction of public business of a temporal nature.”<sup>b</sup> Barry, Hibbert, Macculloch, and Wilson, also think that all the “symmetrical groups of standing stones in the British Isles,” cannot now be considered as having a Druidical origin. Yet Wilson is of opinion that “the common Gaelic phrase, Are you going to the stones? by which the Scottish Highlander still inquires at a neighbour if he is bound for church, seems in itself no doubtful tradition of ancient worship within the monolithic ring.” In the year 1824 a rod of pure gold was dug up in one of the Inverness-shire circles, and another in the county of Antrim; they are considered by some antiquaries to have been borne by an ancient archpriest or king in the great assemblies of his people. All the Roman writers who allude to the Druids agree in stating that they killed human beings on the altar or centre stone of their circle. Julius Cæsar has given a detailed account of such sacrifices. Some of the stones in still existing circles are perforated; the stone of Odin, immortalized by Sir Walter Scott, had a large hole, and one of the stones of the celebrated Tormore circles in the Island of Arran, is still to be seen through which a small hole has been perforated. Antiquaries have tried to throw light on the use which was made of such perforated stones; some are of opinion that they were used for dreadful purposes, *e. g.*, the binding of the human victims destined by the Druids for sacrifice.<sup>c</sup>

As the Druids were not only the priests but also the instructors of the tribes, we find that the inhabitants of Great Britain were like them cruel and devoid of pity and compassion. The historian Gibbon, in describing a brave tribe of Caledonia, states on the authority of an eye-witness, that when they hunted the woods for prey, they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and selected the most delicate and brawny parts, which they prepared for their horrid repasts; “if in the neighbourhood,” adds the historian, “of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate in the period of the Scottish history the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce in some future age the

<sup>b</sup> Note in the *Pirate*.

<sup>c</sup> In the January number of the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* the reader will find a most interesting article on the stone circles still existing in the Island of Arran. The writer, Mr. J. M'Arthur, is of opinion that the circles in that island “furnish unquestionable evidence of a sepulchral origin.”

Hume of the southern hemisphere.”<sup>4</sup> Wilson, one of the most learned of British antiquaries, is of opinion that Owen and some other writers who have considered the subject, have been too much influenced by the views entertained of the barbarian state of the native Britons, and although he has with great ability tried to shew that the ancient inhabitants of his native land were not so low in the scale of civilization as is generally believed, yet his investigations have compelled him to assert that the inhabitants at one time were anything but civilized. The following passage is from his *Archæology, or Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*:—“Intellectually he appears to have been in nearly the lowest stage to which an intelligent being can sink. Morally he was the slave of a superstition, the grovelling character of which will be traced in reviewing his sepulchral rites; physically he differed little in stature from the modern inhabitants of the same soil, but his cerebral development was poor, his head small in proportion to his body; his hands, and probably his feet, also small; while the weapons with which he provided himself for the chase, and the few implements that ministered to his limited necessities, indicate only the crude development of that inventive ingenuity which first distinguishes the reason of man from the instincts of the brutes” (p. 27). Those who differ from Wilson cannot, we think, express themselves in stronger language. We must, however, admit that Wilson has proved beyond doubt that “the ancient Briton lived in the belief of a future state, and of some doctrine of probation and of final retribution.” This conclusion is founded on the evidence furnished by the discoveries of antiquaries, which prove “the constant deposition beside the dead, not only of weapons, implements, and personal ornaments, but also of vessels which may be presumed to have contained food and drink.” Such facts do not contradict what has also been proved from historical documents, etc., viz., that Britain contained for many years a race of mortals who did kill human victims. Even the Saxons, “that celebrated name in which we have a dear and domestic interest,” consecrated to the gods the tithe of their *human* spoil, and sold their children, who were frequently bought in the market of Rome.

We shall now proceed to consider the rise and onward progress of that religion which delivered the inhabitants of Scotland from superstition the most bloody and degrading. The Roman conquest of Britain enabled the glad tidings to be pro-

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<sup>4</sup> This remarkable passage in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (ch. 25), is the subject of a note by the writer of the present article in *Notes and Queries* for 1857, p. 439.

pagated in that kingdom to a greater extent than they perhaps otherwise would have been. Some historians think that the introduction of the Gospel into England or South Britain, took place at the time when the Roman general Paulinus destroyed the establishment of the Druids in the Island of Anglesey. The son of a British prince, ordained at Rome about the year 384, was certainly the means of introducing the Gospel into Scotland. His name was St. Ninian or St. Ringen, "as he is more frequently styled in Scotland, where numerous churches, chapels, holy wells, as also caves and other noted localities, still bear his name." He planted his mission at Whitherne, in Wigtonshire, where he erected the church in which he was buried. The British historian, Bede, in his *Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical History*, states, that in his day this church was still in existence. "The place," says this ancient historian, "belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the White House, because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons."<sup>e</sup> The father of the celebrated St. Patrick, the apostle of the Irish, as he has been called, was a deacon of the Christian Church established at Bonaven, now the flourishing village of Old Kilpatrick, situated on the north side of the river Clyde. Now the question may be asked, who brought the glad tidings to this place? We are of opinion that St. Ninian himself or some of his followers established the small Christian community that brought up and educated St. Patrick.<sup>f</sup> Tradition states that St. Ninian set apart the ground on which Glasgow Cathedral now stands for the burial of Christians. But, as it has been well remarked, "the religious establishment which St. Columba founded at Iona in the middle of the sixth century, is justly regarded as the true centre of all the most sacred and heart-stirring associations connected with the establishment of Christianity in Scotland."<sup>g</sup> We are now briefly to consider the life of the first great missionary to the inhabitants of the North of Scotland.

Columba was born in Ireland, in what part, however, historians are unable to ascertain. It is certain that he was born in the year 521. The events of his life are thus briefly alluded to in that ancient document called the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:—"Year 565. This year Ethelbert succeeded to the kingdom of the

<sup>e</sup> E. T., Bohn's edition, p. 114.

<sup>f</sup> Old Kilpatrick derives its name, antiquaries say, from Cil, a church, and Patrick the name of the great missionary; many are the traditions that have been handed down from generations in the parish concerning him. See *Stat. Acct. of Scotland*, vol. viii., 1845.

<sup>g</sup> Wilson's *Arch.*, p. 483.

Kentish-men, and held it fifty-three years. In his days the holy pope Gregory sent us baptism, that was in the thirty-third year of his reign: and Columba, a mass priest,<sup>a</sup> came to the Picts and converted them to the faith of Christ: they are dwellers by the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Ii (*i. e.* Iona); therein are five hides of land, as men say. There Columba built a monastery, and he was abbot there thirty-seven years, and there he died when he was seventy-two years old. His successors still have the place. The Southern Picts had been baptized long before; Bishop Ninia, who had been instructed at Rome, had preached baptism to them, whose church and his monastery is at Whitherne, consecrated in the name of St. Martin; there he resteth with many holy men. Now in Ii there must ever be an abbot and not a bishop, and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbot and not a bishop." In course of time Columba landed on the Island of Iona, having crossed over from Ireland in one of the boats then used for crossing rivers and narrow channels. It was made of wickerwork covered with hides; he was accompanied by twelve companions, all of whose names are on record, and the place where they landed is still called in the Gaelic language, the harbour of the boat. Here there still exists what antiquaries term a ship-barrow. "It measures," says Wilson, "about fifty feet in length, and is supposed to be a model of St. Columba's *currach* or boat made of wicker and hides, built by him in commemoration of his landing on the sacred isle. An upright stone formerly stood at each end, and near to it is a smaller mound, representing, as is said, the little boat towed astern."<sup>i</sup> The Druids, who still lived in Iona and the adjacent islands and mainland, did what they could to prevent Columba and his followers from obtaining a settlement on the island. A village was burned to the ground simply because he was living in one of the houses. Through time, however, the great missionary was enabled to build a monastery, not, we must remember, a stone building, but a mere wooden erection for himself and his twelve companions to live in and instruct the inhabitants of the island; and the king of the Picts was so pleased with the conduct of the missionaries that he made a present of the island to their leader Columba. Of this most remarkable man we possess two histories, written

<sup>a</sup> This is just another term for priest, and only means an individual devoted to the public and private service of God. See an excellent note in Dr. Alexander's *Iona*, p. 92, and Dr. Giles' Preface to his translation of Bede's *History* (Bohn, 1847).—The extract in the text is from Dr. Giles' translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

<sup>i</sup> *Arch.*, p. 57.



the one about sixty-nine and the other eighty-three years after his death. The authors of these, Cumin and Adamnan, were both successors of Columba as abbot of the monastery of Iona. He appears to have been greatly esteemed by all classes, from the king on whose head he placed the crown, to the poor student who repaired to his monastery for instruction and advice. He was one of the most learned men of his age, and is said to have transcribed with his own hand "not fewer than 300 volumes;" and only a few hours before his death "he was employed in copying the Psalms." Students from all parts of the kingdom were to be found in his monastery, from which they proceeded to instruct and civilize the tribes. The ground in the neighbourhood of the monastery was cultivated and kept in excellent order by Columba and his students, so much so that one of his biographers says that they had apples from their own trees, abundance of grain in their barns, and employed a Saxon baker to make their bread. Then as now, the island of Iona possessed an exceedingly temperate climate, which causes grain to ripen quickly. The industry of Columba and his followers enabled them to give seed to those of the inhabitants who desired it. His knowledge of medicine also enabled him, as it did the most celebrated of modern missionaries, Dr. Livingstone, to win the esteem of the uncivilized people with whom he sojourned. Once, we are told, Columba departed from his resolution never to take payment for his medical advice, and that was when he sternly refused to give advice or medicine to a wealthy slaveholder, until he liberated one of his slaves. None of his students were allowed to depart from the island on their journey to propagate the glad tidings, without obtaining from him medicines and advice how to use them. Columba died in the year 596. There can be no doubt that Columba founded the celebrated library of Iona. This library was considered, even in the sixteenth century, one of the best in the West of Europe, and it is said to have possessed a complete copy of Livy's history. Columba being an excellent scholar, wrote a number of works both in Latin and Irish, containing poetry as well as prose, consequently he loved books, and tried to make others do the same. Copies were made of all works put on the shelves; and a copy was considered almost as valuable as the original volume, so much so that it is recorded that the loan of a copy even caused a dispute between Columba and one of his followers, who refused to permit him to retain a copy of a work which he had taken many days and nights to transcribe. Of a truth these pious and excellent men made good use of their time, and one is surprised to find that

they could even get a spare hour to read, let alone copy a book. We are not to imagine that the copying of books was a useless employment. If other monasteries had followed the example of the great Scotchman and enforced his rule ("To every book belongs its copy"), there never would have been the great want of books which historians say there was during the middle ages. Many were the monasteries that possessed only one volume, and that volume the authorized prayer-book of the Church.

After Columba's death another abbot, or chief superintendent of the monastery, was elected, and the original number, twelve, was always kept up; they received the name of Culdees, a word meaning servants of God. The institution to which they belonged has been termed a monastery; we are not, however, to apply the modern meaning of that word to any of the institutions supported by the Culdees, because they could and did marry, only their wives were not allowed to live in the building or institution where they assembled for religious duties. Celibacy of the clergy was a doctrine or dogma foreign to and never advocated among the early Christians. It was the offspring of Christianity, when the temporal more than the spiritual welfare of nations appeared to be the great desire of the church. Candid historians maintain that the institutions of the Culdees "may be more properly viewed as colleges in which various branches of useful learning were taught, than as monasteries; these societies therefore were in fact the seminaries of the church both in North Britain and in Ireland." Of the three monastic vows, celibacy, poverty, and obedience, the Culdees knew nothing; except perhaps the last, obedience, and that only to a limited extent, as like all true natives of Scotland, every one of them had a mind of his own. The Culdees were not hermits afraid of a human face; on the contrary, they enjoyed the society of men, and could not refrain from propagating among their neighbours the tidings of peace and goodwill which the Scriptures had taught them. On one point, however, they were the sternest of men, and that was in carrying out the rule that none but men of tried piety and zeal could join their number. Columba enforced this rule most severely, as he would not permit persons of doubtful character even to land on his island, and he even carried his notions of morality so far as to allow no woman to live in Iona, "a prohibition which he also," says one of his biographers, "extended to cows;" because he was of opinion that if cows were permitted it would be impossible to exclude women! Hence the origin of the highland proverb: "Where there is a cow there will be a

woman, and where there is a woman there will be mischief!"<sup>j</sup> Those Culdees of Iona who were married men were allowed to reside with their wives in an island, still called the "Women's Island," except when duty required their presence in the monastery or institution of Iona. When they died their property was divided between the widow and children and nearest relatives. A learned writer belonging to the Church of Rome is right in asserting that "among the Culdees was seen the ideal of Christian life." It was not "the dark-attired Culdee" that introduced into the Christian church the practice of auricular confession, or gave power to the clergy to grant absolution from sins. It was not from the Island of Iona that the Christian nations learned the remarkable doctrine that bread and wine could become the blood and body of a man, and that too at the bidding of a priest. Sternly, and for many long years, did they resist such dogmas, and that also at a time when they were forsaken by their abbot Adamnan, the friend and biographer of their great chief Columba. Determined was their resistance to the creed of the Church of Rome, and not until the end of the twelfth century did the great controversy cease; and even then the stern Culdees of Iona were the conquerors, as the Pope decreed that neither church should claim supremacy. This was a great triumph, as the Culdees were the smallest in number but the strongest in argument, as we learn from what is recorded of the synod at which the Pope's legate gave the above decision. Wherever the Culdees had a settlement, and historians say they possessed many in Scotland, there a goodly library existed, supplied no doubt from that of Iona. There is still in existence a catalogue of the books which belonged to the Culdee institution of Lochleven. Everywhere, north, south, east, and west, did the pious Culdees spread the glad tidings of a crucified Redeemer; they penetrated even to the Orkney Islands, and it is recorded that the Norwegians found, in the year 900, Culdees in far-off Iceland. For not to Scotland alone did the missionaries from Iona confine themselves. Bede states that they came daily into England "and with great devotion preached the Word to those provinces of the English over which King Oswald reigned; churches were built in several places, the people joyfully flocked together to hear the Word; money and lands were given of the kings bounty to build monasteries; the English great and small were

<sup>j</sup> See the notes in Hogg's *Queen's Wake*. This poet makes 'one of the bards to allude to the prohibition:

"Oh! wise was the founder, and well said he,  
'Where there are women mischief must be.'"

by their Scottish masters instructed in the rules and observance of regular discipline.”<sup>k</sup> The number of Culdees that went to France was so great that it has been observed that all saints whose origin could not afterwards be traced, were imagined to have come from Ireland or Scotland. During the abbacy of Columba’s immediate successor, the celebrated Columbanus left Iona or some other of the Culdee establishments, and travelled with another young missionary, named Gallus, through the greater part of France and Switzerland, propagating as they went along the gospel-tidings. Those of our readers who are acquainted with the history of the Reformation in Switzerland will remember how frequently the monastery of St. Gall is mentioned; this celebrated monastery was founded by the missionary Gallus. We have already stated that a life of Columba was written by a Culdee named Adamnan. This Adamnan, when the abbot of Iona, caused great trouble to the rest of the Culdees by desiring to alter their rules, etc. He died A.D. 704, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was undoubtedly one of the most learned of the Culdees, and left behind him not only a valuable life of Columba, but also a most remarkable work entitled “The Geography of the Holy Land.” Adamnan obtained his information from a shipwrecked bishop who had found his way to the far-famed hospitable monastery of Iona. This work is still in existence, and must have been at one time most valuable; the author’s friend and cotemporary, Bede, gives several extracts from it, and states that it was “a work beneficial to many, and particularly to those who, being far removed from those places where the patriarchs and apostles lived, knew no more of them than what they learned by reading. Adamnan presented this book to King Alfred, and through his bounty it came to be read by lesser persons.”<sup>l</sup> Of course the work is written in the Latin language. The patron saint of the city of Glasgow, Kentigern, or Mungo, was a Culdee. He founded the church which became the magnificent cathedral of Glasgow. He is said to have died in Glasgow A.D. 601, and to have been buried in the church he had founded. He attained, according to the historian Spottiswood, to the age of nine score and five years. “Many lying miracles,” says this writer, “have been ascribed unto him, but certainly he was a man of rare parts and worthy to have been made a subject of truth to posterity, not of fables and fiction, as the legends of monks have made him.” The emblems on the arms of the city of Glasgow record three of these miracles. Misfortune at last overtook the

<sup>k</sup> *Eccles. Hist. E. T.*, p. 113.

<sup>l</sup> *Hist. E. T.*, p. 263.

pious Culdees, of which St. Mungo was no mean representative. For many years savage pirates, chiefly natives of Norway and Denmark, infested the coast and islands of Scotland. In the year 794 they caused the inhabitants of the monastery of Iona to leave the island for a short time; and in 806 another band of pirates landed and killed sixty-eight of Columba's followers. The poet Campbell has founded a magnificent poem on an imagined incident in one of those terrible invasions. He makes the spirit of Columba again to revisit the island and to drive the Danes from it, not however until they had succeeded in causing great misery. When the kings of Scotland became more powerful, and could prevent hostile nations from invading the western islands, then another race of Christian missionaries took possession of Iona and the other settlements of the pious Culdees. The planting of the gospel in Scotland was never allowed by a kind Providence to become uprooted. The Culdees planted the grain of mustard seed, if we may so speak, in one of Scotland's smallest islands; and the produce of this same grain increased a hundredfold, until the nations around blessed the great God that made them, for sending from the far-off island of the west the glad tidings of "Peace on earth and good will towards men." Other Christian missionaries were commissioned by the great Disposer of events to enter into the vineyard thus planted and watered.

We may here remark that when the Culdees existed in Scotland, the inhabitants spoke the Celtic language. Two stones exist, or did exist, in Iona with inscriptions in old Celtic letters; the cross is represented on both of them, and one of the inscriptions has been translated, "A prayer for the servant of Patrick." We may here also remark that we find in Scotland early Christian inscriptions in another old language called the Runic. Those of our readers who have visited the Holy Island in the Bay of Lamlash, Arran, once inhabited by one of Columba's followers, must have noticed in the sandstone rock, at an elevation of thirty feet, a remarkable cave having its roof and sides covered "with rude marks and inscriptions of many different periods." Among them is a Runic inscription having the characters about an inch and a half in length. On this inscription is the cross which antiquaries say proves it to have been the work of a Christian. Wilson translates it as meaning, "Nicholas engraved, or cut, this cave." Runic inscriptions are very puzzling to antiquaries; those printed by Wilson in his *Annals* shew that the term Runic has been rightly defined, a secret or mystery. In the churchyard of Kirk-Braddan is a beautiful Runic cross with a Runic inscription. On the under-

side of the head of it is a Runic word which has been translated "Jesus."

The churches which the Culdees built throughout Scotland are generally considered to have been erections made of wood. A curious seal attached to one of the older charters of Holyrood Abbey represents what antiquaries consider must have been one of those ancient wooden churches. The earliest charter to which it has yet been found attached is dated 1141. An engraving of it is given in Wilson's *Annals*. The ruins of one of Scotland's ancient churches are still to be seen in one of the Orkney Islands called Egilshay. Although roofless and otherwise injured, yet the remains are in tolerable condition. It is considered to have been built of unwrought clay-slate, and its round tower "appears, when perfect, to have been fifty or sixty feet high." The roof, which existed until a late period, was made of stone. The population in the north of Scotland must have been much greater than it is now, for we are informed that the remains of the ancient churches of Shetland, shew that the churches then must have been very numerous. "The parish of Yell, for instance," says a writer qualified to give an opinion, "boasted twenty chapels where only two or three are used at the present day." Many of these ancient churches originated in a vow or promise of the king or some of the great chiefs of the period. In a charter belonging to the beginning of the eleventh century it is stated that King Malcolm erected a church according to a promise made just before gaining a victory over the pirates or invaders from Norway. The conqueror took care, however, to put three of the heads of the vanquished leaders into holes made on purpose in one of the walls of the church! Such is the origin of the old parish church of Mortlach. The three skulls were still to be seen until recently. In an account of the parish, written about the year 1795, it is stated, "at whatever time three skulls may have first been put there, there they surely were, and not longer than about thirty years ago was the last of them picked out and tossed about by the school boys."<sup>m</sup>

We have already stated that another race of missionaries took possession of the settlements founded by the Culdees. The history of these missionaries, and of the church to which they belonged, is that part of the early church history of Scotland which we are now to consider. And here we think it right to remark that there is no study which proves the correctness of the ancient proverb, "Truth lies at the bottom of a well," more than the study of church history, especially the early propaga-

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<sup>m</sup> Statis. Account, as quoted by Wilson in his *Annals*.

tion of it. Church historians generally belong to some of the great religious denominations, and, consequently, are very apt to advocate their peculiar views, and to find fault with those who oppose them, in terms frequently a great deal too severe. The popular phrase, "One side of a story," is, we are sorry to affirm, applicable to many of our church histories. Too frequently do the writers of them forget the meaning of the little word toleration. We sincerely hope nothing in this article will in the least shew that we have forgotten it.

When Malcolm Canmore wedded the Saxon princess Margaret, in the year 1070, the Culdees, or Celtic clergy, were prevented from propagating "the glad tidings" in their own way. The Saxon conquest, as this period of Scottish history has been termed, is considered by some to have been more an ecclesiastical than a civil revolution. Queen Margaret and her sons Edgar, Alexander, and David, did what they could "to assimilate," says Wilson, "the Scottish Church to that of England, and indeed, of Rome, neither of which it would seem to have greatly resembled."<sup>a</sup> The revolution, however, was slow, and by no means rapid. The Culdees were obliged to submit to the church government as established by their legitimate sovereigns, who left no means untried to obtain the consent of the Scottish clergy to the much wished-for uniformity. King David, according to the historian Buchanan, reduced the succeeding kings of Scotland almost to poverty, by consecrating the greater part of the royal lands to the support of the clergy in Scotland. The same historian states that this king's successor also endowed churches, and, had he lived, would have exceeded his predecessors in his liberality. The Church in England, perceiving that the Church in Scotland was thus flourishing, and likely to obtain a permanent settlement, determined to obtain an acknowledgement of homage from it, or, in other words, to have the Church in Scotland subject to that in England. King Henry I., of England, requested king William of Scotland to command his clergy to acknowledge the Archbishop of York as their superior. The clergy of both churches met at Northampton to consider the matter, A.D. 1176. The cardinal, sent from Rome for the express purpose, made a very long speech; a Culdee, named Gilbert Murray, replied, and declined to take the cardinal's advice, but at the same time appealed to the Pope. "The appeal made by Murray," says one of our most learned historians, "to the Pope may perhaps be viewed as a proof that the church of Scotland acknowledged complete subjection to

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<sup>a</sup> *Annals*, p. 603.

Rome. But this seems to have been the first instance of an appeal being formally made to the Papal See. As it was the act of a single person, it is to be observed that even he had the highest sense of the liberty and independence of his mother church. He doubtless thought that they were shut up to it, and considered it as the least of two evils.”<sup>o</sup> Although the cardinal decreed that neither church should claim supremacy over the other, yet his master, the Pope, was too clever a man to allow the unfortunate appeal to remain unanswered. He immediately sent a bull to the king of Scotland, informing him that his clergy were now under his protection, and could not acknowledge any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction. With great art and wisdom did the Papal See propagate its peculiar church views. “Various means,” Dr. Jamieson maintains, “were employed for suppressing the Culdees, who were viewed with so jealous an eye by the votaries of the Papal chair, and who had all along presented so powerful a barrier to its influence. This was first attempted in an artful manner. ‘It is observable,’ says Sir James Dalrymple, ‘that the Romish Church did advance very warily, and by slow steps, endeavouring to gain the Culdean abbots to their party by promoting them to bishoprics to be erected, and by preserving to the Culdees possessed of parochial churches their benefices for their lifetime, and making the suppression of these churches in favour of the new erected Roman Abbacies only to take place after the incumbent’s death; and frequently these concessions bear the consent of the presbyter or churchman incumbent, with the reservation of his own right during his lifetime.’” In 1188, a convocation met in Perth and passed a degree, making the Sabbath day to last twelve hours longer, that is to say, it was decreed that every Saturday from twelve noon should be kept as a holy day, and that all people at the sound of the bell should prepare to hear service, and abstain from all handywork until Monday morning. There can be no doubt that this law was good and beneficial, as it must have enabled a great part of the population to obtain more rest from labour than they could possibly otherwise have obtained. In modern times this very same law has at last been silently acknowledged by the employers of labour in the West of Scotland, many of whom are totally ignorant of its having originated from the decree of a Christian church. In making such laws, the Church of Rome gained power and strength not only in Scotland, but throughout the whole of Europe. Many are the

<sup>o</sup> *History of the Culdees*, by Dr. Jamieson. This most valuable work is now out of print, and very scarce. A reprint is much wanted. See also Hallam’s *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 163.



historical facts on record, proving that tyranny and gross licentiousness could seldom flourish where the truly Christian bishop reigned. And not only did the clergy restrain evil passions and evil desires by just and righteous laws, but they also did their utmost to promote the cultivation of waste lands; and at their desire and request did many a wealthy individual take a stone from the heap of misery and cast it on the heap of happiness. We have an instance of this in the charter which describes how the church of Edenham was built, in the parish manse of which the poet Thomson was born: "To all the sons of holy mother church," says this charter, "Thon the Long, greeting to the Lord. Be it known that Ædgar, my Lord king of Scots, gave to me, Ædnaam, a desert; that with his help and my own money I peopled it, and have built a church in honour of St. Cuthbert, which church, with a ploughgate of land, I have given to God and to St. Cuthbert and his monks, to be possessed by them for ever."<sup>p</sup>

Ecclesiastical history informs us that those who had the chief control over the Christian Church at Rome, claimed supreme command in everything pertaining to church government. This claim was acknowledged in course of time throughout the Christian world. Not only did the Christian Church in Scotland submit to it, but also all the churches in the West of Europe, without any exception. Some think to their advantage and others to their disadvantage. We will not here affirm which of those opinions must be considered correct, for to a certain extent they are both tenable, and supported by historical documents. That the Church of Rome, however, did enable civilization to advance at one period of its history, cannot now be denied by even the most bigotted of men. In an age of great ignorance and superstition the Church of Rome established schools, and erected most of the still existing universities of Scotland. That such educational institutions were greatly required among all classes, even down to the seventeenth century, is proved by documents still in existence. It was long a common practice among the barons to board their children with the monks for their education. The monasteries of Scotland have been called the "nurseries of superstition and idleness." This assertion is not correct, for all the learning and knowledge of the period were confined to the monasteries for many years. But for the diligence of the monks, in an age when printing was unknown, we do not think that learning of any kind could have existed. They were the men who propagated, by beautiful pen-

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<sup>p</sup> Quoted by Wilson, in his *Annals*, p. 605.

manship, copies of the Bible and other religious works. Those of our readers who have seen an old MS. will, we are convinced, scarcely believe that the clergy who could devote so much time and trouble to propagate the religious books of their creed, deserved to be termed idle and superstitious. The number of MSS. that existed both in England and Scotland before the Reformation must have been immense, and when we remember that a book then was necessarily a MS., and when we recollect that they all issued from the monasteries, we are certainly justified in denying that the monasteries were "nurseries of superstition and idleness." The number of MSS. destroyed at the commencement of the Reformation prove that the monasteries were in their age and generation useful institutions.<sup>9</sup> We are not to imagine that the monks and clergy before the Reformation could do nothing else than teach, copy and propagate MSS. They could and did study, with great success, many of those arts and sciences now so common. The monastery of Dryburgh, where Sir Walter Scott is buried, alone possessed among its monks two poets of no mean reputation, one the friend of the celebrated Petrarch and talented Chaucer, and the other the great poet Gower. The splendid and magnificent situations of many of the abbeys and cathedrals in Scotland shew that the clergy of the Church of Rome had a soul for the beautiful in nature as well as in art. No wonder their MSS. often contain illustrations of great beauty, seeing that the writers of them had only to peep out of the windows of their woodland dwellings to observe and copy the autumn foliage. We observe this love for nature and its productions also in that art where "most magnificent appears the little builder man." On the pillars and other parts of what remain of the abbeys and cathedrals in Scotland, we find represented the most common plants and flowers, cut with great correctness. Scotch kail, or greens, is seen on the capital of one of the pillars in Melrose Abbey, copied with a delicacy and grace that entitles it to rank "among the most perfect gems of architectural imitations." It has been well said of this great ruin that "nature is studied through the whole, and the flowers and plants are represented as accurately as under the pencil. In this fabric there are the finest lessons, and the greatest variety of Gothic ornaments, that the island affords, take all the religious structures together." There are also some fine examples in Glasgow Cathedral and Roslin Chapel. In the latter is the celebrated "Apprentice Pillar," having a very beautiful wreath of flowers. No one can visit some of those most magnificent erec-

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<sup>9</sup> See the notes in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, p. 361.

tions without returning with the feeling that the builders and those that employed them must have considered the religion of the Redeemer as worthy of the utmost effort of human art. The Church of Rome appears to have made men most enthusiastic in the cause of religion. A great authority in architecture is of opinion that Melrose Abbey must have been finished with the most circumstantial elegance and minuteness, and that this is seen in those concealed portions which are excluded from public view, and which can only be inspected by laborious climbing or groping; and he accounts for this by the idea that the whole carving and execution was considered as an act of solemn worship and adoration, in which the artist offered up his best faculties to the praise of the Creator. Everything connected with a monastery or a cathedral, shewed that the propagation of the glad tidings was the great object and chief desire of the church. The bell that tolled in the abbey or cathedral tower, and the cross in the graveyard at the foot of it, as well as the communion cup and monuments in the interior, had all inscriptions telling of another world and a great judgment day.

The Culdees were the first to introduce bells into Scotland. The great missionary Columba used one which antiquaries say must have been what we now call a hand-bell; he is said to have rung it when he desired to assemble his followers. The bell was considered to be an essential insignia of the ecclesiastical office; hence the reason why they are represented on many early Scottish seals. We are not to imagine that the veneration for articles belonging to the Church was productive of no good or benefit to the people; on the contrary, *e.g.*, the highly-venerated communion cup of Iona was the means of preventing many brave men from a bloody and cruel death, the slaughter of a battle field, and that too after the Reformation had commenced. The abbeys, monasteries, and cathedrals, which possessed such articles were not, as we might suppose, allowed to be erected in peace and quietness. Those of them situated on the borders between England and Scotland, especially Melrose and Dryburgh, were frequently burned to the ground by savage nobles and their followers; even the king of England himself, after obtaining shelter for one night in the abbey of Melrose, set it on fire as the sun rose above the horizon next morning. Richard II. repented of this disgraceful deed, as we find it recorded that he afterwards gave privileges and letters of protection to the clergy living within its walls, after the abbey had been rebuilt. Scotchmen, as well as Englishmen, frequently entered and pillaged those sacred buildings; and yet from their grain-houses and barns were the poor inhabitants often supplied with food in

seasons of scarcity and want. In consequence of such attacks, the abbots or chief men of the abbeys and monasteries were generally men of good family, the last abbot of Dryburgh being Lord Stewart, of Lennox Darnley. What has been said of the Jewish religion can also be said of the Church of Rome, when it reigned without an equal in Scotland, none but the flower of the population, the finest in respect of personal comeliness, and the first in respect of social position, were permitted to minister in its courts, and it would allow only the choice of the country's produce, the firstlings of its flocks, and the best of its fruits, to be offered on its altars.

When David I. became King of Scotland the bishopric of Glasgow may be said to have been established. This king, during the twelfth century, granted for the support of the bishop and cathedral of Glasgow, in addition to former gifts, the lands of Partick, where in course of time the bishops erected a palace, portions of which "remained on the west bank of the Kelvin within a few yards of its junction with the Clyde, until within these last ten years." The splendid gifts granted by David I. to the Church of Rome in Scotland we have already remarked were most numerous and unprecedented. Many were the royal possessions gifted away, and as one of his successors on the throne is reported to have said, he was in truth "ane sair sanct for the croon." In 1181 the existing cathedral of Glasgow is considered to have been commenced. The then village or town of Glasgow received many privileges in consequence. In the thirteenth century the Bishop of Glasgow, in order to obtain funds to go on with the erection, had recourse to the great means of church building, as it was of church destruction in the sixteenth century, viz., papal indulgences, to all penitents promoting the undertaking. To add force to this remission, a canon was passed by a provincial council of the Scottish clergy held at Perth in 1242, ordaining that the indulgence for the cathedral of Glasgow be hung up in every church in the realm, and that its terms be plainly expounded to the parishioners in the vulgar tongue. But it would appear that money, as in the present day, could not be easily obtained when the object for which it was asked was the building of a church, for it is recorded that it became a proverb, "Like St. Mungo's work, it will never be finished." In the fifteenth century the episcopal see of Glasgow was at the height of its temporal glory. The clergy connected with the cathedral were then thirty-two in number and its revenues immense. Bishop Cameron, "the magnificent prelate," was often seen surrounded by noblemen of the first rank. When he celebrated the great festivals of the

Church he entered the cathedral at the head of his clergy amidst the ringing of bells and the pealing of the organ or "kist of whistles," gorgeously arrayed in garments of great price; a gold figure of the Redeemer and silver figures of the apostles frequently formed conspicuous objects in such processions. This prelate was succeeded by a bishop whose memory the West of Scotland has good reason to bless and hold in perpetual remembrance, as he founded the University of Glasgow, which in the next century had as one of its students a young man destined to be the chief cause of making the same university one of the Protestant Universities of Europe. Bishop Turnbull obtained from one of the greatest of the Popes a decree dated 1450, constituting a university in Glasgow, a city which now, says a modern writer, "sends forth fleets laden with its admirable fabrics to lands of which in his days no geographer had ever heard." At this time the first printed book appeared in Europe. The German artizans took good care to make it a perfect copy of the Bible. In Scotland, however, the first printed book was not the Bible but the Aberdeen Breviary. At the end of the fifteenth century the great cathedral of Glasgow was finished. In 1552 the last Roman Catholic Bishop of Glasgow was consecrated. The Reformation had now begun, and with the aid of some French troops then in Glasgow, the last of a splendid, and on the whole useful, line of bishops left Scotland for the sunny land of France. He carried with him the whole treasures and costly ornaments, communion cups, and figures of gold and silver belonging to the cathedral, "and also the valuable archives of the see from the earliest period to his own times." All these articles were deposited in the Scots College and one of the monasteries of the city of Paris. We may here remark that in 1450 the library belonging to the cathedral consisted of 163 books, *i. e.*, MSS. Such, then, is a brief and rapid sketch of the rise and progress of the Church of Rome in Scotland; we have not called in question its doctrines nor made any remarks regarding the undoubted errors it propagated. The cathedrals, churches, schools and universities which it had erected and established throughout Scotland, became the property of the Reformed Church. The great historical fact to be found in the portion of the Church History of Scotland which has just been considered, is nothing more or less than this, that there never did exist a Christian Church, however superstitious or intolerant, which did not do good some way or other to the inhabitants. A gospel ministry, by whatever means supported, is better than none at all. The experiment of having no gospel ministry has been tried in our own day and

failed, never we trust to be renewed. In California, we are informed, even irreligious men, who never contributed a penny at home for the support of religion, have contributed liberally, being tired of living in a land without religion. "It requires," writes a gentleman in a letter from that land of gold, "no longer residence here to be convinced of the desirableness, the pressing need, of the old influences. Those who have been indifferent or even hostile at home, are here willing to purchase, at considerable cost, so essential a good. Men who then belonged to no ecclesiastical society, here become the hearty supporters, more or less efficient, of any promising religious enterprise."

In the year 1324 the celebrated Wicliffe was born in the village of Wycliffe; he must be considered as the first of the Reformers in Great Britain. He originated what have been termed travelling preachers, and his followers have received the name of Lollards. One hundred and forty-one years before Luther begun his translation of the Bible into German, Wicliffe had his translation in circulation among the people. After his death in 1384, Purvey, who succeeded him as the leader of the Lollards, made Wicliffe's translation more correct and popular. The first martyr in Scotland was a Lollard and corresponded with Wicliffe. His name was John Resby. He was burned at Perth in 1405, being ten years before the death of Huss, and appears to have been an Englishman. It is now a well established historical fact that the doctrines taught by Wicliffe were embraced by many respectable families living in Scotland, especially the south-west parts of it. In many popular works on the church history of Scotland we find it stated that Hamilton was the first martyr of the Reformation in Scotland. Now there were no less than two individuals burned in Scotland for the same opinions as those held by Hamilton. In 1432 Paul Craw, a native of Bohemia, was burned at St. Andrews, twenty-seven years after the death of John Resby, at Perth. The Reformer, John Knox, in his *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, written in the broad Scotch dialect then in use, and first printed in 1586, commences his first book by briefly describing the events that took place when Resby and Craw were put to death. Thus early did the civil power enforce in Scotland the laws against heresy. These laws were first made by Constantine the Great. The mind of the first Christian emperor was not entirely corrupted by the spirit of bigotry, for history informs us that he did not enforce the general penalties of such laws, but tried what effect the power of wit and ridicule

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\* *U.S. Home Missionary.*

would have upon the leaders of the different sects which disowned the Church as by law established. "Acesius," said he to one of those leaders, "take a ladder and get up to heaven by yourself." But although he did not enforce the laws which he had made, preventing any one from using such a ladder, yet a precedent was established, and in course of time bad and ambitious men made it the foundation for bloody and disgraceful laws against what they called heresy. It is therefore the civil power and no church that originated the punishment of death for heresy. The common or civil law causing heretics to be burned was not abolished in Britain until 1679.

As was to be expected, the art of printing had a great influence upon the reformation. Among the reformers, Gutenberg and his artizans of Strasburg ought certainly to be numbered. Printing enabled the Scriptures to be circulated in the language then spoken to a greater extent than it was even done before. The desire for knowledge was excited and must be gratified. It was consequently at this period of Scottish history that the truth of the remark was fully exemplified:—"Of the living waters of human knowledge, it cannot be said that if a man drink thereof he shall never thirst again." By means of merchants who traded from England and the continent to the ports of Leith, Dundee, and Montrose, translations of the Scriptures with many Protestant books were imported. But besides the influence of the art of printing, the writings of the poets and satirists of the age operated very extensively in alienating the public mind from the Church of Rome. Poetry and satire were used with much success by the friends of the reformed doctrine in Scotland. Sir David Lyndsay, of the Mount, was undoubtedly the poet who had the greatest influence in promoting the Reformation. His "Satyre on the Three Estates" was acted in Linlithgow, before the king and queen and their court. The historians of that period say that the poems of Lyndsay were read by every man, woman, and child. The reading of his "Monarchies" made 800 boys hiss, with great energy, a friar when preaching in the church at Perth against the Reformation. When the reformer, John Knox, was twenty-three years of age, and teaching one of the classes in the University of Glasgow, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, son of Sir P. Hamilton of Kincavil, and of royal lineage, disseminated the opinions of Luther and Melancthon, to whom he was personally known, with such zeal and determination, that Beatoun succeeded in obtaining the civil power to condemn him to the flames. He was put to death at St. Andrews, A.D. 1527, "before the old college," only seven years after Luther had burned the bull of Pope Leo X.,

of the town of Wittenberg. Hamilton was twenty-when he died; his grandfather married a sister and his mother was daughter of the Duke of the same monarch. Although thus connected with the family of Scotland, yet the Church of Scotland was powerful influence with the civil power. The death of young Hamilton was after the assassination of the nephew of his grandfather, Hamilton's death (1542), and when he was years old, the Scottish Parliament passed a law to read the Scriptures in the common language. As a consequence of this Act "the Bible was to be on every gentleman's table," and the New Testament was to be in every individual's possession. It was not, however, until George Buchanan and John Knox became advocates of the reformed doctrines that the power possessed by the Church of Rome was at last overcome and finally abolished in the kingdom of Scotland. But, before this took place, the Church of Rome succeeded in handing over to the civil power the celebrated George Wishart, who was burned at St. Andrews, A.D. 1546. Shortly after this event the libraries belonging to the monasteries were destroyed. "There is no doubt," says Sir Walter Scott, "that the humour of demolishing monuments of ancient piety and munificence, and that in a poor country like Scotland, where there was no chance of their being replaced, was both useless, mischievous, and barbarous." On the 24th of August, 1560, the Scottish Parliament abolished the Papal jurisdiction, prohibiting "under certain penalties the celebration of mass," and abolishing all the laws formerly made in support of the Roman Catholic Church, and against the reformed faith. This event happened fourteen years after Luther's death, and thirty-one years after the name Protestant had been given to the reform party in Germany, at the Diet of Spire. Seven years after the death of Knox, A.D. 1579, the first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland appeared; exactly one hundred and twenty-four years after the artisans of Strasburg had printed their edition of the Scriptures. In the same year it was commanded by Act of Parliament "that every gentleman householder worth 300 marks of yearly rent, and every yeoman and burgess worth 500 pounds, shall have a Bible and Psalm Book in the common language in their house for the better instruction of themselves and their families in the knowledge of God, under the pain of ten pounds." The



Presbyterian form of church government, as advocated by Knox and the other reformers, became the only form that the inhabitants of Scotland desired to have established among them.

We must now conclude our rapid sketch of the early progress of Christianity in Scotland. The modern church history of that portion of Great Britain commences with the reign of James the First of England, and the Sixth of Scotland.<sup>4</sup>

P. S.

#### THE FRANKS, AND THEIR METROPOLITAN.—NO. 2.

THE concluding epoch of our last Paper<sup>a</sup> was in the year A.D. 756, and its chief actors Pepin, Astulphus, and Stephen the Second, or according to another reckoning, the third of that name in the successions of the Roman Tiara.

In the succeeding year A.D. 757, the scene was again changed;—all these actors had left the stage, and new parties were preparing for the display of new combinations in the great drama of Italian and French politics. All who had been concerned in the transfer of the Roman exarchate from its emperor to his revolted metropolitan, it has been observed by historians, were taken to their account within a few brief months from the consummation of that dark deed; and in their places were found, at the date we have assigned, Stephen the Third or Fourth in the Roman See, after a brief reign by Paul the brother of the last Stephen; Desiderius on the throne of Lombardy; and the two sons of Pepin, Charles afterwards *the Great*, and Carloman his brother, as joint inheritors of the Frankish kingdom.

These two young monarchs, almost immediately after their accession to the Frankish throne, notwithstanding the remonstrances and threatenings of the Roman pontiff, were married to the two daughters of the Lombard King. But that connexion was not of long continuance; and instead of forming a bond of union between France and Lombardy, as might have been expected and hoped, it became the cause of settled and implacable hostility between the two powers, and led eventually to the de-

<sup>4</sup> The reader will find a part of this portion of Scottish Church History briefly, but with great ability, narrated in Burton's *History of Scotland*; London, 1853.

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. VIII., p. 271.

struction of the latter. Charlemagne soon divorced his Italian wife in favour of his more celebrated queen Ildegarda, a Suevian princess : and Carloman dying about the same time, his widow not thinking herself safe in France, fled with her two sons, whom she had by Carloman, to her father in Italy, and put herself under his protection. These events had happened before the year A.D. 772 ; in which year Pope Stephen the Third or Fourth died, and was succeeded by his more renowned successor Adrian I., the great friend and ally of Charlemagne.

The behaviour of the great Charles to the daughters of Desiderius was certainly tinged with a little barbarity ; sufficient indeed to raise the resentment of that king to the highest pitch : and it seems Adrian became the confidant of that animosity, and received proposals from the injured monarch, to assist him in the redressing of his wrongs. Stung with resentment, Desiderius urged the new Pontiff to recognize the title of his daughter's sons to a participation in the French throne, which no one could deny to be their due, and to consecrate them in that high title they were justly entitled to ; and then, it is said, he designed to set them up as claimants of their father's kingdom. The confidence that was reposed in the Roman bishop was no doubt broken by Adrian through motives of policy :—it was an opportunity not to be lost, of exciting the power of the Frankish king against the hated throne of the Lombards ; and it was in effect made the ready excuse by Charles for his attack upon his Cissalpine neighbours. History presents the course of events, by attributing the commencement of this war to an attack by Desiderius upon the city of Rome, in resentment for the refusal of the Pontiff to fall in with his request ; but it is not credible that such a motive simply and alone could have led to so strong a measure. It is more probable that Desiderius, with the Pope's refusal, found that his proposal had been betrayed to his rival, and knowing the inevitable war that overhung him, marched to Rome to strengthen his position by the subjugation of that capital, before the storm fell upon him from the West. Upon this point the reader must draw his own conclusion. History, as we have said, clothes the affair in another covering, and states that the Pope being conscious that he should incur the enmity of the French monarch, on whose power he chiefly relied, by any concurrence with the Lombard king, refused to take part in the designs of Desiderius, who thereupon broke terms with him, and marched his armies into the Pontifical dominions, to shew the sense of a wounded sensibility on the occasion. And having made himself master of some of the provincial towns, he

at last approached in a threatening manner the city of Rome itself.<sup>b</sup>

Adrian was not subdued by this appearance of danger ; but having failed in his attempts to obtain a restitution of the captured towns from this new conqueror, or a restoration of the previous peace with the Lombard king, he despatched an envoy to Charles at Paris, informing him of his perilous position and imploring his aid. In this embassy, it is said, he urged on Charles the advantages to be obtained by a visit to Italy, and pointed out the possibility of effecting the conquest of the Lombard kingdom, and making himself master of that country. Desiderius on his part, when he heard of this step by the Roman Pontiff, despatched a counteracting mission to the French king, protesting his hearty desire to live in amity with the Pope, and complaining of the conduct of Adrian ; a submission which is very inconsistent with the views attributed to him, either of overthrowing the throne of Charles by setting up his daughter's children, or of attacking the Pope upon the slender grounds which are assigned to him.<sup>c</sup>

But Charlemagne, whose plans, like those of Pépin before him, had no doubt been preconcerted with Adrian, received the Pope's application with great satisfaction ; and rejecting all the approaches of Desiderius to a compromise, marched his troops at once towards the Alps ; and having by a well-executed strategy penetrated the passes of those mountains, he dispersed the forces opposed to him by Desiderius, and immediately invested the cities of Pavia and Verona. The latter city was quickly won, and there the conqueror found his two nephews, the sons of Carloman, and their widowed mother, whom he dispatched to France, where they were never more heard of.<sup>d</sup> But the city of Pavia, which held the Lombard king and his fortunes, maintained a longer resistance ; and the Easter of that year having arrived in the midst of the siege, Charlemagne determined to celebrate it with his new confederate in the eternal city.

Adrian was fully prepared to manifest to the utmost the high value he set upon his new patron, and received the French monarch with the salutation, once before addressed to another and greater king, though not a necessary patron of the Roman bishop or his doings. A throne was prepared upon the steps of the church of the Vatican, upon which Adrian seated himself, and there awaited the arrival of the French monarch. Upon his approach, having descended, he met Charles and received

<sup>b</sup> Sigon., de Regn. Ital. ad ann., 772, p. 140.

<sup>d</sup> Sigon., ib.

<sup>c</sup> Sigon., ut *supra*.

him with embraces and high congratulations, amidst salutations by the people and clergy of "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." All other parts of the ceremonial, though largely expatiated on, fall into insignificance before this impious mockery of the King of kings by his vicar and his vicar's new champion; though Charles himself would perhaps have been well pleased to dispense with so wanton an enthusiasm. On the following day, which was Easter-day, Charles made a solemn entry into the city, attended by the nobility, clergy, and people; and on Easter Monday he assisted at the public prayers in the Vatican, where, at the conclusion of the services, fresh incense was offered to him in an oration which extolled the generosity of the three Carlovingian patrons of the Papal throne: the kindness and generosity of Charles Martel and Pepin, and the greatness of Charles's own undertaking in having brought his armies from the north, to subdue the enemies of the church and to liberate Italy.<sup>e</sup>

These preludes to the main piece having been happily accomplished, Adrian made his petition to the Emperor, that he would confirm the donation which his father Pepin had made to the Roman church, to which a gracious assent was rendered. The king's secretary then having drawn up the necessary instrument, Charles, we are told, signed it himself, and made the abbot and bishops and grandees who accompanied him on his visit do the same; and with his own hand he laid the document on the altar. Some addition to the former grant by Pepin is believed to have been made by Charlemagne on this occasion; but authors are not agreed upon the particulars, and it is most probable that the French monarch added the donations so referred to at a later period. Among those, however, which fall in with this donation, the island of Corsica is particularly reckoned; and Parma, Mantua, and some other neighbouring cities in that part of Italy, are by some regarded as having formed part also of this particular endowment of the Roman See.<sup>f</sup>

In the course of this year, A.D. 774, Pavia was reduced by famine and pestilence, under which and the hostile investment of its walls, the unhappy king of Lombardy was at length compelled to surrender; and being himself with his wife and children made captives by the conqueror, they were all sent to France; where, as had already befallen the daughters and two royal grandsons of the fallen king, they were consigned to oblivion, or as the histories express it, "*were never heard of again.*" And

<sup>e</sup> Leo Ostiens, l. i., ch. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Anast. Bibliothec. in Adrian, p. 76, etc.

so ended the once famous kingdom of the Lombards, and so rose the Bishop of Rome anew upon its ruins.

The French king being now the undisputed possessor of the Lombard territories, caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy with an iron crown, by Thomas Archbishop of Milan, at Modestia, about ten miles from that city. On that occasion he was led out of his chamber on the auspicious day of the coronation by several bishops, and by them was conducted to the church, where the archbishop, having demanded of the people if they would be his subjects, and received the prescribed acclamations of assent, anointed the new king on his head, breast, shoulders, and arms, and then prayed that he might be successful in his wars, and happy in his offspring. The bishop then girt him with a sword, put bracelets on his arms, gave him a robe, a ring, and a sceptre; and having placed the iron crown upon his head, he led him through the quire to the throne, and having placed him thereon and given him the kiss of peace, he celebrated divine service.<sup>9</sup>

We have recapitulated the particulars of this ceremony, because it shews that the consecration and crowning of this first great monarch of the West in the plenitude of his power, presents a great many striking points of resemblance to the inauguration of our own kings in Westminster Abbey, and seems to indicate that these ceremonies have at least that high antiquity of the Christian church for their sanction. But the story shews that the Roman Pontiff, though so newly wedded to the French monarchy and in his own land, took no part in this ceremonial;—the service was the service of the Lombard church. The investiture and benedictory part were all performed by the bishops of Lombardy, or by the chair of Saint Ambrose and not of Saint Peter. The covenant of dominion was received, and its consecration alike given by the ecclesiastical order of that kingdom, to which the king was espoused. There is absolutely no reference whatever to the Roman bishop or his authority or presence in any way, on that occasion.

The title taken by Charles with this investiture was King of Italy, following that of the imperial prefecture at Milan, which was Prefect of Italy; in which presidency the whole of the two municipal Vicariates of Italy and Rome were comprehended. But this did not include the kingdom of Naples, which still, under Charles, retained its allegiance to the Roman emperor. The three dukedoms of Frioli, Spoleto and Benevento, which some writers have said were given to the Pope by Charles,

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<sup>9</sup> Ordo. Roman. apud Sigon.

the Frank conqueror certainly retained, and allowed them to continue under their proper dukes, with the same authority as they had exercised under the Lombard kings; but with a recognition of himself as sovereign or lord paramount over all. The exarchate, the Pentapolis, or Marca D'Ancona, and the Dukedom of Rome, he yielded up to Adrian; yet retaining the sovereignty over these endowments also to himself. The other provinces of Italy he kept together as his own kingdom of Lombardy.<sup>a</sup>

The coronation of the Iron Crown being completed, Charles renewed his visit to Rome, to consult with Adrian as to his future policy in his new possessions. The Pope and his bishops, for the cardinals had as yet no existence, took counsel for administering to his further gratification; and thereupon they resolved to make the Frankish monarch a Roman patrician. It was the personal prerogative of the Roman emperors to grant that distinction, and the arrogation by the Roman bishop of the privilege of conferring that title, although a mere childish usurpation, stamps the character of the whole proceeding with the marks of a dark ignorance in the great king and his counsellors, and a determined disregard to the rights of the Roman emperor by the Roman bishop. If Washington, when he had thrown off his allegiance to the English crown, had sent his French ally the insignia of the Order of the Garter, such a pretension would have raised a smile at the ignorance of those who assumed such a power, and not less at him who received it; yet the act of Adrian was no less preposterous, and the rank he conferred no less vain. If we look at it, however, in connexion with the disposal of the Roman consulship to Charles Martel by the predecessor of Adrian, we shall not fail to perceive in these instances the existence of a system, in the policy of the Roman bishops of this dark period, which was based upon fraud and cunning, and adapted to impose upon the ignorance of those whom it courted into its communion. And it completely answers the preliminary difficulty which suggests itself to the mind of every ingenuous person in relation to the alleged forgeries of this and the succeeding periods; how an order so sacred and set apart to the service of religion, could have violated the principles of truth and equity to so great an extent? The patents of the Roman dignities granted to the French kings were forgeries, as direct as those of the Sardinian canons, or of the dotation of Constantine, or of the appointment of apostolic vicars, or any other of those precedents which have been produced, as later occasions required them to support the various pretensions of this hier-

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<sup>a</sup> Sigon. *ib.*, l. iii., p. 163.

archy, as they arose into existence. And if a conviction of these fabrications in all other instances, must be elaborated by a laborious research into history, we find in these forged and false diplomas of the Roman consulate and patrician dignity, an evidence that is self-convicting of the fraud and usurping spirit of this awful and corrupt tribunal. The historians of that communion have not been asleep to the damaging influence of these imputations, and they have delivered their accounts in a manner calculated to meet these monstrous usurpations of their head, and neutralize their effect. We must receive their traditions, therefore, where they are directed to the pretensions of their church, with a due caution and reserve; and in particular in such a way must we receive the notice, that the conquering monarch accepted as a *boon* from the Roman pontiff the right of investiture of bishops and archbishops in his imperial provinces; and at the same time that he should be allowed by the same act of grace to appoint the bishop of Rome, and be the declared protector of the Roman See. For these were attributes of the emperor's supremacy over the church, and they were retained to the secular head of the new empire, as they had been held in the old under the Roman emperors. The allegation of their concession by the Roman bishop is a record, not of what had happened, but what it was therein designed should happen in a future period.

Of the other dispositions of Charles, we read that he obliged all the cities of his new kingdom to take an oath of allegiance to him, and imposed upon them, as well as upon the fiefs, churches, and monasteries of his new territories a kind of tribute, which was to be paid to him when he came into Italy. Upon every occasion of his own presence there he decreed that a "convention or general assembly" of all bishops and abbots, and of the barons of the kingdom, should take place, in order to settle with him all matters of public importance. To the old orders of the state counsellors which under the former regime had comprehended one estate only (namely, the barons and judges), Charles added a second composed of ecclesiastics; but they were the ecclesiastics of their own country, and not those of Rome or her dependencies.

In these institutions Charles appears to have laid the foundation of that feudatory system which grew up in its fullest vigour among the German nations, and spread with its Saxon and Norman emigrants into our own country. The new dukes and barons of Italy were held to their fealty by an oath, which is the counterpart only of that which is used by immemorial tradition in every petty baronial court in England, "that they

would continue faithful to their new lord, as a vassal to his lord and sovereign, and keep his counsels when committed to their charge." The old dukedoms were made hereditary in their possessions, except for failure of male issue or breach of fealty; and if a new grant was called for, it was only made by investiture upon the first possession taken. The frontiers of the kingdom, and the towns and cities, were committed to the charge of other officers called counts, who possessed a high authority, and were derived from the "*Comites Imperatoris*," or "*companions*" of the old empire. They were to defend the border territories, which also bore the name of *marches*, of which our own marches of Wales are a descendant institution, and from them the comites or "counts" sometimes took the titles of *Counts of the Marches* or *Marquisses*, as a higher grade of distinction.

There is one more stage of advancement and temporal aggrandizement of the Roman pontificate, under the fostering favour of this great king of the West, yet to be treated of. This came in concert with the advancement of Charles himself to the imperial diadem; and a new confederacy of the imperial head with the ecclesiastical, for the promotion of their mutual interests, is fully shewn in the *quid pro quo* mutuality of those arrangements which took place between the two parties on that occasion. The elevation of Charles to the new dignity of Emperor of the Franks took place A.D. 800, while the Eastern Empire was still under the dominion of the flagitious Irene; and in negotiating this proceeding with the contemporary powers, Rome and its pontiff were brought over to the conqueror's views by ample largesses. The old grants to the pontificate were amply confirmed, and new ones conferred in whatever manner they were demanded: and some of the endowments which have been assigned to earlier dates most probably took their inception from this momentous occasion. The pretended dotation of the Suburbicarian provinces by Constantine the Great was amongst those that were produced to Charles on this occasion for confirmation, and they were, it cannot be doubted, forged for this particular service. The former grants by Pepin and Charles himself were by no means sufficient to embrace all the extensive districts comprehended in the old diocese of the Roman metropolitan, and vested interests might have arisen as impediments to the new disposition of those districts of the Roman territory; but those objections gave way to a mere restitution of dormant claims; and a former endowment by Constantine the Great paved a ready way for the present investiture of the Roman bishop with those provinces by way of restitution, which it might be difficult to accomplish by a first infeudation. The same miraculous sagacity, therefore, which



enabled the Roman priesthood of that period to discover the sacred relics of the martyrs and saints in long-forgotten sepulchres, could not have failed to discover such an antecedent grant by Constantine as was required for its reinstitution under the happier and more permanent auspices of Charlemagne. For if Eligius could detect by the same sort of instinct as the truffle spaniel does the true delicacy of his master's table, and pronounce by his sense of smelling the bones of a new-discovered saint to be the true article, it need not be doubted that as pious an inspiration would have discovered so desirable a charter as that of Constantine, on so urgent a necessity.<sup>i</sup>

The grant of Constantine the Great thus referred to professed that the Roman emperor, on removing the seat of empire to Constantinople, had delivered the city of Rome and its appendant territories to be possessed and governed by its bishops, with no other restriction than that the grant should be no detriment to the emperor's supreme dominion. The grant itself is acknowledged by all parties to be a forgery; yet was the original deed sent in due form by the Pope to Charlemagne for his inspection, and as a treasure which had been throughout preserved in the archives of the Lateran.<sup>j</sup>

The nature of the treaty at this period between the new emperor of the West and the Pope, may be satisfactorily judged of from the tenor of a letter which was addressed by Adrian to Charlemagne previously to the adoption of his new title of emperor, and which is to be found in Muratore's *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores*.<sup>k</sup> In that epistle the pontiff calls upon Charles, "before his elevation to the empire, to order restitution of all grants and donations that had formerly been made to the Church of Rome and St. Peter. He beseeches him especially, in fulfilment of the promise he had made, and for the good of his soul and the stability of his house, that as in the times of the pontificate of holy Sylvester the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church of God was lifted up and exalted by the bounty of the most pious Emperor Constantine of sacred memory; so in these, your's and our more happy period, the holy church of God may flourish and continue to be more and more exalted, since we now behold a new Constantine, and by God's grace a most Christian emperor, raised up in these our times, by whom the God of holy church is willing to extend his bounties in all things." The petition proceeds then to demand that all those possessions should be restored which had ever been granted by

<sup>i</sup> Dacherius Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor. Vit. S. Eligius, vol. ii., p. 92.

<sup>j</sup> Adrian's letter below.

<sup>k</sup> Tom. 3, pt. ii., p. 194.

different emperors, patricians, and other God-fearing people, to the blessed apostle Peter, for the good of their souls and pardon of their offences, within the parts of Tuscany, Spoleto and Benevento, or Corsica; and also the patrimony of Pavia, which had been abstracted and taken away by that wicked race of Lombards for many years past.<sup>1</sup> Most writers, says Dr. Mosheim, are of opinion that Constantine's pretended grant was forged in the tenth century; but it appears by this account to have been in vogue in the eighth century, and thus made use of by Adrian and his successor Leo III. to persuade Charlemagne to that donation. That opinion is fully borne out by the above letter of Adrian, in which he makes special reference to the bounty of Constantine, and intimates that the endowments he claims had been preserved in the office of the Lateran, and that he had sent them to Charles by his legate for his inspection.

For several centuries after the age of Charlemagne, the genuineness of the Constantine grant not being questioned, much learned doctrine was built upon it by the civilians of the Italian school. They maintained that as the emperors who succeeded Constantine had no right or title to any part of Italy, as having belonged to the Pope and being the patrimony of St. Peter, the constitutions of those emperors could be of no force in Italy, since those princes had not the power of causing them to be received by the inhabitants of a country which was no longer subject to them; and thence they inferred that recourse ought to be had in Italy to the canon and not to the civil law, as the rule of its jurisprudence.<sup>m</sup> It is inconceivable how, in the face of all history, that the emperors, the exarchs, and the Gothic kings of Italy all held an unquestioned sovereignty for four centuries over these territories, such pretensions could have been raised up without exposure and ridicule. An extreme ignorance and darkness on the subject of the history of their own country appears the only probable solution of the subject; and the complete isolation of all public records, and the means of information on past events, cannot be more plainly demonstrated than by reference to the fact itself, that this very donation, which is ascribed to the reign of Constantine the Great, is found inserted among the decrees of the Emperor Gratian in the Roman codes. For though it may be asked why, if inserted at all by fraud, it was not at once placed among the decrees of that emperor to whom it was ascribed; it is certain, that while nothing of the sort could have been done in an age when the codes were in

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<sup>1</sup> Mosh. *Eccles. Hist. Cent.* 8, pt. ii., ch. ii., § 11.

<sup>m</sup> Pappia de jure. reg. l. 1, de Legib. l. 1, num. 6.

public keeping and open to public reference, as they were down to the period of the separation of the Roman States from the Eastern sceptre, it is very probable that in seeking a locality for a new decree in the hoarded records of the defunct laws no fit place might occur before the reign of Gratian for such a supplementary insertion, and that the ignorance of the age permitted such a substitution. The fact, however, affords the best commentary on the question of authenticity; and we should recollect that the authority of the Roman codes was almost wholly renounced by almost all the provincial cities and districts of Italy under the Lombard dynasty; and the imperial records would therefore have been lost public sight of during the whole of that century which preceded the reign of Charlemagne, and so would have laid open to the objects of the Popish precedent makers at that period. What is very extraordinary also with respect to this pretended grant is, that it is found in such a variety of forms as completely proves that it never had any genuine original at all, but was a thing vamped up for the occasion, whenever a reference to it became necessary. Thus we find that the copy found in the Vatican is said to differ greatly from that which is preserved in the decrees of Gratian: it is spoken of in quite different terms by the Popes Melchias, Nicholas II., and Leo IX., and other authors also are found who exhibit the same disagreement in referring to it, both in the words and sense of the instrument. Its forgery, however, has been proved by various writers,\* and the historical circumstances related of its original grant are in themselves open to the charge of fabrication, since the donation is alleged to have been made by Constantine at Rome in the spring of the year A.D. 324, only four days after his baptism; whereas the authentic history of that period shews that Constantine could not have been at Rome at all in that year; and that he was not baptized till the eve of his death, which occurred in Nicomedia, where the rite was administered by Eusebius. In the spring of the year A.D. 324, the period ascribed to this act, Constantine was deeply engaged in the eastern parts of the empire, in his last struggle with Licinius; and at the end of that season he moved direct into Thessalonica, where he continued till the ensuing spring.<sup>o</sup>

The discussions upon this subject, however, are not more important in themselves than in the traditional stigma they have attached, with all impartial writers, to the reputation of the Roman Church; as the possible perpetrator of such a series of forgeries, carried out through a long succession of its bishops for

\* Marca, l. 3, c. 12, and l. 6, c. 6. Schol. Stat. antiq. illustr., part ii., diss. 3, c. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Zos., l. 2, p. 683.

purposes of a temporal aggrandizement. We might, indeed, be disposed to acquit the pontiffs themselves of the practices ascribed to its councils, but there is a damning record of the distrusts of many generations of the truth and honesty of those councils, by which this hierarchy has augmented its revenues and extended its power; which, in the common estimate of human probabilities, could never have happened, unless the sanctitude of its office had been often and notoriously violated. With such a character, stamped with oceans of imputed fraud through centuries of ill-doing, it is too much that the world should be called on to attach a veneration to it, as the peculiar vessel of a mission to the whole earth, and the supreme of a religion, whose source and divine original proclaimed himself by the distinctive appellation of "*the Truth*" itself.

The result of this examination leads to one inevitable conclusion, which is, that so long as mankind continues to attach any importance to the records of authentic history, it must be conceded that the Roman bishops owe the origin, both of their Italian sovereignty and foreign supremacy, to the favour of the second Frankish monarchy, and that the elevation of the Roman popedom, in effect accompanied *pari passu* the elevation of that race of kings. The Roman Pontiff was the spiritual co-ordinate of the Carolingian Empire, and received a dominion and power in his own sphere, corresponding to that of his temporal compeer; though with that equality of jurisdiction the ecclesiastical head owned, during the existence of the empire in its original plenitude, an acknowledged subserviency and homage to the imperial head. The bond of union between the new powers, like the marital equality, involved a subordination of the one which was the feebler moiety to the stronger and protecting power of the other. The Pope of Charlemagne was hardly supreme ruler of the Church, even in the dominion of his great patron; rather was he a supreme ministering function only in the imperial system, for ordering the spiritual concerns of the monarch's people. Such as the Roman patriarchal bishops were in their respective provinces under the Roman emperors, such the Pope was in the early empire of the Franks. He was the one great national or imperial *Metropolitan* of that system. The sovereignty of the old Roman and later Greek emperors over the Church as its supreme head was never questioned; and although the writers of the Roman Church endeavoured to vamp up a case of independence in the Roman bishops, under some of the later Latin emperors, the subserviency of the ecclesiastical moiety to the imperial rule is too manifest to be disputed by any who will look carefully into the history of those times, and examine in

contrast the nature of the acts upon which the title to that independence is pretended to be shewn.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of the Frank empire, however, the power of electing the Pope was distinctly reserved to the emperor under Charlemagne, which at once settles the point as to the source of the Pope's authority, and the quarter his homage was due to. And, though that monarch exercised his supremacy in that particular with great reserve and consideration to the Church, while it was submissive and subservient to him, and did not always avail himself of the power he possessed in that respect; yet was not the consecration of an elected pontiff ever of validity, except performed in presence of the emperor's representative, who was the true sponsor of that inauguration, as the supreme head of the whole imperial household.<sup>3</sup> The Roman pontiffs obeyed the laws of the Frank emperors, received their judicial decisions as of indisputable force, and executed them with the utmost submission; all shewing their position as an elementary unit in the Franco-Imperial regime.<sup>4</sup> The sovereigns of the Franks, in virtue of this supremacy, appointed extraordinary envoys to inspect the conduct of the clergy, both of the bishops and their subordinate orders; to settle their disputes, regulate their laws of public worship, and punish the offenders of the sacerdotal order.<sup>5</sup> And all churches and monasteries were compelled to pay a tribute to the public treasury, in proportion to the value of their possessions.

Under such a system, the Roman pontificate appears in reality even less independent and less supreme, except as regards the extent of its jurisdiction, than under the Roman emperors. In its patriarchal functions, there certainly appears a shortening of the old privileges of that condition under the Frank domination; and it is to that part of its jurisdiction that the imperial laws of the new emperor must principally have attached. In the simple episcopal function, as head of his own diocese, the Pope was as free as other bishops, and spiritually independent of all authority; and united with his temporal dominion, he was at least in the Romagna sovereign head, both in the temporal and spiritual departments. To this distinction we may attribute the anomaly of the Roman bishop adhering to the idolatrous worship of images in his own diocese and kingdom, against the ordinances of the Frankish emperor and the decrees of the Council of

<sup>2</sup> Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. 1, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccles.*, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Baluzius, *Præf. at Capitul. Reg. Franc. Sect. 21.*

<sup>5</sup> Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Œvi.*, tom 1, diss. 9, p. 470.

Frankfort, which condemned it. The Latin emperors had never taken upon themselves a direct cognizance of controversies that were purely of a spiritual nature; they referred all such matters to the metropolitan councils of the provinces; or, in matters of more general interest, to the great or *general councils* of the empire. The same system is shewn to have existed in the French and German Churches under Charlemagne, whose provincial councils were assembled before the General Council of Frankfort, and discussed with an entire freedom the question of image worship under their proper ecclesiastical heads, and notoriously against the will of the Pope, who was devoted to the new worship.<sup>4</sup>

There is nothing more extraordinary in the pages of history than this adhesion of the Frankish emperor to the idol priesthood of the Roman Church, and his elevation of that church to a religious supremacy over his empire, against this palpable and proclaimed conviction, by himself and his whole people, of the wickedness of its idolatries. But a right estimate of the subject will end in a conclusion, that this adhesion to a false religion was the fault of so deep rooted an association between the two powers, that it could not be dissolved by any degree of corruption in that spiritual domination with which the civil power of the state had united itself. Our astonishment may even yet be heightened by a recurrence to the facts of the antecedent history, which shews the cause of these pontiffs' treasons to their first legitimate sovereigns to have proceeded from similar differences on that same subject. For Pepin, though not by himself or his people an upholder of the Roman corruptions, condescended to put the cause of his alliance with the Pope upon the footing of maintaining him in his contumacy to the Roman emperor on that point; nay, more, he did so in tones of commendation of that idolatry which he and his people secretly scorned, and with reproachful epithets upon the Greek emperor's faith for its corruption and errors. The whole transaction is a monstrous political phantom, like the shadowy thing seen at hell's gate, which had no ascribable form or proportion, but teemed with a dark and hideous suspicion only of an existence which ought never to have been.

The history affords a true and unquestionable key to the whole origin of this mystery of iniquity. Treason and usurpation lay at the foundation of the French throne, and arms alone could not bring security to a power stained with such crimes. But the usurping kings found that an association with a revolted priesthood of the old empire might afford security to their throne,

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<sup>4</sup> Baluzius, *ib.*, and J. Basnage *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. 1, p. 270.

by which the scruples of the people would be overcome, and the deed of treason healed of its sin:—the idolatry of the Roman pontiff weighed lightly in the scale against the political benefits of such an alliance; while no less the pontiff felt his power to lie in the necessity of the French monarchs, whereof he did not scruple to avail himself. While Charlemagne, therefore, was writing a treatise against the worship of images, and urging his French and German subjects to repudiate the *Catholicism of their new adopted Church* (as they eventually did at the Council of Frankfort, in A.D. 794), the Pope and primate of the new empire, and the professed fountain of its faith, was in the act of binding himself in a league and covenant with the Eastern Empress, for the more full establishment of that worship, and the persecution of all who opposed it. At the Second Council of Nice, held under that new alliance between Adrian and the Empress Irene in A.D. 786, the laws of the preceding emperors against image-worship were all repealed; the worship of images and the cross restored; and severe punishments denounced against all who maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration.

Six years after the Council of Frankfort, and while the Pope was as great an advocate as ever for the idolatries of the Roman Church, Charlemagne entered into his new league of amity and political aggrandizement with that hierarch, and sealed the compact of his people's spiritual slavery, as the price of his own elevation to the imperial diadem. By this new compact he became the Emperor of the West, and the Roman Bishop became "*The Pope*;"—the head of the new European Empire in its spiritual establishment, and consort of the imperial power, with suitable additional appanages. So far, indeed, did the new emperor go in the cause of that attachment he had sworn to his new spiritual colleague, that he used his utmost authority to bring the rituals and services of all the churches of his empire into conformity with that of Rome, in order to give a complete unity and sovereignty to that church in his dominions. Under the Roman emperors, the different churches had exercised a great independence on that point, and all held their proper rituals and ordinals of service, according to their own institutions: but such was not the case under the new powers. Charles, by the persuasion of the Pope, endeavoured to bring all the churches into unison with the Roman ritual, and in most cases effected that object. A few churches indeed, with Milan at their head, resisted that act of supreme authority, and could never be brought either by persuasion or violence to change their formularies. To every impartial mind this fact ought to carry a complete conviction, that no general supremacy could have

existed over the churches of Europe under the Roman Bishop, previous to this period; but that all aspirations to such a supremacy by that hierarchy must, in effect, have taken their commencement at that period, when this measure was adopted to bring the churches into its own communion. It remains yet, in order to give a full confirmation to those conclusions which we have here deduced from the political history of the French and Italian power, to shew the circumstances in which the first dawnings of the Pope's supremacy were manifested in the churches of the new rising empire of Western Europe.

We have seen that the first treaty between the Frankish princes and the Roman pontiffs, arose in that application for succour which was made by Pope Gregory III. to Charles Martel in the year A.D. 731. In correspondence with that event, we find the first bishops that were appointed by the Roman pontiff in the French dominions were those who were introduced by this same Charles Martel into his new conquests in the northern and eastern confines of the Frankish kingdoms. These were selected from British missionaries who were already established in those Belgian districts where the efforts of the Frank soldier were directed, and were engaged with good reputation in the work of Christian conversion amongst the barbarous people of those lands. Willibrord and Winfred were these first Franko-Romish bishops; both of whom were from England, and both of whom had gone into the northern frontier countries of France, as missionaries from this country, several years before their adoption into their Roman legation. The latter (Winfred) was found among the Frieslanders at the time Charles Martel entered upon his war with that people; on which occasion Winfred and his fellow-labourers were compelled to return to England till the year A.D. 719, when they were enabled to resume their labours under the protection of that conqueror. The first advancement of this missionary in the Roman communion is open to considerable doubt; but in the year A.D. 738 he is found under the protection of the two sons of Charles Martel, Carloman and Pepin, advanced by Pope Gregory III. by the name of Boniface, to the dignity of archbishop; though it does not appear that he had any province assigned to that dignity at that early period. He had, under Charles Martel, carried on his missionary labours with great success among the Hessians and Thuringians, and had founded many churches in those districts;—while in his new state of archbishop, among the Germans, he founded also the bishoprics of Wurtzburg, Burabourg, Erfurth and Aichstadt, and the famous monastery of Fulda; in recompense for which extensive services, and to



give a fuller efficacy to his new establishments he was endowed with the archiepiscopate of Mentz in the year A.D. 746, and created primate of Germany and Belgium. His end was, that in the year A.D. 755 he paid a visit to the scene of his first labours in Friesland, where he was murdered with fifty ecclesiastics who attended him there."

The Frankish association is thus plainly detected in this first establishment of a Roman hierarchy in the German territories, and the new bishoprics will be found to have been confined exclusively to the Frankish families and districts of that country. Wurtzburg was the central and principal city of Franconia; Erfurth and Aichstadt were frontier towns at the northern and eastern extremities of the same province, while the monastery of Fulda, almost equal in importance to the archbishopric of Mentz itself, as holding a separate primacy over all the monastic establishments of those districts, lay within the same territory, midway between Erfurth and Frankfort, and equidistant from Wurtzburg.

It is clear, therefore, that it was the whole of Franconia that was cantoned out into the bishoprics of this new association of the Roman and Frankish hierarchy, and that this circle of bishoprics was ruled over by the archiepiscopal throne at Mentz. From this line of approach Charlemagne, the successor of Pepin and his brother, would have made his advances into the Saxon provinces of the German soil, and carried forward the work of conversion and the supremacy of the Roman pontiff among those nations, as the traditions of the good city of Frankfort and its neighbour town of Saxenhausen abundantly testify was the case. This establishment of the Roman authority, indeed, was carried forward, if we may believe the chronicles of the times, in a way more suitable to the usages of conquest, than the embassy of a Christian mission; by which course alone the British emissaries had conducted their charge. The exacting of tithes and the elevation of the Roman authority were in effect said to have been more attended to than the dispensation of the truths and blessings of the Gospel of Christ."

Willibrord was contemporary with Winfred, but a few years before him, in the field of their common labours, which was among the Frieslanders. He was an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and went with eleven companions to Friesland in the year A.D. 690, where he was persecuted by Radbod, king of the Frieslanders, whom we find engaged in war with Charles Martel at a later

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" Guden. de S. Boniface, *Germ. Apos.*

" Moah., *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 209, and the authorities there quoted.

period. This missionary, like Winfred, was advanced in a late period of his life to the bishopric of Utrecht;—of which he was the first bishop,—and by the Roman Pontiff: from which point the preaching of the Gospel was subsequently spread into Westphalia and the neighbouring countries.\*

These early missionaries of the British Church, who thus fell under the patronage of the Frankish conquerors and their new patriarchal bishop, were the successors to a long line of labourers, who had gone before them into the same vineyard, and from the same British original. The conference between the emissary of the Roman church, and the English bishops of the northern and eastern parts of England, which was held at Strenacshalh in the year A.D. 664, shews distinctly that many of the old Anglo-Saxon churches remained distinct from and independent of the Romish communion at that period, and then still refused to communicate with that Church.† So early as the sixth century in its latter portion, Columban, a Scotch or Irish monk, and St. Gal, his companion, were missionaries among the Suevi, Boii, Franks, and Helvetii. St. Killan, another Scotchman, was an emissary in the same work among the eastern Franks, and laid the foundation of that success which followed the steps of the English Boniface in his more elevated and better supported measures among the same people. The labours of these Scotch and Irish apostles were recognized in later times by the German nations, whom they had been instrumental in converting, by the foundation of various convents in their own country for natives of Scotland and Ireland only; some of which Dr. Mosheim assures us were still in existence in his time.‡

If it should be said that the emanation of these missions from the British Islands (of which the few here referred to are mentioned as instances only out of a great many of a similar kind) does not prove that they were not associated with the Roman communion; and that the circumstance of Winfred's being a monk of the order of the Benedictines, which was then very intimately associated with Rome (since Augustine who came into Britain in A.D. 596, and even Pope Gregory III. who sent him, were of that order), shews that he was probably of the Roman Church; yet it may be affirmed very confidently, that such

\* *Alcuini Vita*, Willebrordi in Mabillon. *Actis S.S. ord. Benedict*, sec. 3, pt. i., p. 603.

† Hughes' *Horæ Britann.*, vol. ii., p. 365. Russel's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 50.

‡ See Mosheim. 7 *Cent.*, part. i., chap. i., sec. 3, and the authorities quoted there.

suggestions have no real foundation in fact. On the contrary, it is evident the British missions were really and truly fruits of an English and not of the Roman Church. The monuments of German gratitude which are mentioned by Dr. Mosheim, in the dedication of monasteries to their Scotch and Irish converters, ought to guide our opinion on this subject to a certain extent, since those monuments were directed to the people from whom they had received the light of Christianity, which would not have been permitted had the credit been due to the Roman hierarchy. For that polity permitted no acknowledgments of spiritual dedications which did not refer to its own power. Another ground of inference to the same end arises from the fact, that although the English and Scotch missions had been in full operation from the middle of the sixth century, when the disciples of Cougal (probably the first introducer of the Eastern Cœnobitic orders into North Britain, and amongst whom was the celebrated St. Columban), went forth into the neighbouring countries and began the work of German conversion;\*—yet that no signs of Roman domination appear amongst these labourers, till the elevation of Winfred to the episcopacy, in the beginning of the eighth century. If these missionaries had been at all connected with the Roman Church in the former period, no doubt the same order of government which led that church in other cases to send its bishops, where its faith was acknowledged, would have been seen in operation within a somewhat less period than a century and a half after its missionaries had been at work on their new soil. To say that those early missions, therefore, which went forth from this country into the Belgian and German countries, were at all dependent upon or connected with the Roman hierarchy, is to set at nought all the conclusions which the circumstances connected with the initiation and conduct of those missions, ought to lead to. The condition of the first churches in Britain distinctly shews this; since the first appearance of the Roman hierarchy in that country, if the Benedictine monks could in that age be so regarded, is well known to have happened in the year A.D. 597, at which period the German missions had been long in operation, from this country, as we have seen. The first coming of Augustine, the Benedictine monk, was in effect purely of that kind which was common to the delegations of all the bishoprics of the Roman Empire after the time of Constantine, who were accustomed to direct their missionaries into all the barbarous regions of the world upon any solicitations from the people or their rulers, for

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\* Mosh., vol. ii., p. 117.

their spiritual succour. Nor were affiliations of new-established churches with the bishoprics which had called them into the Christian fold, at all confined to the Romish legations, but belonged to all the patriarchal chairs; as is seen in the instance of the Abyssinian Church and its long-subsisting connexion with the Alexandrian patriarch. It was Rome only that aspired to a subjugation of distant churches to a more direct authority from these early associations; and in the case of England, having accepted the invitation of the Kentish queen to send its spiritual auxiliaries to her court to convert her Saxon subjects, the idea seems to have entered into the mind of Augustine with the position he had obtained, of bringing the churches of the British people, as well as the pagan temples of their spoilers, into subjection to his own and his patron's power.<sup>a</sup>

The speedy conversion of the king of Kent gave immediate scope to this ambition; and Augustine, having returned to Gaul and obtained a consecration into the Christian priesthood, to which he did not before belong, from the Archbishop of Arles, on his return to England proceeded to summon the British bishops as a superior, to aid him in the work he had undertaken of converting the heathen people; and moreover to reform themselves and their churches according to the model he should prescribe, and by the order of the Roman communion. For this purpose he began by inviting Donald, Abbot of Bangor, to assist him in preaching the gospel to the Saxons; but that sturdy Briton declined to hold communion with the invaders and destroyers of his people: he argued also against the pretensions of Augustine, and defended the right of the country archbishops to an undisputed supremacy in their own soil and country. He rebuked the Roman missionary for not reprehending the new converts among the Saxon heathens, for their recent treacheries and breach of solemn oaths to their British allies:<sup>b</sup> and although some pretended miracles on the part of Augustine induced the simple people of the old churches to give a renewed hearing to his claims, and Bede mentions two synods as being held, with some other deliberations of a less dignified character, in order to debate and determine as to the course to be pursued; yet in all these the demands of the Roman emissary were wholly rejected. Finding all his efforts to bring the country bishops into subservience to be perfectly futile, Augustine lowered his pretensions and confined his present demands upon the native bishops to three points:—"First, that they should celebrate

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<sup>a</sup> Bede, lib. i., chap. 27. Soame's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, chap. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Stillingfleet, *Orig. Brit.*, p. 359.

Easter according to the Roman reckoning; secondly, that they should perform the ceremony of baptism by the Roman ordinal; and thirdly, that they should preach the Word of God to the nation of the Angles." No doubt the missionary of that aspiring church reckoned, if he succeeded in such a partial recognition of his authority, on carrying it to a fuller extent at a convenient opportunity; and the conclusion of his address on the occasion, plainly indicates that such was the design; for it was; "as for other things which ye do, although contrary to our customs, we will bear them with all patience." But the British bishops answered his demands very cavalierly and Bede has preserved the very words of their reply: "*We will perform none of these things; neither will we have thee for an archbishop.*"<sup>c</sup> Spelman adds some further particulars of this conference, to the effect that the country bishops pleaded that "beyond the love that was due to every godly Christian, they owed no homage to the Roman bishop." Other obedience than that, they said, we do not know to be due to him, whom you call Pope, or Father of Fathers; and this obedience we are willing to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Excepting that, we are under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who is to oversee under God over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual."<sup>d</sup>

In the same state of independence and complete hostility to the Roman church, the English and Scotch, and probably the Irish churches in the great majority of cases, continued to exist for several centuries. Laurentius, who succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury, endeavoured to gain over the Scots and Britons by every art of persuasion to the Roman communion; but he complains in a letter, which in conjunction with Mellitus and Faustus, he addressed to the bishops and abbots of Ireland, of the persevering obstinacy and antipathy of the people to his church. "We knew the Britons," he says, "but hoped to find the Scots better disposed, but we have learned by means of Bishop Daganus coming into this island, and Columbanus, the abbot in Gaul, that they differ in nothing from the Britons in their conversation; for Daganus, the bishop, coming to us, not only would not eat with us, but not even in the same lodging, in which we took our meals."<sup>e</sup> This antipathy to the Italian clergy, which it cannot be doubted arose from the already prevailing idolatries of their church, is recorded again in the case of the Welsh and Bretagne church, in a letter addressed by

<sup>c</sup> Bede, lib. 2, c. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Spelm. *Concil Brit.* p. 108.—Ex. antiq. MS.

<sup>e</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 2, c. 4.

the Roman bishop Aldhelm to the Cornish king, in the year A.D. 692; where it is again complained "that the British priests would neither join with the Romans in prayer, nor sit at table with them, nor give them the kiss or salutation of fraternity."<sup>f</sup> The series of Welsh bishops which are preserved in the records of the diocese of Landaff, shew the continuance of this state of independence through the eighth and succeeding centuries;<sup>g</sup> and there are records also of British bishops in Somerset and Gloucester, in the seventh and eighth centuries, who were called British, as belonging to the old country communion.<sup>h</sup> With regard to the other circumstances we have above referred to, as indicating a probable connection of the mission of Winfred or Boniface in particular with the Roman communion, from the fact of his being called a monk of the Benedictine order; it is necessary to shew the position of the monkish orders at that date, and particularly of the state of the Benedictines, to do away with the force of that objection. It may first be stated, then, that the fact of Bishop Boniface being a member of that fraternity by no means leads to a necessary conclusion, that Winfred the simple Anglo-Saxon missionary (which was his first name and dignity), who went forth to preach the gospel in a dangerous and heathen country, was at that time enrolled among the honourable brotherhood of the Benedictine order; for honourable it certainly was, since Augustine was the head of its society in its Roman seat; and Pope Gregory the Great did not scruple to enrol his name among its members. When Winfred changed his name to Boniface, and his rank from a wandering preacher to an archbishop, it is likely he might have enrolled his name also in the same society, to which popes had thought it graceful to belong.

It is to be observed moreover, in more regular course, that though the Benedictine order was early and well received at Rome, and had a monastery there of celebrity at that early date, when Augustine passed over into England, the order was not a Roman order, nor at all subservient to the Roman patriarch, out of his own episcopal diocese. That was a more recent association, and it was not until many years after the arrival of Augustine, and in the seventh century, that the monkish orders were anywhere separated from the diocesan authorities of their proper locality. All those fraternities down to that period were under the protection of the bishops in whose provinces they lived; but about that period the Roman pontiff began to invite those

<sup>f</sup> Cressy, l. 19, c. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. Landavensis, p. 625.

<sup>h</sup> Rees, *Essay, etc.*, p. 293. Usher, *Brit. Eccles. Primordia*, cap. 5.

bodies to forsake the jurisdiction of their bishops, and to usurp a protecting authority over them. This by degrees detached them from their episcopal dependance and attached them to the Roman chair, as a sort of ecclesiastical skirmishers in the advance of its power into distant lands.<sup>i</sup> These societies, which from mere devotees among the people had gradually become associated with the ecclesiastical body, were always the ready instruments of others' ambition; sometimes the allies of their own bishops, and sometimes the instruments of their kings—until at last they gradually fell into the wake of the Roman pontificate, and became one of the great instruments of the advancement of its power. They made the cause of the Roman bishop their own, and represented him as a sort of god to the ignorant multitude, over whom they held a prodigious ascendancy from the notions that were generally entertained of the sanctity of the monastic order.<sup>j</sup> But this state of things did not exist when the English missions were engaged in the work of conversion among the Friesland and Belgian heathens. St. Columban, who led the way in that holy work, was himself a monk and the founder of a new order of those fraternities; but his opinion of the Roman priesthood is stamped by the letter we have above seen from Laurentius to the British bishops, and proves that the mission he and his brother apostles were engaged in, could have had no fellowship or association with the Roman churches. The stream of British missionaries into Gaul, Germany, and even Switzerland, was original and continuous from that same source; and could have admitted no such new communion into its fellowship, as must have been wholly adverse and hateful to its brotherhood. No doubt can exist, but that both Willebrord and Winfred were part of the current stream of those long-continued missions, and only under the powerful influence of the new rising power of Charles Martel, who was then carrying his arms into the regions of their long labours, were they brought over to the part they adopted; of associating themselves with the Roman hierarchy, and receiving consecration at its hands, and territory from the conquering Frank: so furthering the measures of the confederate kings and their new patriarch, of bringing the whole Frankish territories into spiritual subjection to the Italian pontiff.

There is that in the character of Boniface which stamps

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<sup>i</sup> *Launoii Assertio Inquisitionis in Chartam Immunitatis S. Germani*, opp. tom. 3, pt. 1, p. 50, and pt. 2, p. 3. *Baluzii Miscellan*, tom. 2, p. 159, and tom. 4, p. 108. *Muratorii Antiq. Ital.*, tom. 2. pp. 944, 949.

<sup>j</sup> Mosh., vol ii., p. 172.

him as the unscrupulous agent of the new adopted hierarchy, by over-wrought zeal and devotion to the cause he had taken up: "This zeal for the glory and authority of the Roman church," says Dr. Mosheim, "equalled, if it did not surpass, his zeal for the service of Christ; and in the propagation of his religion many things unworthy of a Christian minister were laid to his charge; violence and terror, and sometimes fraud and artifice were the instruments of his conversions; and his epistles discover an imperious and arrogant temper, a cunning and insidious turn of mind, an excessive zeal for increasing the honour and pretensions of the sacerdotal order, and a profound ignorance of many things, with which he ought to have been familiar as an apostle of the Christian religion."<sup>k</sup> It is neither zeal for the cause nor want of charity for the man, that has induced the opinion here expressed; that this great bishop, for great he must be in history, was a "turn over" from the independent communion of the English or Scotch church to that of the Franco-Romish. His final murder, and the sacrifice of his fifty clerical attendants among that people where his first labours had been bestowed, and where for above a century the English missionaries had been received and cherished in peace and goodwill, and from whence, as a sort of half-way, they had transmitted the line of Christian apostles from those long-honoured colleges of North Britain into their seats in Germany, shews beyond all contradiction that there was a violation of some great equity or truth in the new archbishop, which called down the vengeance of his old people upon him; and, if we connect this circumstance with the events which we have traced of the Frankish proceedings, by the connecting links of the Roman and Lombard historians, we think then it must appear, that the new bishops of the Frank kings were taken from these English missionaries who were found on the spot, for their knowledge of the people, and the reputation their order bore among those nations, where the arms of the conqueror eventually placed them; and that they were brought over to adopt the Roman legation by those influences, which if not holy, was at least very prevalent and powerful over mankind in general in such circumstances.

Looking at the general facts in the preceding detail, it is obvious, that from the period when the first public league was proclaimed between the great conquering captain of his age, Charles Martel, and the Roman pontiff, a new system of politics entered upon its course of development. This involved the de-

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<sup>k</sup> Mosh., vol. ii., p. 207.



thronement of one race of kings in the soil of France and the exaltation of another, with the contemporaneous transfer of allegiance by a patriarchal bishop to that new rising sovereignty; the sanction of whose spiritual power to the treason of the usurping monarchy, was the holocaust that preceded the dedication of that priesthood in its new sanctuary. All this is plainly exhibited in the various acts and stages of its progress, with extraordinary exactitude and unbroken continuity: the various stages in the dismemberment of the old relationships of the parties, and the causes and circumstances of their advances towards the new one, are exactly shewn: the services which each was required to render to the other, and the inducements and rewards that were held out and rendered in every advance of it, are fairly recorded: and every growing increase of wealth and power is shewn to have been brought about with a closer alliance and renewed mutualities of support between the parties. Under these fostering influences both powers appear in growth and progress towards a full development of that "sublime" of human greatness which set each at the height of a long-cherished ambition; and the accomplishment of projects that had been working their ends through many generations. In its final consummation, the Roman patriarch was transferred to the spiritual domination of the new dynasty, of which the archbishopric of Mentz was the firstfruits of the new supremacy; and the Roman pontiff reigned supreme over all the spiritualities of the mighty empire of Charlemagne, as long as that empire endured. To that extent, if the stain of treason in its birth could be blotted out, the supremacy of the Roman pope was legitimate; for it was the adopted primacy of the secular head over an empire, of which the pope himself and his bishopric was an integral member. But the "birth sin" of its conception it is difficult to cover; for if ever the hyperboles of prophetic language could be applied with truth to the political generations of this world, surely the fruits of that power which emanated from the connubium of the Frankish throne and Roman tiara, must fill up that one which the prophet Isaiah so forcibly pictures, "as the children of transgression—the seed of falsehood; inflaming themselves with idols under every green tree." The double treason of the civil and religious powers which gave it birth, can not be mistaken in that prophetic description.

A brief recapitulation of the leading features of that monstrous birth into the Christian world, which cuckoo-like for so many generations pushed the native progeny of the church out

of their seats, and usurped, in solitary unblestness, the parental nest of many nations, will put this matter in its plain simplicity before the eyes of the reader, and give a fitting conclusion to our brief labour.

In the year of our Lord 725, the Roman emperor Leo published an edict against certain corruptions in the Christian church; of which in his own empire he was the undoubted head and "nursing father." The obnoxious practices, as every one knows, consisted of an idolatrous worship of the cross, the images of saints, and of the Virgin Mary; all which that emperor commanded to be discontinued and the images removed out of the churches. This ordinance, and others to a similar effect were openly and violently resisted by the Roman bishop, who anathematized them as a diabolical heresy.

In the year A.D. 731, after six years struggle and sedition, Pope Gregory II., in order to carry out his resistance to the imperial decrees, engaged the mayor of the palace of Childebert, King of Paris and of the Franks, to maintain him against the attacks of his emperor: and for his promise of such maintenance acknowledged that officer of the French king as his future protector, and conferred the dignity of the Roman Consulate upon him, as had been done by the emperor Anastatius to the founder of the French dynasty.

It is to be observed that neither Charles Martel nor his son Pepin were kings of France, but hereditary officers only of the Parisian monarchy:—they are nowhere, even by mistake, called kings or sovereigns historically, though they are said "to have governed the French nation;" or, "to have held the whole power of that people:"—a distinction accurately observed by the historians, and proper to be borne in mind in weighing the nature of the events that followed. The true position of that family in the Parisian monarchy was that of hereditary marshals, in whom all the military power was invested. Yet it seems certain that these hereditary officers of the Parisian monarch had a subordinate dominion in the Rhenish provinces, as the descendants from that illegitimate branch of the sons of Clovis, whom that king at his death established at Metz over the Riparian and Rhenish districts of his kingdom. The monuments of that family connect the line of descent between the prior and posterior links of the genealogical chain; and shew that they were still regnant in that district in the time of Charles Martel. For there is still found the tomb of Plectrude, the wife of the first Pepin and mother of Charles Martel, in the church of St. Mary of the Capitol at Cologne; with a Latin inscription in the church, and her statue behind its

choir, and a notice that she was the foundress of the edifice. The race of Pepin and Charlemagne therefore were, it cannot be doubted, the descendants of Theodoric the bastard son of King Clovis; of whom the Romanist writers boast that he was the eldest born of the Roman Church; a boast which could hardly be made available to any modern pretensions since the legitimate family of Clovis ceased with the last Parisian monarch, and the Carolingian kings had no legal claim to any inheritable blood of the great "first born" at all.

From the year A.D. 690, when the first Pepin is spoken of as holding the whole power of France, to the year A.D. 751, when the last Pepin took that throne to himself by an act of open treason, this family of the Rhenish descendants appear in the character of guardians or keepers of their legitimate kings, and under the garb of ministers wielded the sceptre and appropriated the honours of their liege lord to themselves. During the same period the Roman pontiffs were becoming still more deeply engaged also in disputes with their emperors upon the subject of image-worship; and in that year A.D. 751, the double chain of reciprocal need led the two dependent powers to the crisis of their fate. The second Pepin, secure in the powerful auxiliary he had obtained by the association of the Roman patriarch with his own government, determined to put an end to his dependent state and assume the monarchy, of which he was the chief servant, to himself. For this it cannot be doubted he had been long labouring, while the working of the new bishops in the consolidation of his power in the German departments of his empire, must have given a vast preponderance of influence to him over the adherents of the old dynasty. In effect the nation, we are told, was prepared for the change; and the same versatility which ever distinguished the Frankish people operated in favour of the conspiring powers. Though remarkable for their fidelity, and a regard to their oaths among themselves and in their private transactions, yet in public affairs a contrary spirit has always been attributed to the Frankish race. Vopiscus and Procopius both describe them in their earliest history, as marked with faithlessness, and a disregard to their most solemn oaths.\* The glorious deeds of Charles Martel, and no doubt the arts used by his son to win over a fickle multitude from attachment to a race of monarchs who were mere puppets in the hands of their military keepers, would without doubt have dazzled and seduced the hearts of such a people, and removed the bulwark of a loyal feeling to the measure of treason that was meditated.

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\* Vopisc. in *Procul. Vit.*, p. 247; Procop. *Bell. Goth.* l. 2, ch. xxv., p. 447.

The design of dethroning the sovereign was at length no longer concealed: it was made a popular or open question, which generally means *treason*, in some shape or other. The States of the realm were called together, and the measure was propounded with a *modus operandi* duly concocted for its decent, orderly and religious consummation; so that the consciences and scruples of the nation might be satisfied, and the act veiled in the decent robe of a religious celebration. By the decision of that assembly it was determined to consult the bishop of Rome whether the execution of such a project was lawful or not. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to the Roman pontiff, bearing the "interrogatory," in what the lawyers call an A and B case, to the following effect:—"Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty; and to substitute in his place one more worthy of rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the State?"\* The proceeding had without doubt been previously arranged, since that enquiry would not have been trusted to a doubtful answer; and the expected response arrived, which contained the willing "Yes" from the then regnant pontiff Zacchary, to his well-beloved ally and supporter the French king. The character of this event has been differently represented by some of the Roman writers, who have put the act of dethronement upon the footing of an authority in the Pope, and not as proceeding from his sanction only, as a casuist in the divine law; that in short, his response was not oracular, but imperative. But that opinion is negated by the very terms of the "question" proposed to him, which were, "whether the divine law permitted the people to dethrone their pusillanimous king;" and the opinion probably proceeded from a previous consent given by the Pope to the measure, which good king Pepin would no doubt have represented to his friends and supporters, as mandatory upon him. From that consideration, in conjunction with other lights in the case, we may draw a pretty certain inference that the plan of proceeding had been previously determined upon by the Pope and his friend.

The unhappy Childeric was stripped of his royalty accordingly; and Pepin without the least opposition stepped into his master's throne and sovereignty, and was anointed king by that Boniface, whom we have seen to be the first episcopal fruits of the Roman supremacy in this new empire. Truly the mystery

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\* Le Cointe *Annal. Franc. Eccl.* and Bossuet *Defens. Declarationis Cleri Gallic.*, pt. 1, p. 225.

of iniquity could not have been more happily or ingeniously contrived. There appears a providence in the development of its details also, which, if not of good, must have proceeded from the master hand of the opposite principle. In the year A.D. 753 the anointing of Pepin and his two sons as kings of France was performed by Pope Stephen himself, as we have before related; and the other events relative to the complete association of the Roman pontificate with the Frankish monarchy, and the elevation of the Popedom into an imperial jurisdiction, as patriarchal bishop of the whole ecclesiastical system of that empire, followed in due course.

We need look no further for an explanation as to the grounds upon which the pretensions of the Roman church have grown into their modern dimensions. The really legitimate supremacy which the Roman pontiffs held in connexion with the Carlovingian sovereigns, led them in the first instance legally into the German and other States, which formed part of that mediæval empire. But when that extensive dominion became curtailed by the events of a later date, the ambitious pontiffs, grown fond of their imperial magnificence, and unwilling to abandon the homage they had once enjoyed, still adhered to their pretensions of a religious supremacy over all those districts into which their authority had been admitted under that empire. In this system they were greatly assisted by the regular and monastic clergy, as well as the religious orders of knighthood which pervaded every country of Europe; and which, being dependent on no local government, were enabled to devote themselves to the interests of that church, under whose sovereign head they had found protection and encouragement. But the origin of the canonical power of the Roman church in France and Germany was certainly laid in its alliance with the Carlovingian kings, and with the end of that empire it came to its legitimate end. While, as respects other countries, a due examination of history will shew, that all the pretensions of the Pope to a foreign supremacy is a sheer and unqualified usurpation.

The gradual development of this great hierarchy from its first imperial association, and properly from the state of an imperial church to its condition of an independent and universal supremacy over all the "kingdoms of the world," is not without the reach of historical notice. Under the first Frankish emperor the Roman pontiffs, we are told, continued to observe a subservience to the imperial supremacy; but after the death of Charlemagne, the lust of pre-eminence settled in ominous darkness over the proceedings of the Roman court. The most

impartial of the Roman Catholic writers acknowledge without scruple, that from the *time of Louis the Meek* the son of Charlemagne, the rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in Europe by the counsels of the Court of Rome; and that Roman pontiffs from that time became eagerly bent upon persuading mankind that the bishop of Rome had been delegated by Christ as the supreme legislator and judge of the Church universal.<sup>o</sup> To support these new and high pretensions, forged precedents were resorted to as they had been in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne; but on this later occasion, directed to the object of shewing that in the first ages of the church the Roman pontiffs had been clothed with the same supreme and universal authority, which they then aspired to, and have since assumed. For this end, at the period we have pointed to, the most ingenious spirits of the age were employed by this ambitious priesthood in forging pretended *conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and other records* of past authority, among which the "Decretal Epistles," as they are called, of former pontiffs, are particularly deserving of remark and reprehension. The object of these pretended records was simply to shew the existence of a state of things which never had existed; and under such precedents, to raise up a credit to the new powers of the church as genuine powers, which were altogether false and spurious. Under this pretended authority the Pope succeeded in bringing the nations of the world into subjection: he proclaimed the Church of Christ to be one and indivisible in a sense, which negatived any such thing as a separate communion among the different families of mankind:—and though Christ bade His apostles preach His Gospel to all nations; which if it had any meaning at all, meant to establish it as a separate endowment to every separate nation;—and St. Paul would not preach in those districts where others had gone before him, lest he should build upon another foundation:—the Pope of Rome claimed the right of sending the idolatrous priesthood of that altar he had established in his own land, and by favour of the Frankish emperor in the land of the Franks also, into every other land and country; to be the spiritual *Choragus* of all churches in every soil and climate;—not merely from himself as a patriarchal bishop, to whom other households might refer themselves if they chose, as happened among the early patriarchates of the primitive churches, but as the sole dispenser of all law and government, and the great propounder and arbiter of the religion of the world.

H. M. G.

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<sup>o</sup> Mosh., vol. ii., p. 304.

## BIBLICAL REVISION.

## I.

*Restoration of the Authorized Text of the English Bible.*

THERE are, doubtless, many grave and sufficient reasons why the proposals which lately have been so rife for revising and amending the Authorized Version of the English Bible, should be very cautiously and warily entertained.

But there is a mode of revision and amendment which involves but little inconvenience, and is open to no serious objection, we mean the restoration of the Authorized Version in cases where our received text has been altered from it for the worse.

It is possible that some of our readers may hardly be aware of the extent to which our commonly received text varies from that of the Authorized Version. In point of fact the Authorized Version has never been really the accepted text of the English Bible. D'Israeli states that it did not come into common use until about the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second, and then such were the changes made in it in 1683 (there had previously been changes made in it in the year 1636), 1701, and particularly by Dr. Blayney in 1769, that as Bishop Turton tells us, "the text of 1611 is quite unworthy to be considered as the standard of the Bible now printed."

Let us note some instances in which the departure from the original Authorized Version has been a change for the worse.

And first with regard to a gross error for which we rather think Dr. Blayney is responsible. In Judges ix. 53, we are told that a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and (translating literally from the Hebrew) she brake in pieces<sup>a</sup> his skull. Nothing can be more plain and intelligible. The Septuagint translates it by *καὶ ἔκλασε τὸ κρανίον αὐτοῦ*. And the Vulgate exactly expresses the meaning in the words *et confregit cerebrum ejus*. All the modern versions to which at this moment we have access give the phrase correctly. Luther's Bible has *und zerbrach ihm den Schadel*. Diodati gives *e gli spezzo il teschio*. The Welsh Bible (Bible Society's version) reads *ac a ddrylliodd ei benglog ef*. Coverdale renders it by "brake his brane panne," a rendering preserved up to the time of the publication of the authorized text; for the phrase stands as "brake his braine pan" in the Bible of 1598, pub-

<sup>a</sup> פָּרַק Fut. Conv. Hiph. of פָּרַק.

lished by the "Deputies of Christopher Barker," commonly known as the "Breeches Bible."

How then came the meddlers with our text to change "and all to brake his scul," as the verse stands in the un-Blayneized version of the last century, into "and all to break his skull?" And how came Mr. Bagster to allow the explanation of the phrase which we subjoin as given in his Treasury Bible? "*And all to.* An antiquated expression, meaning '*full intention,*' to complete an object. 'All to,' observes Dr. Johnson, 'is a particle of mere enforcement.' The original is *watharitz eth gulgulto*, which is simply, as the LXX. render, *καὶ ἐκλάσσε το κρανιον αὐρου*, 'and she brake his skull.' Plutarch relates, etc., etc." That is to say, that "all to brake," instead of being the past tense of a verb, is equivalent to *ἵνα* or *ὅπως* in Greek, *ut* with the subjunctive in Latin, *afin que* (to the end that) in French, *in order that* or *to the end that she might break* in English! !

And now to shew that the Westminster translators and the first revisers of their version at Oxford and Cambridge did really know what they were about, and were not ignorant of their own language or of the Hebrew tongue:—All to brake is simply the intensive of brake. *Completely smashed* is perhaps the phrase which might now be used as its equivalent. The force of the prefix "to" is by Halliwell given as implying destruction or deterioration. It would be more true to limit such an assertion by saying, as Rask does, that it *often* involves that idea, and then seems to correspond to the Icelandic *tor*, or the Greek *δυσ*. Shakspeare uses it as a prefix to the word *bless*—

"Now the gods to bless your honour."—*Pericles*, iv. 5.

It is indeed an intensive prefix of which ample evidence is afforded in the use of such words as to-rent, to-swinke, and the like.

"The helmes they to-hewen and to shrede."

"The bones they to-brast (broke in pieces), or to-daiste (dashed to pieces)."

"Wylde bestys me wylle to-grynde" (grind to pieces). In Ælfric's homily for Easter-day we have "se preost that husel to-bræc" (the priest brake the housel). He speaks of it being the Israelite's duty "ne to-bræcan tha baan" of the Paschal lamb, and further on says, "Tha gemmettan ne moston thæs lambes bân scænan<sup>c</sup> ne tha cempa<sup>n</sup> the Crist ahengon ne moston to-bræcan his halgan sceancan." In his letter to Wulfstane he

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<sup>c</sup> We quote from the text of the version published under the authority of Archbishop Parker by John Daye. The passage is altogether omitted by Foxe.



says that, "Crist . . . bletsode thone hlaf, and to-bræc, thus cwethende to his halgum apostolum."<sup>c</sup> "To-dælte" for *divided* or *dealt out*, is used by Ælfric in the *Homily* to which we have referred. To-tore as a participle is used by Chaucer—

"This thin is wonder mervailous to me,  
Sin that thy lorde is of so high prudence,  
Because of which men shulde him reverence,  
That of his worship rekketh he so lite;  
His overest sloppe it is not worth a mite  
As in effect to him, so mote I go;  
It is *all-bauby*<sup>d</sup> and *to-tore* also."

Chanones Yemannes, Prologue.

And as the "to" is found as an augmentative without the "al," so is the "al" very commonly without the "to." It is a prefix common to both branches (Scandinavian and German) of the great Gothic family of languages. For example, in Icelandic all-godr is *right good*, all-mikils is *right much* or *very much*.

In our own language it is a prefix of continual recurrence. Al-newe (anew), al-in-one (at the same time), al-along of, all in a mess, and such phrases, belong to our vulgar speech. Al-alone for quite alone: "I weep that I am al-alone." Al-holly for entirely, and such phrases are even now hardly archaisms. With them may be classed al-forlorn, for which as well as for "al-on a summer's day" and "al-hanged for to be," we venture not to cite as authorities the too familiar lines. Al-hail as a salutation (still preserved in our religious language) was formerly of common use.

"All-haile, Simond, in faith,  
How fares thy faire daughter and thy wif?"

says the scholar of Soler Hall to deinous Simkin. The Norfolk horsebreaker in the reign of Queen Elizabeth tells us when training our horse to "al-rate him with a terrible voyce." "How fares my Kate? What, sweeting all amort?" is Petruchio's address to Katharina.

And as each prefix occurs separately, so do we often find the two together, "to" as the prefix of the simple verb, and "al" with its usual intensitive force. Foxe, describing the punishment of the martyrs in Pontus, under the Dioclesian persecution, tell us that some were "all-to besprinkled with boiling lead." And in earlier writers such phrases as the following are common:—"Thaire gud speris al-to braste." "He felle, and was alle to

<sup>c</sup> Scœnam (Foxe), Campan (Foxe), And to bræc thus cwethende (Foxe).

<sup>d</sup> Very dirty.

frusehed" (dashed to pieces). Al-to rent, al-to share, al-to shent, occur in Chaucer. Halliwell quotes from the *Romeo and Juliet* of 1562—

"Mercutio's yey hand had al-to frozen mine."

He gives instances of the use of all-to-robydd (entirely stolen away), al-to-rof (crumbled in pieces), alle-to-sondre (split up), al-to-torn (torn in pieces), and other like phrases.

The strange mistake\* to which we have adverted of the would-be emendators of our English Bible is paralleled by a like error in many printed copies of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where (act ii. sc. 2) the misinterpreters of Shakspeare preferring nonsense to obscurity have changed "Cupid al-armed" into "Cupid alarmed." It is yet more closely paralleled by a supposed emendation which the editors of Milton have made in altering "al-to-ruffled" into "all too ruffled."

"She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings,  
That in the various bustle of resort  
Were *alto-ruffled*, and sometimes impaired."—*Comus*, l. 380.

But we have extended this paper beyond its proper limits. We may take another occasion of instancing other like corruptions in the received text of the English Bible, of which the emendations are at once much needed and easily effected.

## II.

### *On some Proposed Emendations of the Received Text of the English Bible.*

ANOTHER point to which, as connected with the emendation of our English Bible, we would invite the attention of our readers, is the propriety of retaining the older spelling of words when such mode of spelling suggests their meaning. For example in our modern Bibles the spelling of the word uproar gives just as much notion of the meaning of the word as the sailor's Blackness does of Blanc-nez. It actually hangs out a false light, leads us off on a wrong scent. Chaucer and our earlier writers give the word as upore or upror.

Uprore (or as it appears under its high German form aufruhr), primarily signifies an insurrection, and thence derives its secondary meaning of a din such as commonly is occasioned

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\* It is right to add that in several Bibles (printed the last few years) to which we have referred, the passage in question is given as "all to brake." Mr. Bagster has it so printed in the text of his *Miniature Quarto Bible*. But he retains in the margin the strange note based upon the erroneous text.

by an uprore. It is connected with rear, perhaps, also with the verb which is "rise" in its primitive intransitive, and "raise" in its derived transitive form.

Now there is also the onomatopoetic word "roar" which represents the loud and bellowing growl of a wild beast.

And so when "uprore the prentices all" or any such uprore took place, the sound which it occasioned not unnaturally suggested the spelling of uproar. The two words which for distinction's sake we give as roar and rore, got confounded together just as at this present time there is arising in our language the confusion of *outcast* (one cast out) with *outcaste* (one who has lost his caste). Unless such words be distinguished by spelling, we make the same combination of letters represent two distinct words. When Marcus Andronicus addresses the

" — sad-faced men, people and sons of Rome,  
By uprores severed."—*Tit. Andron.*, v. 3.<sup>f</sup>

he is speaking of civil strife and dissention. In our English Bible the word uproar—or rather uprore—occurs eight times, once in the Old Testament, seven times in the New.

In the translation of 1 Kings i. 41, the phrase "noise of the city being in an uprore"<sup>g</sup> is used to represent the humming sound of a multitude in commotion at some distance. *Τῆς πόλεως ἡχούσης* is the translation of the Septuagint, and *civitatis tumultuantis* that of the Vulgate. Coverdale gives, "What meaneth this noyse of the cite and this busynes?"

In Barker's Bible of 1598 we read, "What meaneth this noise and uprore in the city?" In this instance the word as it stands in our authorized text is spelt uproare, but elsewhere in that version we find it more correctly spelt as uprore.

It is the translation of *θόρυβος*<sup>h</sup> in Matt. xxvi. 5, Mark xiv. 2, Acts xx. 1; of *στάσις* in Acts xix. 40.

Set on an uprore (Acts xvii. 5) is the translation of *ἐθορύβουν*, whilst *συγκέχνηται* (Acts xxi. 31) is rendered by *was in an uprore*, and *ἀναστατώσας* by *madest an uprore*.

Where uprore in our Authorized Version is the translation of *θόρυβος*, we find as its equivalent in Wicliff's Bible the word "noise," whilst it is sometimes represented in versions of the

<sup>f</sup> Shakspeare gives uprore as a verb:

"Uprore the universal peace, confound  
All unity on earth."—*Macbeth*, iv. 3.

<sup>g</sup> "Being in an uproare" is the translation of *ἡχη*.

<sup>h</sup> The word *θόρυβος*, though signifying the *sound* of the crowd, yet claims affinity with, if not descent from, words which signify the assembly itself. Compare *ὄρεος* and *τύρβη*.

sixteenth century by the words "busynes" and "tumult." In Acts xix. 40, Wicliff has "this daies dissencioun," Coverdale, "this daye's sedition," and Tyndale "this daye's busines." The phrase "set on an uprore" is represented in Wicliff's Bible by the word "moueden," whilst "stirred" or "set on a rore" are found as its equivalents in versions of the sixteenth century. In Acts xxi. 31 *confounded, moved, in a confusion*, are the words used by Wicliff, Tyndale, and the Rheims translators. For "madest an uprore" Wicliff has "mouedist a noyse," and "did raise a tumult" is the phrase in the Rheims version.

As several versions to which we have referred were translations from the Vulgate, and some of them moreover were corrected by collation with the German Bible, it may be well to give quotations from those versions. Tumultus, Aufruhr and Empörung are the translations of *θόρυβος*; seditio and Empörung of *στάσεως*; concitaverunt and richteten einen Aufruhr of *ἐθορύβουν*. *Συγκέχεται* is rendered by confunditur and sich emporrete, whilst *ἀναστατώσας* is translated by tumultum concitasti and einen Aufruhr gemacht hat.

We have now seen that in our English Bible "uprore" signifies a tumult, bustle, disturbance, confusion, disorder; and that only in a later, or at all events, a secondary and inferred signification does it mean the sound (we purposely avoid the word *noise*) which such a disturbance occasions.

Nor is the word uprore the solitary instance of such a change of meaning. Wicliff translates tumultus by *noise*. Now, turning to Ducange, we get as the explanation of the low Latin word *noisia*, or its equivalent *noysium*, "Noisia a Gallico noise, altercatio, rixa, contentio." Its verb is translated by "Rixari, altercari." Cotgrave (1611) gives as the equivalents of the French word "*noise*, a brabble, brawle . . . or disagreement in words, also a noise, bruit, rumbling, sturre, hurrie, coyle, hurli-burlie." In Richelet we find "noise (altercatio, rixa) Quereke, dispute." He quotes from *Boileau*—

"Vit sans bruit, sans débats, sans noise, sans proces."

Bruit<sup>k</sup> in old French writers is tantamount sometimes to the Latin *seditio* or *rixa*, sometimes to *rumor*. Stir and coil are common expressions for what in modern vulgar speech we should call a row.

"I am not worth this coil that's made for me."—*King John*, ii. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Sat. viii.

<sup>k</sup> In its common English use *bruit* signifies a *rumour*. "It is bruited" may be rendered by it is noised or it is rumoured.

Hurly-burly is by Peacham (1577) explained as "an uprore and tumultuous stir." We may just mention in passing that the word noise obtained further a signification equivalent to that of "a band of music" in our modern vulgar parlance. Dekker speaks of (1608) "those terrible noyses with thred-bare clokes," and one drawer says to the other,<sup>1</sup> "See if thou canst find out Sneak's noise; Mistress Tearsheet would fain have some music." With this account of the word *noise* the histories of the words *κῶμος* and *band* may profitably be compared. It is somewhat remarkable that, as the words which we have noted expressed in their original sense the idea of tumultuous assemblage or dissention, the secondary or derived meaning being that of the sound by such dissention occasioned; so on the other hand, in the word rumor, we have the order of signification exactly reversed. In the colloquial Latin of the middle and later ages it was used in the sense of strife or quarrel. For example, Ulric von Hutten, or one of his two assistants, makes (1516) the supposed M. Bernhardus Plumilegus say, "Tunc ille poeta fuit iratus super me, et dixit, quod fecissem *rumorem* in domo suâ, et dixit, deberem exire de domo suâ in nomine diaboli."<sup>m</sup> *Fecissem rumorem* is exactly our vulgar phrase "I had made a row."

By way of contrast and conclusion we will subjoin a passage in which *noise* has taken the place of *rumour*, "Cleopatra catching but the least *noise* of this dies instantly."<sup>n</sup>

F. P. S.

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### ASSYRIAN HISTORY.\*

Of all questions in ancient history, none has been more hopelessly complicated by confused statements and baseless theories than that of the true chronology of the great Assyrian and Babylonian empires. Our knowledge of them has, until recently, been almost exclusively derived from Ctesias (as reported in

<sup>1</sup> Hen. IV. 2; ii. 4.

<sup>m</sup> *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum.*

<sup>n</sup> *Ant. and Cleop.*, i. 2.

<sup>a</sup> *The History of Herodotus.* A new English version, edited with copious notes and Appendices, illustrating the history and geography of Herodotus, from the most recent sources of information; and embodying the chief results, historical and ethnographical, which have been obtained in the progress of cuneiform and hieroglyphical discovery. By George Rawlinson, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S. In four volumes. Vol. I.—III. With maps and illustrations. London: John Murray. 1858. 8vo. pp. 690, 616, 563.—*From the American Christian Examiner.*

Diodorus Siculus), Herodotus, the native historian Berosus, and the Hebrew Scriptures. From Ctesias we have the well-known stories of Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian empire, his warlike queen, Semiramis, and the succession of thirty-one *rois fainéants*, ending with Sardanapalus, the ignominy of whose reign was partially redeemed by his rousing himself too late to a heroic defence against the invaders of his kingdom, and burning himself at last, his wives, concubines, and treasures, in his royal palace. This event has been placed in B.C. 876. The account of Herodotus is wholly at variance with this. According to him, after an Assyrian rule of five hundred and twenty years, all the subject provinces fell away, leaving the empire weakened, but still vigorous, until it was overthrown by Cyaxares. He also mentions Semiramis, but as a *Babylonian* queen, who reigned five generations before Nitocris, the mother of the last king. This would place her reign in the eighth century. From Berosus we have a few precious fragments, mostly at third-hand. From these we learn that, after more than a thousand years of Chaldean and Arabian rule (in Babylonia), followed two Assyrian dynasties of 526 and 122 years respectively, and a Babylonian of 87. We likewise have from him a list of the Babylonian kings from the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747), and some historical notices of a century or so preceding the fall of Babylon. Besides these authorities, Scripture gives us the names and actions of several kings, both of Assyria and Babylon. It will be seen that the accounts of Herodotus and Berosus confirm each other, and that both are consistent with Scripture, while they are completely contradictory to that of Ctesias. But, notwithstanding their much greater credibility as historians, our modern writers have, for the most part, felt bound to accept the latter (probably because he is the most assuming and circumstantial writer on the subject), to make the others agree where it is possible, and where it is not to reject them altogether. Hence the most blind and profitless labour of reconstruction. *Sardanapalus* was shewn to be *Esarhaddon*, the syllable "bal" or "pal" being annexed. As the accounts of the destruction of Nineveh could not be reconciled, resort was had to the desperate hypothesis of two destructions, one B.C. 876, the other B.C. 606. Even Nebuchodonosor, on the authority of the book of Judith, is torn from the Babylonian annals, and made "the last king of Assyria mentioned in the Bible."<sup>b</sup>

Neibuhr's wonderful clear-sightedness enabled him to see through the fogs which enveloped Assyrian history, and to re-

<sup>b</sup> See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. i., p. 245, b.

construct from the scanty materials accessible to him a framework of history not materially differing from that which the late discoveries in Assyria have now placed on a sure historical foundation. He did all that could be done with his materials, but was careful to assure his hearers that, when the Assyrian inscriptions were deciphered,—as they soon would be,—many things would be made clear which he could not understand.<sup>c</sup> How remarkably this prediction has been fulfilled, we need not say. The interesting discoveries of Mr. Layard are familiar to all, and it is well known that many of the inscriptions discovered by him have been deciphered by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, M. Oppert, and others, being found to consist of valuable contemporaneous records, corroborating or correcting the accounts of the Bible and profane historians. In the work before us these results are given at some length, in the form of notes and essays by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. George Rawlinson, appended to the translation of the first book of Herodotus. It is our purpose to lay the most interesting of these results before our readers.

We must, in the first place, rid our minds of the fables of Ctesias, which have been banished from all respectable histories since the time of Niebuhr, and which at present only linger in those eminently conservative works,—school text-books of ancient history. There was, it is true, a Ninus, but it was the Greek name of the city Nineveh, and the king of that name is only another instance of that universal habit of the Greeks of inventing some eponymous hero for every city. There was a Queen Semiramis, but she lived, as Herodotus says, in the eighth century, and although doubtless a remarkable person, was noways a great conqueror. There was, too, a Sardanapalus, but he was a warlike king of the tenth century, who was far from being burned up in his own palace; and there was another Sardanapalus of the seventh century, a peaceful prince and a patron of the arts,<sup>d</sup> but Nineveh survived him many years. Nineveh was, it is true, destroyed, and very likely in the manner described by Ctesias, but it was under Saracus, not Sardanapalus; her enemies were Cyaxares and Nabopolassar, not Arbaces and Belesys; and it was towards the close of the seventh century, not early in the ninth.

To guide us in laying out a true scheme of Assyrian chronology, we have the table of dynasties preserved from Berosus, and

<sup>c</sup> Lectures on ancient history, Lecture III.

<sup>d</sup> Ctesias, perhaps, erroneously thinking the name of the last king to have been Sardanapalus, confounded him with the great king of that name whom he knew to have reigned at about 900 B.C.

two dates positively fixed,—the accession of Nabonassar in Babylon, B.C. 747, and the destruction of Babylon by Cyrus, B.C. 538. Setting out, then, from this latter date, as that of the close of the dynasties of Berosus, his table will read as follows. We copy from Rawlinson :—

Median dynasty,	8 kings,	224 years,	B.C. 2458 to 2234
Chaldæan (?) dynasty,	11 “	(258) / “	“ 2234 to 1976
Chaldæan	“ 49 “	458 “	“ 1976 to 1518
Arab	“ 9 “	245 “	“ 1518 to 1273
Assyrian	“ 45 “	526 “	“ 1273 to 747
Lower Assyrian	“ 8 “	122 “	“ 747 to 625
Babylonian	“ 6 “	87 “	“ 625 to 538

Passing over the Median dynasty, of which we know nothing further, the history will naturally fall into three divisions,—the early Chaldæan empire of Babylon, the great Assyrian empire from about B.C. 1273 to B.C. 625, and the short but splendid sway of Babylon from B.C. 625 to B.C. 538. It is to be noticed, that, according to this table, the second Assyrian dynasty began at the era of Nabonassar in Babylon, B.C. 747, and ended at the accession of Nabopolassar in Babylon, B.C. 625, the date assigned by Niebuhr to the destruction of Nineveh. Heeren, Grote, and most other writers, place it as late as B.C. 609 to B.C. 606.

The Chaldæans who ruled in Asia under Kudur-Mapula (or Chedor-laomer) about B.C. 1976, and again under the family of Nebuchadnezzar, have been commonly supposed of late to have been invaders from Armenia, where Chaldæans are mentioned by Greek writers. But there are no indications of such a conquest, and it seems more natural to look for their origin in their earliest known seat—Babylonia. Sir Henry Rawlinson's ingenious and very probable theory is briefly as follows. The Hamitic race which inhabited Mesopotamia (and which he thinks came from Ethiopia) went by the name of Akkad; of these the Chaldæans seem to have been a branch, not however appearing upon the monuments before the ninth century before Christ. He thinks, therefore, that Berosus, “in naming the dynasty Chaldæan, must have used that term in a geographical rather than an ethnological sense.” He says :—

“In this primitive Akkadian tongue, which I have been accustomed generally to denominate Scythic, from its near connexion with the Scythic

\* Vol. i., p. 434.

/ This number is wanting in the manuscript, and is supplied by an ingenious emendation of Professor Brandis of Bonn.



dialect of Persia, were preserved all the scientific treatises known to the Babylonians, long after the Semitic element had become predominant in the land;—it was, in fact, the language of science in the East, as the Latin was in Europe during the middle ages. When Semitic tribes established an empire in Assyria in the thirteenth century B.C., they adopted the alphabet of the *Akkad*, and, with certain modifications, applied it to their own language; but during the seven centuries which followed of Semitic dominion at Nineveh and Babylon, this Assyrian language was merely used for historical records and official documents. The mythological, astronomical, and other scientific tablets found at Nineveh, are exclusively in the Akkadian language, and are thus shewn to belong to a priest-class, exactly answering to the Chaldæans of profane history and of the book of Daniel. . . . It is further very interesting to find that parties of these Chaldæan *Akkad* were transplanted by the Assyrian kings from the plains of Babylon to the Armenian mountains, in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., and that this translation took place to such an extent, that in the inscriptions of Sargon the geographical name of *Akkad* is sometimes applied to the mountains instead of the vernacular title of *Vararat*, or *Ararat*,—an excellent illustration being thus afforded of the notices of Chaldæans in this quarter by so many of the Greek historians and geographers.”—Vol. i., p. 319, *note*.

It should be observed that the cogency of this argument noways depends on the acceptance or rejection of Sir Henry Rawlinson's peculiar ethnographic theories.

What the Arabian dynasty was which came between the Chaldæan and Assyrian empires, we have no means of determining. We can only allude to the evident power and importance of the Arabians in old time, and hint at a conquest like that of Egypt by the shepherd kings. It is worthy of remark, that their rule in Babylonia (B.C. 1518 to B.C. 1273) follows directly upon the expulsion of the Hycsos from Egypt, placed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in B.C. 1520. If we bear in mind that these dates are far from precise, and that the Arabians may have come later into Mesopotamia, or if we assume, with Bunsen, that the expulsion of the Hycsos was a century earlier, the conjecture is natural that the Hycsos, on being expelled from Egypt, invaded Babylonia, and overthrew the Chaldæan empire, ruling in their stead until the rise of the Assyrian empire. But this is pure hypothesis.

Of the condition of Babylonia under the Assyrian sway, we can only say in general that it was nominally dependent—somewhat as the great French peers were on the successors of Hugh Capet;—a dependence strictly enforced by able sovereigns, but at other times little more than a name. The seat of government of the Assyrian kings was at first at Asshur (the modern Kilet-Shergat), which seems previously to have been the residence of

Babylonian viceroys. We have the names of many kings of the first Assyrian dynasty, but only three or four of them are of especial interest. The earliest of these is Tiglath-Pileser I., whose annals are inscribed on an octagonal prism called the Kilet-Shergat cylinder, several copies of which are extant. The next king of interest is Sardanapalus I., who removed the seat of government to Calat (the modern Nimrod), where he built the "North-west" palace, so well known through the narrative of Mr. Layard's first expedition. His successor was Shalman-n-bar, the king of "the black obelisk" in the British Museum.

"The most interesting of the campaigns of Shalman-n-bar are those which in his sixth, eleventh, fourteenth, and eighteenth years he conducted against the countries bordering on Palestine. In the first three of these his chief adversary was Benhadad of Damascus, the prince whose wars with Baasha, Ahab, and Jehoram, and whose murder by Hazael, are related at length in the books of Kings and Chronicles. Benhadad, who had strengthened himself by a close league with the Hamathites, Hittites, and Phœnicians, was defeated in three great battles by the Assyrian monarch, and lost in one of them above 20,000 men. This ill-success appears to have broken up the league, and when Hazael, soon after his accession, was attacked in his turn, probably about the year B.C. 884 or 885, he was left to his resources, and had to take refuge in Anti-Libanus, where Shalman-n-bar engaged and defeated him, killing (according to his own account) 16,000 of his fighting men and capturing more than 1,100 chariots. It was probably at this time, or perhaps three years later, when the conqueror once more entered Syria and forced Hazael to supply his troops with provisions, that the first direct connexion, of which we have any record, took place between the people of Israel and the Assyrians. One of five epigraphs on the black obelisk records the tribute which *Yahna*, the son of *Khumri*,—i.e. Jehu, the son of Omri,<sup>s</sup>—brought to the king who set it up, consisting almost entirely of gold and silver, and articles manufactured from gold. It was perhaps this act of submission which provoked the fierce attack of Hazael upon the kingdom of Israel in the reign of Jehu" (2 Kings x. 32, 33).

Of the later Assyrian empire we possess tolerably full and trustworthy accounts during the period of its glory, but its beginning and end are alike obscure. Assuming its destruction in the year B.C. 625, the 122 years of Berosus would place its commencement in B.C. 747. The coincidence of this date with that of the era of Nabonnassar justifies us in inferring some connexion between them. We have, moreover, monuments of a king of this period, Iva-lush III., which record his reception

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<sup>s</sup> "This title is equivalent to king of Samaria, the city which Omri built." Mr. Rawlinson suggests, however, an actual or alleged descent of Jehu from Omri.

of tribute from *Khumri*, or Samaria, a fact which would have weight in identifying him with the Pul of Scripture,<sup>a</sup> especially as his first successor with whom we are acquainted was Tiglath-Pileser. If this is the case, he would be contemporary with Menahem, king of Israel, who reigned about B.C. 760. We learn, moreover, from the monuments, that the wife of this monarch was Semiramis, and that she reigned conjointly with him. This is evidently the Semiramis of Herodotus; he calls her a queen of Babylon, and the monuments shew that Iva-lush was peculiarly connected with Babylon. It remains for future investigations to determine the connexion of these events and names; at present we can only conclude as probable that the kingdom of Pul or Iva-lush III. was overthrown by Tiglath-Pileser II. at about the time that Nabonassar established an independent government in Babylon. That Tiglath-Pileser was the founder of a dynasty is further shewn by the fact that he nowhere mentions his father, as was customary with the legitimate Assyrian sovereigns. Of his reign we have scanty information, adding little to what we knew previously from the Bible.

The two successors of Tiglath-Pileser were Shalmaneser and Sargon. Which came first has been a matter of doubt;—it has been supposed by some (it is indeed assumed by Mr. Layard) that the two names belong to one person. This doubt is, however, now resolved by the discovery of an inscription of Sargon, stating that he took Samaria in his first year, a statement not at all inconsistent with the scriptural account that the siege was begun by Shalmaneser. The name of the latter is only known to us from Scripture, and his reign must have been short. That of Sargon embraced nineteen years, the annals of which are abundantly preserved in his great palace at Khorsabad. He seems to have been a usurper, as, like Tiglath-Pileser, he omits the mention of his father. The date of his accession is shewn to have been B.C. 721, by his statement that in his first year he took Samaria and placed Merodach-Baladan on the throne of Babylon, both which events are known from other sources to belong to that year.

Sennacherib, the son and successor of Sargon, came to the throne in the year B.C. 702, which date, like his father's, is fixed by that of his viceroy Belibus, whom he says he placed on the

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Layard says: "The greater number of Assyrian proper names with which we are acquainted, whether royal or not, appear to have been made up of the name, epithet, or title of one of the national deities, and of a second word, such as 'slave of,' 'servant of,' 'beloved of,' 'protected by,' like the 'Theodosius,' 'Theodorus,' etc. of the Greeks, and the 'Abd-ullah' and 'Abd-ur-Rahman' of Mahomedan nations." The name of the divinity whose name occurs in that of king Iva-lush is read doubtfully Iva or Pul.

throne of Babylon in his first year,—after expelling Merodach-Baladan a second time,—and whose accession is given by Ptolemy in this year. The length of his reign was probably twenty-two years, as Esarhaddon ascended the throne of Babylon, and probably also that of Nineveh, B.C. 680. The reign of this king is tolerably well known to us through the Hebrew scriptures; and his great palace at Konyunjik (the true site of Nineveh), more splendid than that of any of his predecessors, is described at length in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*. Like Sargon, he removed his viceroy from the government of Babylon,—after another struggle with the party of Merodach-Baladan, who seems to have been the asserter of Babylonian nationality,—and placed his son on the throne.

Under Esarhaddon, the son and successor of Sennacherib, who ruled from B.C. 680, about twenty years, the Assyrian empire reached its highest point of prosperity. He built several palaces, among them the "South-west palace" at Nimroud, of materials taken from the palaces of former monarchs. Another at *Nebbi-Yunns*, near Konyunjik, he claims to have been "such as the kings, his fathers, who went before him, had never made." He continued the war with the sons of Merodach-Baladan in Susiana, but instead of placing a viceroy in Babylon, he reigned there himself, probably residing alternately here and in Nineveh. Memorials of him have been discovered here, and hither Manasseh, king of Judah, seems to have been brought to him captive. His conquests in Media, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Egypt appear to have been more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. It is interesting to observe, as signs of his wide sway, such names among the artists employed in building his palaces as these,—Ægisthus of Idalium, Pythagoras of Citium, Ithodagon of Paphos, Euryalus of Soli,—as well as the mention of many workmen furnished him by the princes of Syria and Manasseh, king of Judah. Over all these states Assyria appears to have exercised a sort of feudal sovereignty; but the bond was slight, and the empire far from systematically governed. An acknowledgment of fealty, and the payment of some trifling yearly tribute, satisfied the monarch, but insignificant causes were often sufficient to excite rebellions, which were in general as speedily suppressed and lightly punished. When the nation was found unusually obstinate, marked vengeance was taken. Cities were burned, provinces laid waste, and the inhabitants carried off either to people other devastated districts, or to labour in the enormous public works by which the kings, especially of Babylon, gratified their vanity, or perhaps (as in the canals and reservoirs) largely benefited the trade and agriculture of their

country. Of such removals, the fall of the Jewish kingdoms, and the repeopling of Samaria by other tribes, furnish well-known illustrations.

Esarhaddon was succeeded by Sardanapalus, a peaceful prince, a patron of the arts, whose monuments are the most tasteful that have come down to us. He carried on some wars, chiefly in Susiana, with the grandsons of Merodach-Baladan, but hunting seems to have been his passion. The name of his successor, Asshur-emit-ili, cannot be identified with that of Saracus, whom we know from Berosus to have been the last king of Nineveh. Saracus may therefore have been his brother, and his reign short. This view is strengthened by the fact of his thus being the eighth in succession from the foundation of the new monarchy.

No date in ancient history has been more disputed than that of the destruction of Nineveh. It has been commonly assigned to B.C. 609 or B.C. 606, on the strength of a statement of Herodotus (I. 103—106) that it took place after the Scythian domination of twenty-eight years; we should also infer from him, although not necessarily, that it came after the war between Cyaxares and Alyattes, which is fixed by an eclipse in the year B.C. 610. But Herodotus, although perfectly trustworthy when relating what he himself saw, is a less sure guide as to earlier times, and it is probable that he is wrong in supposing the Scythians to have *ruled* twenty-eight years. It is hardly possible they should not have left more traces of themselves if this were the case, and it seems likely that this period of twenty-eight years was one only of occasional and destructive inroads, in the intervals of which Cyaxares could carry on his warlike operations. Berosus is at all events much more worthy of credit, who distinctly places the rise of the Babylonian dynasty eighty-seven years before the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, B.C. 538. This is, moreover, the year of the accession of Nabopolassar, which we know from a fragment of Abydenus, a transcriber of Berosus, to have immediately preceded the fall of Nineveh.

A suggestion of great value is made by Mr. Rawlinson in his able essay on the Great Median Empire, that Herodotus is mistaken in assigning so early a date as B.C. 708 to the independence of the Medes. Mr. Grote has already pointed out the completely mythical character of his account of Deioces. Mr. Rawlinson thinks the reign of Phraortes equally so, and places the beginning of Median history at the accession of Cyaxares, B.C. 633. The name Phraortes he finds in that of the usurper *Frawartish*, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, of whom we learn

from the Behistun inscription, whose unsuccessful revolt Herodotus confounds with the successful revolution of the Medes of the previous century. His arguments are, first, that all the Greek writers except Herodotus regard Cyaxares as the founder of the empire, and secondly, that the monuments shew that the Medes continued subject to Assyria as late at least as through the reign of Esarhaddon, about B.C. 660. We think he has proved that Herodotus (I. 95) was mistaken in asserting that the Medes, and following them the other nations of Asia, shook off the Assyrian yoke as early as B.C. 708, and that thereafter the Assyrians "stood alone by the revolt and desertion of their allies." (Herod. I. 102.) Niebuhr saw that Herodotus stated this far too strongly, although he agreed with him that the Assyrian empire was enfeebled at this time. But the monuments shew—what we should gather from the Hebrew Scriptures—that even this was incorrect, and that though the Assyrian power may have been diminished for a while in the middle of the eighth century, yet the age which followed, and precisely that which Herodotus gives as that of their depression, was in reality that of their greatest splendour,—the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon (B.C. 721 to B.C. 660). It is not, however, unlikely that a hardy Median tribe maintained itself in some secluded mountain district, like the kings of Asturias under the Saracens in Spain, which, during the less vigorous rule of Sardanapalus and his successors, gradually subdued the table-land of Media, until, under Cyaxares, it ventured forth to mighty undertakings. It is to be noticed that the accession of Phraortes, as given by Herodotus, would fall after the death of Esarhaddon, during the decline of the empire. That the Assyrian annals do not notice the growth of his power, and his successes against Assyria, is not to be wondered at.

Nabopolassar reigned twenty-one years at Babylon over the empire he had acquired by treachery, having obtained for his share of the plunder the whole southern and western portions of the Assyrian dominions. Of the mighty empire which he founded, we have tolerably full accounts in the Bible, in the fragments of Berosus, and in inscriptions. No sculpture, however, has been found at Babylon to compare with that of Nineveh, and it may be conjectured that paint, plaster, and gilding, as in our modern cities, took the place of solid stone. He appears to have sent aid to Cyaxares in his war against Lydia, and towards the close of his reign he carried on war with Egypt, appointing his son Nebuchadnezzar as commander. This was the war in which Josiah, king of Judah, without waiting for his sovereign, marched hastily to repel an invasion of Necho, and was defeated and

killed. Nebuchadnezzar, more successful, gained a complete victory at Carchemish, and returned home with many captives. His father had died in his absence, B.C. 604, and he succeeded to the throne, on which he sat forty-three years. Here he constructed those great works,—palaces, temples, hanging gardens, walls, aqueducts, canals, reservoirs,—which were the wonder of the ancient world, and which modern times have been slow to credit. But Herodotus and Ctesias, both eyewitnesses, testify to their magnitude, and, as Grote well observes, “to bring to pass all that Herodotus has described is a mere question of time, patience, number of labourers, and cost of maintaining them,—for the materials were both close at hand and inexhaustible.”

Nebuchadnezzar died B.C. 561, and, after three unimportant reigns, Nabonidus (the Labynetus of Herodotus) was placed on the throne by a conspiracy, B.C. 555. In the first year of his reign he was solicited by Cræsus to unite in an alliance with Lydia and Egypt and Cyrus, who had recently overthrown the Median kingdom, and the rapid growth of whose power made him the object of alarm to all these sovereigns. The inconsiderate haste and ill-success of Cræsus do not belong to our plan. Time was given in the fifteen years which intervened between the fall of Sardis and the investment of Babylon to erect the most complete defences, and to lay in a stock of provisions which should outlast the patience of the besieger. The immense area of the city—not far from forty miles in circuit—would not only receive all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country within the walls, but would enable the besieged partially to support themselves by agriculture. During this period Nabonidus associated with himself his son Belshazzar (Bil-shar-uzur) as his colleague upon the throne. On the approach of Cyrus, a battle was fought, in which the Babylonians, being defeated, retired within their impregnable walls to abide the siege. Nabonidus himself, however, retired to Borsippa, a few miles distant, leaving his son in command of the city. It was now that Cyrus, fully convinced of the impossibility of taking the city either by storm or blockade, put in operation the plan which is narrated with some differences by Herodotus and Xenophon, of turning out of its course the water of the river Euphrates, selecting for this purpose a night when the Babylonians were engaged in a sacred festival. The plan was completely successful, the city was taken almost without resistance, and Belshazzar slain. Cyrus next proceeded against Borsippa. But the disparity was too great; Nabonidus at once surrendered, and the great Babylonian empire was at an end.

We subjoin a compact tabular view of this later chronology, beginning with the era of Nabonassar, which, it is to be remarked, is only thirty years after the commencement of Greek chronology in the first Olympiad (B.C. 776), and only six years after that of Roman (B.C. 753)—

B.C. KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

747. Tiglath-Pileser.—Era of Nabonassar.  
 731. Shalmaneser.—(726, Hezekiah in Judah.)  
 722. Sargon.—Takes Samaria in the same year.  
 702. Sennacherib.—Makes Hezekiah tributary. Wars with Egypt.  
     (697, Manasseh in Judah.)  
 680. Esarhaddon.—(664, Psammetichus in Egypt).  
     Two or three insignificant kings.  
     (639, Josiah in Judah. 633, Cyaxares in Media.)  
 625. Destruction of Nineveh.

KINGS OF BABYLON.

625. Nabopolassar. (Same year, Alyattes in Lydia. 610, Necho in Egypt).  
 604. Nebuchadnezzar. (593, Astyages in Media. 568, Cræsus in Lydia. 588, Apries, and 569, Amasis in Egypt. 597, Zedekiah in Judah).  
     568. Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem.  
     Three unimportant kings. (558, Cyrus dethrones Astyages).  
 555. Nabonidus. (554, Cyrus conquers Lydia).  
 538. Babylon taken by Cyrus.

It is sometimes said that the discoveries of Layard, Botta, and Rawlinson have brought to light an extinct civilization. This is partially true, but it would be more exact to say that they have restored the lost annals of an extinct nation. We know in truth little of the civilization of Assyria and Babylon which we did not know before. It is not from royal palaces like those of Khorsabad and Konyunjik, nor from pompous inscriptions of kings, like those of Bavian, Behistun, and the black obelisk, that we learn the life and inner character of a nation. Had the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics been confined to the obelisk of Luxor, the pyramids of Gizeh, and the tablets of Karnak and Abydos, we should be grateful indeed for the valuable light thrown thereby upon chronology, but history would gain comparatively little. It is the sepulchres of Egypt, the papyrus rolls, the linen cerements, the wooden sarcophagi, the painting on walls and carving in stone, all filled with representations of the life of the people, the minutest details of their actions, their trade, their agriculture, their manufactures, their worship, their philosophy, and poetry even, which have placed



the civilization of Egypt almost as vividly before the eyes of the nineteenth century as that of China is before the eyes of Americans and English. In Assyria no tombs have been found, and we learn consequently little but the public life of the nation. Everything here indicates—what we knew before—the existence of a grinding despotism. We may infer that it was less oppressive and malignant in Assyria than in either Egypt or Babylon. A high land, well wooded, with undulating surface, giving scope to a variety of occupations, can hardly have been so absolutely ruled as a low, flat, bare tract, swarming with a population like that of Babylonia. And what is more conclusive, notwithstanding the extent, power, wealth, and populousness of Nineveh, we hear nothing there of public works approaching those of Babylon in magnificence and costliness; and in early nations public works are a very fair gauge of the despotism of the monarchs and the abasement of the subjects.

If we compare the art of Assyria with that of Egypt, we shall find another proof of the superiority of its civilization. In Egypt, while the canons of proportion varied slightly in the twelfth and nineteenth dynasties, under the family of Psammeticus, and under the Ptolemies, the art was essentially the same at all these epochs,—stiff, angular, unexpressive, formal. The Egyptian sculptures remind us of the Xanthian and Æginetan marbles, but these have the awkwardness of infancy, those of formalism; the national genius of Egypt had crystallized at the point where the Greek mind, ravished with the glimpse it had caught of the glorious world of art, was just ready to step into that career in which a few years only were needed to give birth to Phidias, Ictinus, and Polygnotus. But Assyria was not, like Egypt, trammelled by traditions of conservatism and non-intercourse. On the grand highway between East and West, she could not but be influenced in everything by the nations around her, while Egypt shut up in her narrow valley of the Nile, withered self-complacently, clinging every year more closely to her dead customs. So Greek and Phœnician artisans were employed on the palaces of Nineveh, as we have seen above, and the works of every reign shew an advance in grace and skill over those of the preceding. The sculptures of Nineveh do not satisfy our artistic cravings, but neither do they disgust us with their dead conventionality. We cannot doubt that, had the Assyrian empire lasted, and the artists who wrought in its temples and palaces continued to make the progress which is discernible in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Sardanapalus, the shackles of an early formality might have been thrown off, and a true and high school of art have appeared.

Mr. Rawlinson says of the art and manufactures of the Assyrians :

"They shew us a patient, laborious, painstaking people, with more appreciation of the useful than the ornamental, and of the actual than the ideal. Architecture, the only one of the fine arts which is essentially useful, forms their chief glory ; sculpture, and still more painting, are subsidiary to it. Again, it is the most useful edifice—the palace or house—whereon attention is concentrated ; the temple and tomb, the interest attaching to which is ideal and spiritual, are secondary, and appear simply as appendages of the palace. In the sculpture it is the actual—the historically true—which the artist strives to represent. Unless in the case of a few mythic figures connected with the religion of the country, there is nothing in the Assyrian bas-reliefs which is not imitated from nature. The imitation is always laborious, and often most accurate and exact. The laws of representation, as we understand them, are sometimes departed from, but it is always to impress the spectator with ideas in accordance with truth. Thus the colossal bulls and lions have five legs, but in order that they may be seen from every point of view with four ;—the ladders are placed edgewise against the walls of besieged towns, but it is to shew that they are ladders, and not mere poles ;—walls of cities are made disproportionately small, but it is done, like Raphael's boat, to bring them within the picture, which would otherwise be a less complete representation of the actual fact. The careful finish, the minute detail, the elaboration of every hair in the beard, and every stitch in the embroidery of a dress, remind us of the Dutch school of painting, and illustrate strongly the spirit of faithfulness and honesty which pervades the sculptures, and gives them so great a portion of their value."—Vol. i., p. 496.

It would be in the highest degree instructive to examine the science of the Assyrians and Babylonians, which, like that of Egypt, appears to have been in the hands of a special class, the Chaldæans. Astronomy was doubtless at the head with both these nations, and it is proved by the exactness of their chronology that this was extensively cultivated at an early date. But for a complete view of this science, as well as others among the Chaldæans, we must wait for the deciphering of the thousands of mythological and astronomical tablets in the British Museum, a commencement of which has scarcely been yet made.

Such was the character of the Assyrian empire, as well as of most of the early empires of the East, and, as long as it was ruled by able and energetic princes, like those of the family of Sargon, it had all the outward show of strength and prosperity.

"But no sooner does any untoward event occur, as a disastrous expedition, a foreign attack, a domestic conspiracy, or even an untimely and unexpected death of the reigning prince, than the inherent weakness of

this sort of government at once displays itself,—the whole fabric of the empire falls asunder,—each kingdom reasserts its independence,—tribute ceases to be paid, and the mistress of a hundred states suddenly finds herself thrust back into her primitive condition, stripped of the dominion which has been her strength, and thrown entirely upon her own resources. Then the whole task of reconstruction has to be commenced anew,—one by one the rebel countries are overrun, and the rebel monarchs chastised,—tribute is reimposed, submission enforced, and in fifteen or twenty years the empire has perhaps recovered itself."

Of this, the most familiar and striking illustration will be found in the history of the Hebrew monarchy. When the empire of Solomon had fallen to pieces, and his dominions were divided among the hostile states of Judah, Israel, Damascus, Hamath, etc., it was not long before mighty Nineveh began to reduce them one by one beneath its sway. We have shewn above the state of these countries at the time of Shalman-n-bar (about B. C. 878), who appears to have rendered Hamath, Damascus, and Samaria tributary. A key to the enigmatical passage, (2 Kings, xiii. 5) "And the Lord gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians," may, perhaps, be found in the necessity that Hazael and Benhadad felt to turn all their strength against this formidable foe, and thus to spare the "coasts of Israel." Under the vigorous reigns of Jehoash and Jeroboam II. we hear nothing of the Assyrians; it is probable that their strength declined somewhat after Shalman-n-bar. But the energetic Pul took advantage of the troubled times that followed to make Israel his vassal. His successors continued to receive fealty and exact tribute until the reign of Hoshea in Samaria, who thought to escape the yoke by transferring it to the rival kingdom of Egypt, "and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year." The usual result followed,—Samaria was taken and destroyed, the country ravaged, and the inhabitants swept into bondage. It was now the turn of Judah, which had equally, under Ahaz, submitted to the invader. But Hezekiah, backed by the powerful party of Isaiah, determined on resistance and alliance with Egypt. Judah was preserved from subjugation for a time, but seems soon to have acknowledged again the suzerainty of Assyria, for we find that Manasseh was sent a captive to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii.), and we learn from the inscriptions that he sent workmen to assist in the building of the palace of Esarhaddon. The Assyrian empire passed away, but its sceptre, and probably also its dominions, were transferred to Babylon. That Josiah was a vassal of Nabopolassar is rendered probable by the fact that he resisted so stoutly the invasion of the em-

pire by Necho, in spite of the protestations of the latter, that his arms were not directed against him. The kingdom of Egypt was at this time flourishing under the twenty-sixth dynasty, and its energetic rulers, having abandoned the traditionary policy of non-intercourse, and thrown open their ports to foreign commerce, exerted themselves to excite the Syrian, Phœnician, and Hebrew vassals of Babylon to revolt, and unite themselves under Egyptian protection. Shortly after the failure of Necho's attempt, a more formidable revolt was set on foot by the Phœnician cities, and the successors of Josiah, aided by Apries (Pharaoh Hophra), king of Egypt. Tyre was besieged thirteen years by Nebuchadnezzar, but seems never to have been captured. Jerusalem revolted several times, and the Egyptian party was so strong as to carry with it all the kings successively set up by Nebuchadnezzar. Tired out at length with its insubordination, he took the city in his nineteenth year, and carried its inhabitants with him to Babylon, where they probably swelled the number of its slavish workmen, whose hands wrought the great works of his reign.

The least satisfactory part of the work is the essay by Sir Henry Rawlinson on "The Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians,"—not from any negligence or incompetency on the part of the learned author, but from the very nature of the subject, so intricate and so unexplored are these mythological relations. It is of little interest to know that the Man-Bull of the Ninevite sculptures represents the god Nin, "the lord of the brave," identified with the Greek Heracles, and that the Man-Lion is the god Nergal, "the great hero," who is the Greek Ares. Of somewhat more importance is it to learn that the winged circle, sometimes surmounted by a human head, is the symbol of Asshur, the supreme deity of the Assyrians, from whom their country took its name.<sup>1</sup> No temple of this god is found except at the city Asshur (Kileh-Shergat). "It would seem that he was considered, as the head of the Pantheon, of too high a rank to receive the homage of his votaries in any particular or special temple." "The Assyrian kings, however, from the earliest times, evidently regarded *Asshur* as their special tutelary divinity. They constantly used his name as an element in their own titles; they invoked him on all occasions

<sup>1</sup> This symbol is found extensively in Persian sculptures. "The conjecture is probable, that, while in the human head we have the symbol of intelligence, the wings signify omnipresence, and the circle eternity. Thus the Persians were able, without the sacrifice of any principle, to admit it as a religious emblem."—P. 270, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> As, Asshur-dani-pal (Sardanapalus), Asshur-akh-iddina (Esarhaddon), Asshur-emit-ili, Asshur-dapal-il, etc.

which referred to the exercise of their sovereign functions. The laws of the empire were the laws of *Asshur*: the tribute payable from dependent kingdoms was the tribute of *Asshur*. He was all and everything, as far as Assyrian nationality was concerned; but he was strictly a local deity, and his name was almost unknown beyond the limits of Assyria proper." On the whole, the one most interesting religious fact deduced from these discoveries is that which has been already noticed, the origin of Assyrian mythology in Chaldæan Babylonia, the continued use of the Chaldæan language and alphabet in religious matters, even when it had gone out of use otherwise, and the consequent existence of a sacred language and a sacred class,—the Chaldæans of later writers.

We have exhibited some of the historical results of cuneiform discovery. We must, of course, take for granted the skill and fidelity of the translators, for we cannot test these as we can in the case of languages which are commonly known. But granting the accuracy of the translation,—which no one questions,—the only doubt remaining will be how much confidence should be placed in the good faith of the monarchs who have thus commemorated their actions. No doubt there is great temptation to magnify these, and we should receive with caution all statements in which vanity and arrogance may have had part. But this would naturally be chiefly in special incidents, in exaggerating results, in overstating the number of captives or amount of booty. We may accept, without hesitation, the truth of these inscriptions in their main features, especially when we see to how large a degree they are corroborated by independent testimony. What more may yet be accomplished it is impossible to foresee, but we may be sure that these enterprising scholars will not cease to labour as long as an inscription remains undeciphered or a mound unexplored.

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#### ANALYSIS OF THE EMBLEMS OF ST. JOHN.—Rev. x, xi.

(Continued from No. XVII., p. 186.)

THE passage, from the commencement of the tenth chapter to the fourteenth verse of the eleventh, appears to be a sort of episode. The contents of the seven-sealed book have not yet been all proclaimed; the seventh angel has yet to blow his trumpet, and unfold the third woe. But the thread of the series of symbols seems to be interrupted, after the description of the visions

which followed the blast of the sixth trumpet; and we are now presented with a supplementary volume, apparently containing matters not specially written in the seven-sealed book.

The apostle states, "And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud (or more properly wrapt in a cloud), a rainbow on his head, his face as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire." One powerful angel had already been seen by John, challenging heaven and earth to bring forward one worthy to open the seven-sealed volume; and this second is introduced as being another strong or mighty angel, as much as to say, that he was alike powerful with the other mighty angel, who had been previously mentioned. His being wrapt in a cloud may denote that he was the bearer of a mysterious message, having a gloomy and threatening aspect—that he was charged to announce part of the mystery of God, mentioned in the seventh verse. By this we may understand that the events, about to be foreshadowed, were of a nature liable to be misunderstood by the unenlightened mind of man; part of God's mysterious ways, whereby out of present apparent evil, He works real and permanent good; making the wrath of man to praise him, and restraining what remains. Hence we observe, that this cloud was so ominous in its aspect, that it required the reassuring presence of the rainbow, to impart confidence and hope.\* This rainbow was not like that which surrounded him that sat upon the throne—all green like an emerald—the symbol of a new and everlasting covenant, the covenant of grace; but it appears to have been the old parti-coloured rainbow, which appeared to Noah in the cloud as a symbol of God's providential covenant with man, giving the assurance that, however lowering the aspect of events, yet he will make them all work together for good to them that love him, and keep his commandments. This angel's face being as the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire, may also have a symbolical meaning. The former may denote that the message with which he was charged would tend to enlighten and cheer the spiritual and intellectual mind, typified by the angel's face, while the latter may signify that the message would have a scorching and destructive effect upon the worldly and grovelling mind, symbolized by the angel's feet.

This angel, the apostle adds, "had in his hand a little book (or small roll of parchment) open." The tense of the verb here used indicates that the roll had been at one time sealed, but had been opened. It may hence be fairly inferred, that the contents

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\* Griesbach, Lachmann, and Bloomfield introduce the definite article before "Rainbow."

of this volume had already been made the subject of prophecy, and were now to be, not for the first time, revealed. This is further indicated by the circumstance of their being in a small roll, distinct from the greater seven-sealed volume, whence the principal series of emblems was evolved. That larger volume was in the hands of Christ, the lamb of God, who alone was found worthy to open it. But this little volume was in the hands of a strong angel, and already open. It may be hence concluded that this strong angel was not Christ himself; a conclusion fortified by other considerations to be presently noticed.

We are next informed that this angel "set his right foot on the sea and his left foot on the land." It will be observed that the statement is, not that he simply stood on the sea and the land, but that he set his foot upon them; a form of expression generally implying the assertion, or the exercise of dominion. The action may therefore import that the message with which he was charged was to have an universal application and influence. Or, another view may be taken: the angel's feet, we are told, were like pillars of fire, an emblem probably signifying that his message should have a scorching and withering effect upon the low worldly and grovelling mind. The sea and the land may be here contradistinguished, in the same sense as in a former emblem, the sea meaning the general mass of human society, the scene of tumult and agitation; the land signifying that portion of society which God has separated from the rest—his visible church, in which he has planted his trees, and sown his good seed. According to this view, the fiery feet of the angel being set, the right upon the sea, and the left upon the land, may import that the fiery messages, with which he was charged, should bear less heavily on the visible church than on the general mass of human society, though they should affect both. In either view, the universality of the application of the angel's message appears to be the leading idea involved; an idea further confirmed by the next act of the angel, who "cried with a loud voice as a lion roareth." This loud cry, accompanied by no articulate sound, seems to have no other design than to awaken universal attention. Its being compared to the roar of a lion seems designed to indicate the great power of this angel's voice, or perhaps that his might consisted in the power of his voice, or of his utterances; an idea which will appear more probable when we come to understand what this angel represents. It would be to allow imagination to override judgment, were we to permit ourselves to fancy that there is, in this comparison of the angel's cry to the roar of a lion, a prophetic allusion to the assumption, by any potentate, political or ecclesiastical, of the

name "lion," as an official title. Highly blameable as it is for any man, however lofty his official dignity, to call himself "the lion of the tribe of Judah," the title appropriated to Christ alone, it appears extremely improbable that such an act of presumption should be foreshadowed by this casual and very natural comparison, of the cry of this mighty angel, to the roaring of a lion.

The narrative continues, "And when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices." These doubtless emanated from the cloud in which the angel was wrapt, and were probably designed to convey to the mind of the apostle the nature of the mysteries involved in that lowering emblem. But he was not permitted to announce the information thus imparted to him. He says, "And when the seven thunders uttered their voices, I was about to write; and I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Seal those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not." This prohibition shews, that the command to seal up must be understood metaphorically; for, as the words were not written, there could be nothing to seal up, in the literal or physical sense of that term. The meaning must therefore be merely that the apostle was enjoined to seal up in his mind, or to keep secret, what had been uttered by the seven thunders.

The prohibition, "write them not," is probably only of a temporary character. Do not introduce these utterances at this stage of the prophecy; for they relate to more distant events. This reason is suggested by the parallel case of Daniel, to whom it was said (chap. viii. 26) "Shut thou up the vision; *for it shall be for many days.*" And again (chap. xii. 4), "Shut up the words, and seal the book, *even to the time of the end.*" It will thus be perceived, that the command to seal up a vision, or prophecy, is indicative of its relating to the more distant future, and of what is symbolized afterwards, in the order of vision, being to have precedence in the order of fulfilment. The reason of the introduction of these mysterious utterances, at this particular point in John's vision, becomes manifest from the sequel, in which it is declared that a certain mystery of God was about to be accomplished or finished. The giving forth of these seven mysterious utterances, therefore, was to forewarn the apostle that other mysteries of divine providence would remain to be accomplished after the fulfilment of the particular mystery, whose termination is about to be proclaimed, and thus to prevent his mind from drawing, from that proclamation, the erroneous conclusion, that all mystery in the divine dealings with mankind was about to cease. Were it permissible to hazard a con-



jecture on this point, it would be that these seven thunders related to the mysteries of the seven vials, which were to be evolved from the visions following the blast of the seventh trumpet, but it is almost presumption to regard this conjecture as possessing anything more than the most moderate degree of probability. For it is evident, that the utterances of the seven thunders were intended for the private information of the apostle alone, and to guard his mind against some erroneous impressions, which the subsequent symbolization seemed likely to convey. It would be mere idleness, therefore, were we to permit ourselves to imagine that these seven thunders symbolize the decrees, or denunciations, or authoritative opinions of some earthly potentate, political or ecclesiastical; far less that they foreshadow the circumstance that the utterances of any such potentate should acquire so great force and power in the world, that they should be nick-named "thunders;" and this the more especially, considering that we have, as yet, in the course of the previous symbolization, no other indication given of the approaching rise of such a sovereign power. Nor would it abate the extravagance of such a supposition, were we further to imagine the number seven, assigned to these numbers, to be an indication of some peculiarity, distinguishing the locality where this thundering earthly power was to have its central seat.

In like manner, it would be a violation of all the rules of sound interpretation, if, in search of a reason for command given to seal up the utterances of these seven thunders, and not to write them, we were to look forward to the twenty-first chapter and fifth verse, where it is said, "Write, for these words are true and faithful," and hence, by antithesis, to infer that the reason why the apostle was commanded to seal up, and not to write the utterances of the seven thunders, was because their words were not true and faithful. Such an anticipatory allusion, involving such a contrast, ought not to be assumed on slender grounds, and there are, in the present instance, no rational grounds whatever for drawing an inference of this kind. On the contrary, in the vision of Daniel the prophet was commanded to seal up the vision, *because it was true* (Daniel viii. 16). "And the vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, *is true; wherefore* shut thou up the vision." Again, in the subsequent parts of John's prophecy, the impressive command to write is given in the fourth chapter and thirteenth verse, without its being assigned as a reason that the sentence, thus to be written, was true and faithful. The same command is repeated in the nineteenth chapter, ninth verse; and it is there added, but not as a reason assigned for the command to write, "these are the true

sayings of God." And lastly, in the twenty-second chapter and sixth verse, the asseveration, "these sayings are true and faithful," recurs without the command to write. There is therefore no such connection established between the command to write, and the truth of what was to be written, as to warrant our drawing the antithetical conclusion, that the command not to write was given, because the utterances of the seven thunders were not true. Had it been intended to convey to the mind of the apostle so important a caution, with respect to those utterances, it is much more probable that it would have been given in express terms, than that he should have been left to gather it by antithetical inference, from a subsequent part of his vision. In the absence, then, of any reason assigned for the sealing, and not writing the utterances of the seven thunders, all the rules of sound interpretation require that we should take the reason assigned in the prior case of Daniel, where, although the vision was expressly declared to be true, he was commanded to seal it up, "because it was for many days."

The next act of the angel is very remarkable: "And the angel, which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the land, lifted up his hand to heaven, and swarè by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer." This solemn asseveration confirms the view, that this angel was not an impersonation of Christ, who is identified with him that liveth for ever and ever. When one swears it is usually by some one superior to himself, in allusion to which custom St. Paul says of the Deity, that, seeing he could swear by no greater, he swarè by himself. Hence it may be fairly inferred, that as this angel did not swear by himself, but by him that liveth for ever and ever, and that created all things, he was an inferior and created being, and not a personal manifestation of him who liveth for ever and ever.

The meaning of the words spoken by the angel is scarcely conveyed with sufficient precision in our translation. The phrase, "time shall be no longer," is not to be taken as importing the completion of the temporal system of the world; for we find, that, after the date fixed for the expiry of the period here indicated, much of the temporal history of the world remains to be evolved. We are, therefore, to understand by the word "time," here employed, rather "delay;" time given for repentance. A postponement of the divine judgments, or of the completion of the mystery of God.

The chief imperfection in our translation, however, is in the

next clause of the angel's proclamation, which runs thus : " But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets." The defect of this rendering consists in the omission of the Greek conjunction " also," in the clause regarding the finishing of the mystery of God, and in the change of the tense of the verb being scarcely well expressed. The verbs referring to the time, and to the angels being about to sound, are in the simple future, but the verb relating to the finishing of the mystery of God is in the subjunctive mood of the aorist, indicating that when the future time spoken of shall arrive, the finishing of the mystery shall be past. Thus the meaning seems to be, " There shall be delay no longer, but in the days when the seventh angel shall be about to sound, the mystery of God should also by that time have been brought to an end." It is worthy of notice, that it is some *one* particular mystery of God that is here mentioned, and that it is farther limited by the subsequent clause, " As he hath declared to his servants the prophets," thus shewing, that what is here foretold is the winding up of some mystery of divine providence, which God had previously declared to his prophets should surely come to an end. We may not, however, hence conclude that *all* mystery whatever was henceforward to be removed from the providence of God. On the contrary, the seven thunders, which uttered their voices from the cloud, and whose utterances the apostle was commanded not to divulge, indicate that, after the termination of the particular mystery here referred to, according to the declaration made to the ancient prophets, fresh mysteries should remain to be evolved from the womb of futurity. What is the particular mystery, whose termination was to coincide with the seventh angel's preparing to sound, will probably appear from the sequel.

It is, meanwhile, worthy of remark, as bearing on the subsequent symbolization, that we have here indicated the existence of a great prophetic epoch, or cycle, whose completion is to coincide with the blowing of the seventh angel's trumpet, which is to introduce the third woe. We have as yet before us, however, no materials from which we can form any judgment regarding the length of this cycle, or the starting point from which it begins to run. The consideration of these points must, therefore, be reserved to a future stage of our investigation.

The voice which prohibited John from writing or divulging the mysterious utterances of the seven thunders now resumes. The apostle says, " And the voice, which I heard from heaven, spake unto me again, and said, Go and take the little book,

which is open in the hand of the angel, which standeth upon the sea and upon the land." The small roll is here described as having been already opened, the perfect participle being employed. The apostle continues, "And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book; and he said unto me, Take it and eat it up, and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth sweet as honey." This command the apostle accordingly obeys; he says, "And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey, and as soon as I had eaten it my belly was bitter." We have here a recurrence, with some variation, of a symbolical action, which was previously employed in the prophecies of Ezekiel, who was, in like manner, commanded to eat the prophetic volume presented to him. In his case, however, there was experienced only the sweetness in the mouth, but not the bitterness in the belly. The beautiful figure, of the sweetness of the roll in the mouth, is experienced on reference to Psalm xix. 16, where the judgments of the Lord are said to be "sweeter than honey and the honeycomb. And Psalm cxix. 163, "How sweet are thy words unto my taste, yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth." Also Jeremiah says (xv. 16), "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." The symbolical act, evidently, means that the contents of the roll were infused into the mind of the prophet, so that he might make them the subject of his prophecy; and the sweetness is expressive of the delight which the prophet experienced in having conferred on him the high honour of being made the medium of communicating the divine word to his fellows, and also the exalted intellectual enjoyment, which the mind derives from clear perceptions of the wise designs of the Deity, as revealed by his word.

The roll eaten by John differed from that taken by Ezekiel, for while both were sweet in the mouth, the roll given to John embittered his belly. This symbol may mean that the words contained in the roll were hard to be understood, and difficult of mental digestion; or, viewing the belly as a type of the carnal and sensual part of human nature, as contradistinguished from the spiritual and intellectual part, the symbol may denote that the contents of the roll, while sweet to the taste of the spiritual and intellectual mind, should prove full of bitterness to the grovelling and sensual man.

The substance of the little volume having been thus infused into the mind of the apostle, the angel, who gave it to him, imposes upon him the following command: "And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations,

and tongues, and kings." From the circumstance of the volume having been already opened, when first seen by John, and from this command to "*prophecy again*," it may be fairly inferred that the contents of the volume had, to a certain extent, been already divulged to a limited portion of the human race, but that they were now to be republished to many nations, perhaps in a more enlarged sense, and to be regarded as more generally applicable than formerly.

The more minutely the description given of this mighty angel is examined, the more will the mind become impressed with the conviction that he is a personification of *the spirit of prophecy*—an idea to which every feature of the symbolization beautifully corresponds. Thus the epithet "*mighty*" indicates the powerful influence exercised by the spirit of prophecy. The angel's descent from heaven, denotes that all prophecy comes down from the giver of every good and perfect gift. His being wrapt in a cloud, symbolizes the mystery in which prophetic announcements are usually enveloped. The rainbow about his head, signifies that the spirit of prophecy is the medium through which the Deity conveys his covenanted promises to man; the rainbow bearing an obvious reference to the divine promise made to Noah. The angel's face shining as the sun, denotes the brilliancy of that intellectual illumination, which is conveyed by the spirit of prophecy to those on whom it alights. His feet being like pillars of fire, may indicate the fiery character of the denunciations against the wicked, with which the spirit of prophecy is sometimes charged, and also the power of treading down all opposition with trappings of fire. His having in his hand a written roll, is symbolical of the utterances of prophecy being generally reduced to writing; while its being already opened, indicates that this particular roll related to matters already forming part of the written prophetic word. His voice being compared to the roar of a lion, denotes the power of the prophetic voice to arrest the attention of mankind. His cry being followed by seven thunders, besides the specific meaning of those utterances, seems to convey the general idea that the voice of prophecy expresses itself in mysterious utterances, having a power to inspire the hearer with awe, like the pealing of thunder. The number (seven) may, according to this general view, designate the perfection of the utterances of prophecy—an idea to which reference appears to be made in the saying of the prophet Amos (chap. iii. ver. 7, 8)—"*Surely, the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets. The lion hath roared, who will not fear? The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy.*" In this last verse we have

forestalled the comparison of the voice of the spirit of prophecy to the roaring of a lion. Nor do the acts of this angel correspond less remarkably to the idea of his being an impersonation of the spirit of prophecy. His proclamation, itself a prediction, specially relates to the fulfilment of the assurances given by the Deity to his servants the prophets. And, lastly, his giving to John the prophetic roll, and commanding him to eat it, and thereafter to go and prophesy again, before many nations, obviously represents the infusion of prophetic ideas into the mind of the apostle—an act peculiarly appropriate to one impersonating the spirit of prophecy.

With respect to the chronology of this vision, the point is left quite open. It will be remembered that, in the parallel case of the vision, which relates to the sealing of the 144,000, and which formed a sequel to the scenic representations of the sixth seal, the apostle's narrative commences with these words: "And after these things I saw four angels, etc.," thus indicating that the events about to be symbolized were to follow, in the order of time, those which had been previously foreshadowed. In the case before us, however, there is no such announcement to indicate whether the symbolization, which follows the release of the four angels, restrained by the mystic Euphrates, relates to events following in the order of time or not. It must be borne in mind, that, where a series of events is foreshadowed by means of scenic representations, those which are parallel in the order of their occurrences must, nevertheless, be represented by successive scenes; consequently, in the absence of any collateral indication of the order in which the predicted events are to happen, we are always left in doubt whether these are to be successive or contemporaneous.

An appearance of succession is given in the case before us, by the division of the chapters, which is most unfortunate. The tenth chapter ought to have commenced at the thirteenth verse of the ninth chapter, where the account of the second woe begins, and to have concluded with the fourteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, where the description of the second woe ends, thus preserving the continuity of the narrative. As it is, the tenth chapter does not foreshadow any particular events, but rather symbolizes a preparation for the development of the rest of the occurrences which were to follow the blast of the sixth trumpet; for, as yet, we have the second woe only partially unfolded. The spirit of self-delusion, personified by the angel who sounds the sixth trumpet, has hitherto operated only negatively. He has lulled into false security the men who had not the seal of God on their foreheads, and who had devoted themselves to a false super-

stition, thus opening the way for the invasion of warlike hordes, tinctured with a superstition of another kind, whence has ensued a war of antagonistic superstitions, resulting in much slaughter. But as yet this angel of the sixth trumpet has not excited any direct attack on Christianity itself. Such, however, is now about to be foreshadowed, and we have, in the symbolization of the 10th chapter, a scenic representation of the preparation made on the side of Christianity to resist the impending assault. The spirit of prophecy comes to her aid. He gives her adherents the consoling assurance that the mystery of Divine Providence, now apparently shrouding the prospects of pure religion in impenetrable gloom, is about to be dispelled, and he inspires his ministers, of whom the apostle may be regarded as the representative, with a fresh supply of prophetic power, the effects of which become manifest in the sequel. But we have not, hitherto, given to us any indication by which we may certainly conclude whether the attack on Christianity, about to be foreshadowed, is to follow the war of superstitions already described, or to be contemporaneous with it. This may, therefore, be regarded as quite an open question for the chronologist.

#### CHAPTER XI.

From what precedes them, we are led to understand that the prophecies embraced in the first thirteen verses of this chapter are those contained in the little supplementary volume, which had been already opened. At the fourteenth verse, we are brought back to the general series of emblems evolved from the seven-sealed volume, which appear to have been interrupted at the commencement of the tenth chapter. Or, perhaps, we ought rather to conclude that the prophecy contained in the open roll was repeated in the seven-sealed volume, in a somewhat different and more enlarged sense than that in which it was originally announced.

This renewed prophecy is introduced by a symbolical action, which the apostle thus describes (verses 1, 2)—“And there was given me a reed, like unto a rod; and the angel stood, saying, Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein, but the court, which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles; and the holy city shall they tread under foot, forty and two months.”

The reed given to the apostle is here described as being “like a rod or sceptre.” In this it differed from a mere measuring reed, such as was the golden reed with which the angel measured

the New Jerusalem, in a subsequent vision. The resemblance to a reed or sceptre, appears to denote that what the apostle was about to measure was a dominion—something over which supreme sway was exercised, like that which a shepherd exercises over his flock, or a king over his realm.

The angel, who addresses to John the command which follows, is evidently the same who gave him the prophetic roll; and when we come to understand the nature of the act which the apostle was thus commanded to perform, we shall find a confirmation of our view that this angel is an impersonation of the spirit of prophecy.

The command given to John, is to “arise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.”

Of the two words which the Greeks employ for a temple, namely *hieron* and *naos*, the former denotes a place of sacrifice, the latter the dwelling place of the worshipped Deity; and it is the latter that is here used. As the temple of Jerusalem had ceased to exist, and we read of no future material temple which is to be built, it is plain that the temple, or habitation of God, here spoken of, must be viewed in a spiritual sense. What is meant by the spiritual temple we learn from St. Paul, who says (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17), “Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, whose temple ye are.” And again in Ephesians ii. 19, 22, “Now then ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God, through the spirit.” In both of those passages the same word, *naos*, is employed, and its signification, as “a dwelling place of God,” is specially brought into view. By the temple of God, which John was commanded to measure, then, we are to understand the spiritual temple, the corporate body of those who are ruled by the influences of the indwelling Spirit of God.

The symbolical action of measuring with a reed, like a rod, or emblem of authority, may import that it was given to John to separate or measure off, as it were, in his mind, the true spiritual temple of God from the rest of the world, and more especially from those who were mere professors of religion, but destitute of spiritual life. Some manuscripts, instead of



"measure" read "*partition off*" the temple of God—separate it from the general mass—a reading which still more forcibly brings out the metaphysical idea. That it was merely a mental separation, or measuring off, that the apostle was commanded to make, and that, not of a material but of a spiritual temple, is further evidenced by the circumstance that John does not proceed to make any actual admeasurement, or to state any dimensions, as of a material structure. He merely measured off, in his mind, the spiritual temple of God, and discerned the difference between it and the mass of mankind.

Seeing we have here not a physical, but a metaphysical temple, what are we to understand by the altar? Its character must be gathered from the nature of the sacrifices which are offered upon it, and which can be no other than those mentioned by St. Peter, namely, "spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." The altar of an enlightened and sanctified conscience may, therefore, be regarded as being that on which these spiritual sacrifices are offered.

According to this view, we ought not to understand that John was to measure the altar, separately from the temple, but that he was mentally to measure, or partition off, the temple, with its altar and its worshippers; and the accuracy of this view is confirmed by the command to measure, embracing the worshippers who could not, with propriety, be objectively measured with a reed, in the literal sense. The command, therefore, is to be understood as an injunction to the apostle, mentally to separate the true temple of God—his spiritual dwelling—the corporate body of his spiritual sons, containing the altar of an enlightened and sanctified conscience, and embracing all the sincere worshippers of God. Thus, while by the temple of God we are to understand his true Israel viewed as a corporate body, "the whole body fitly framed together," of which St. Paul speaks, we must take the worshippers therein to mean the individual members of the spiritual church—"the lively stones," composing the spiritual house, as they are styled by St. Peter.

When the command given by the angel is thus understood, in its true spiritual sense, it will be seen to strengthen the view that this angel personifies the spirit of prophecy, for it is one of the functions of that spirit to convey to the mind such a spiritual discernment of the mental condition of others, as the apostle was here called upon to exercise. To this power of spiritual discernment, St. Paul makes a distinct allusion, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. xiv. 24, 25, where he says, "But if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all; and thus are the secrets

of his heart made manifest; and so, falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth."

In thus separating, by a mental mensuration, the temple of God from the mass of mankind, the apostle is strictly enjoined to cast out, and not to include in his measurement the court of the temple. There is an unfortunate disagreement among the manuscripts in this passage, some making it the "court *within*," others the "court *without*" the temple. The important question, however, is, what are we to understand by the court. It has, obviously, some character of sacredness about it, but still it is not the *naos*, the place in which God dwells. It appears, therefore, aptly to symbolize the external or visible church, as contradistinguished from the true church composed of those who have God abiding in their hearts. It is nominally a part of the *hieron*—the sacred precincts, but it does not really constitute any portion of the *naos*, the divine habitation. To this sense the *inner* court would answer quite as well as the *outer*, so that it becomes a matter of comparative indifference which of the two readings be adopted. Of the two, the *inner* court is perhaps the preferable, as being nearer to the sanctuary, and as more distinctly pointing to the visible church.

This court the apostle was commanded to cast out from his mental admeasurement; because it had been given to the Gentiles. This last term, like all the others employed in this emblem, must be taken, not in its natural, but in its spiritual sense, as meaning all who are not of the true Israel of God—his spiritual seed. The giving of the court to the unregenerate, and its being left uncircumscribed by admeasurement, seem to imply that all were to be allowed free access to the external means of grace, in order to their being brought near the inner sanctuary, so that, being subjected to its influence, they might be induced to enter the holy place itself. Or the giving of the court to the Gentiles may mean that, during a protracted period of time, a large proportion of the external visible church should be composed of unregenerate men; while those constituting the true temple of God, characterized by his indwelling presence, should be comparatively limited in number.

It is farther intimated to the apostle, that the Gentiles, or unregenerate, should trample on the holy city for a period of forty-two months. What are we to understand by the holy city? In its natural sense, this phrase would mean Jerusalem; but it appears so obvious that all the phraseology here employed is to be understood in a spiritual sense, that we must view this term also in the same light, and by the holy city understand that "city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is

God"—whose citizens are "the saints and household of God." In short, "the holy city" is another metaphor, designating the entire body of the redeemed on earth. There is a different shade of meaning, however, conveyed by these two metaphors. When the adopted sons of God are called "the temple of God," they are viewed as a religious body. Each member having God abiding in his heart, the whole compose a holy shrine, or dwelling-place of the Deity. But the saints are also to be regarded as members of human society at large, entitled to the rights and privileges of citizenship, as well as the rest of mankind; and, viewed in this light, they constitute "the holy city," as contradistinguished from the men of the world, who constitute a city of an opposite character. By the Gentiles trampling under foot the holy city, then, we are to understand that the unregenerate are to be permitted, for a certain period, to usurp political supremacy over the regenerate, and to exercise it in a spirit of pride and contumely, trampling under foot their natural rights and privileges of citizenship. There is thus foreshadowed a protracted enmity, on the part of the mere professors of religion, against the true Israel of God, and the long continuance of acts of oppression and insult perpetrated by the former against the latter.

The duration of this political supremacy of the false professors over the true disciples is fixed at forty-two months. The investigation of the true meaning of this phrase, however, being a matter of importance, will be taken up with more advantage, after the remainder of the symbolization belonging to this vision shall have been explained.

The angel continues, "And I will grant unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy 1260 days, clothed in sackcloth. These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks, standing before the God of the earth." By this expression the apostle is referred for an explanation of what is meant by "the two witnesses" to the prophecy of Zechariah, chapter iv., where a full account is given of these two olive trees. The vision there described is peculiarly beautiful, and viewed as an emblem remarkably striking. Zechariah beheld, in his vision, a candlestick all of gold, and on its summit a bowl, containing seven lamps, with a pipe from each lamp, for the purpose of conveying oil to feed the flame, and two olive trees, one on the right side of the bowl and the other on the left, which supplied the oil from themselves, through two golden pipes, which branched into the seven, communicating with the lamps, so that the oil flowed directly from the olive trees to the lamps, in order to feed their flame. On beholding this beautiful vision the prophet inquired, "What are these, my Lord?" The answer is at first indirect, in the

form of a message to Zerubbabel, commencing “not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.” The explanation is then given in a more direct form, though it is somewhat obscured, by the manner in which it has been rendered by our translators. It will be found at the end of the tenth verse, and ought to stand thus: “These seven are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.” This explanation obviously refers to the seven lamps, and brings into view a remarkable correspondence between the vision of Zechariah and that of John. In the latter were seen before the throne seven lamps of fire, which are said to have represented the seven spirits of God; and the Lamb which John saw appeared to have seven horns and seven eyes, which are said to have symbolized the seven spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth.

The answer given to Zechariah did not entirely satisfy his curiosity. His inquiries are next directed, in a particular manner, to ascertain the meaning of “the two olive-trees emptying the oil out of themselves, through the golden pipes into the lamps.” The answer is, “These are the two sons of fatness, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth.” There is thus exhibited a curious contrast—the seven eyes were said to run to and fro in the whole earth, but the two sons of fatness are said to stand by, or to have an abiding position, beside the Lord of the whole earth.

The same two, who, in the vision of Zechariah, were symbolized by two olive-trees, and denominated the two sons of fatness, standing by the Lord of the whole earth, are, in the vision of St. John, designated “two witnesses,” and are accordingly personified instead of being represented any longer by the two olive trees, although identity with the pair exhibited under that emblem is here clearly pointed out.

To understand more clearly what is meant by this allegory, it is necessary to bear in mind that the flame of a lamp is used in a spiritual sense to denote, not only the secret springs and motives by which the human mind is influenced, and the spirit by which it is actuated, but also the outward conduct and demeanour which thence result. “Let your light so shine before men,” says our Lord, “that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.” Here the light, or lamp, is identified with “good works” which are to redound to the honour—not of the individual performing them, but of our Father which is in heaven. A further development of the metaphor occurs in the parable of the ten virgins, in which the lamp is connected with the oil by which its flame is fed. It is said of the wise virgins, that they had stored up oil to feed

their lamps, but of the foolish that they had no oil for their lamps, which accordingly expired. The flame of the lamp being the outward conduct and demeanour, which is to be made so to shine that they who see it may give glory to God; the oil, which feeds the flame, must mean the principle by which the conduct and demeanour are animated. Now, the only animating principle of conduct which is pleasing to God, or which can lead men to give to God the glory of the good works, proceeding from it, is that of the implicit subjection of the will to the guidance of God's good spirit. "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." Hence the oil seems to involve a compound idea. Not only the grace of the divine spirit itself, but also the willing submission of the mind to the influence of that grace, without which the grace itself is unavailing. It may, therefore, be deemed an emblem of "effectual grace" of the Divine Spirit actuating the willing mind, and sustaining the light of the outward conduct and deportment.

Having thus arrived at the meaning of the lamp, and the oil by which its flame is fed, it becomes comparatively easy to discern the meaning of the olive-trees, from which the precious oil perpetually flows. They must obviously be the *means of grace*, by which the mind obtains continuous fresh supplies of the aids of the Divine Spirit, and by which the will is rendered more and more submissive to his enlightening influences on the understanding, and his sanctifying influences on the heart. From the same means of grace being symbolized by two olive-trees, continually standing by the God of the whole earth, and being also called God's two witnesses, whom he commissions to prophesy, we may infer, that the means of grace thus shadowed forth are connected with the utterance of words. Moreover, when we call to mind the assurance of our Saviour, that God gives his holy spirit to them that ask of him, and his frequent exhortations to ask that we may receive, we can be at no loss to discern, in one of this pair, an emblem and a personification of earnest and persevering prayer. It is by prayer that the human will is brought into conformity to the divine will; and it is in answer to prayer that God gives more and more of the enlightening and sanctifying influences of his spirit. Prayer is thus, in the peculiar sense, one of the "the witnesses of God;" for before earnest and believing prayer can be offered up, there must exist in the mind a belief, "that God is, and that He is the rewarder of all them that diligently seek him," while, on the other hand, the blessings obtained through prayer render it a witness that God is faithful to his promises, and that he is ever universally present as the hearer and answerer of prayer.

What then is the other olive tree—the other son of fatness, standing beside the God of the whole earth; the other witness to whom he gives commission to prophesy? Seeing it is thus indicated to be one of the means of grace, one of the sources from which nourishment is conveyed to the human mind, in order to maintain its light, and also as one of the witnesses of God giving testimony by utterances, we are almost shut up to the conclusion that it can mean nothing but the written Word. This is doubtless the most important of the means of grace. Indeed, it is by the written Word that we are directed to resort to prayer, and to expect a compliance with our request. It is in the written Word, that we find all those rules for the regulation of the heart and conduct, by the observation of which our lamps may be made to burn brightly. “The words that I speak unto you,” says Christ, “they are spirit and they are life.” The written Word is also an important witness of God. The prophecies in particular which it contains furnish evidences, by their fulfilment, not only of the existence of the Deity, by whom these prophecies were inspired, but also of his foreknowledge and superintending providence.

Thus, both of these two—prayer and the written Word—answer to the description here given. Both are olive trees, supplying oil to feed the lamps of the world, and both are witnesses of God, testifying to his existence, and to his attributes of omnipresence, omniscience, benevolence, and power. They are each the reciprocal of the other, the one being the Word of God to man, the other of man to God; the latter being, as it were, the reflection or rebound of the former; while both together constitute the most effectual means of grace, and the most important witnesses to the truth of God.

But, it will be observed, that these two are not only designated God’s two witnesses, and declared to be the same, as were symbolized by the two olive trees standing before the God of the earth, but they are also called “two candlesticks,” thus introducing a variation from the vision of Zechariah. In several of the Greek manuscripts, and in the received text, the article is omitted before the word “candlesticks,” though inserted by our translators. The reading without the article, however, appears to be the better of the two; for, while we read of one candlestick standing before God, of seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, and of Christ walking in the midst of seven candlesticks; we, in no previous passage, read of “two candlesticks standing before God,” to which reference might here be made. The effect of the article would be to indicate specifically two

particular candlesticks, which had been somewhere previously mentioned; but if we omit the article, the phrase will mean, that the two witnesses, while they were identical with the two olive trees seen in the vision of Zechariah, did also perform the office of candlesticks by affording supports to the lights of the world—exhibiting them in such a position, that they might so shine before men, as to lead them to give glory to their Father in heaven. We should, therefore, here read, “These are the two olive-trees and two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.”

In what respect do prayer and the written Word perform the office of candlesticks? Perhaps in a twofold manner. The Word exhorts the true disciple to let his light so shine before men, that they, seeing his good words, may glorify his Father in heaven; and our Saviour illustrates the exhortation by the aphorism, that “men, when they light a candle, do not put it under a bushel, but set it on a candlestick, that it may give light to all the house.” The disciple, reading this exhortation, is led to pray that his light may be set on a candlestick, that he may be placed in such a position in life that his light may shine before men. Thus the written Word and prayer contribute indirectly to place the light to which they supply oil in such a conspicuous position, that it may shine before men, and they may therefore, in this sense, be said to be candlesticks.

But in another point of view, they may be regarded as contributing to sustain, in a conspicuous position, the light which they feed. The written Word and prayer form a bond of union among the true disciples of Christ, who are, through their influence, led to engage in united prayer, and in a common reading of the Word. They are thus formed into societies, of greater or smaller extent; and the lights are thus grouped together, as in a *candelabrum*, and so made to shine more effectively, and with greater lustre before men. The written Word and prayer, being the means by which such groups of lights are originally formed, and continuously held together, may therefore, in this sense also, be viewed as candlesticks or candelabra.

Of these two olive trees and candlesticks, it is affirmed that they are continually standing before the God of the earth. This phrase admits of a double interpretation; because the God of the earth may be taken to mean either the supreme being or the God of this world, as contradistinguished from the true God. In the former sense, the phrase would mean that the written Word and prayer are permanent ordinances, having an abiding position before God. This sense is favoured by the

parallel passage in Zechariah, where they are called the two sons of fatness, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth. According to the latter view, the phrase would mean that they stand in continual opposition to the God of this world—an interpretation somewhat favoured by the antagonism between these two powers, which is immediately after described. Of the two interpretations the weight of probability appears to rest with the former.

This promise, to give power to the witnesses to prophesy, is appropriately plighted through the medium of the angel, who impersonates the spirit of prophesy; for, while prayer and the written Word are, in the highest sense, the witnesses of God, they are, in a more immediate sense, the witnesses of the spirit of prophecy testifying to the verity of that spirit. Their power to prophesy, moreover, that is to give testimony to the truth of God, proceeds from their being endowed with that same spirit; so that the promise to give this power is fitly put into the mouth of the angel, who is its impersonation.

What is meant by the statement, that it should be given to these two witnesses to prophesy 1260 days in sackcloth? It is evident, that prayer and the written Word could be said to prophesy only by its being given to earnest men, animated with the same faith by which the ancient prophets were distinguished, to devote themselves to persevering prayer, and to the diligent study and faithful preaching of the written Word. But while their zeal was to equal that of the ancient prophets, so should their sorrow. They were to prophesy in sackcloth—in the same sad and mournful spirit in which Isaiah and Jeremiah gave forth their utterances. The cause of this sadness will presently appear.

After identifying the two witnesses with the two olive-trees in the vision of Zechariah, the angel who personifies the spirit of prophesy proceeds to say, "And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, to devour their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must, in this manner, be killed. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy, and have power over waters, to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will." This description further corroborates the view, that the two witnesses can be no other than prayer and the divine Word; for there is here distinct reference made to the miracles wrought by the ancient prophets, who were charged to declare the Word of God to men, and to the effect which followed their prayers. Thus, in the statement that fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies, there is an obvious



reference to the case of Elijah, at whose word fire came down from heaven, and destroyed the men sent to lay violent hands on him; to the case of Moses, in defence of whose authority fire from the Lord consumed those who had rebelled against him; and to the divine announcement to Jeremiah, "I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them." The statement, that the two witnesses had power to withhold rain, is an obvious reference to the case of Elias, of whom James says (chap. v. 17, 18), "Elias was a man subject to like passions as we are; and he prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not on the earth, by the space of three years and six months; and he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit." The rest of the description plainly refers to the miracles wrought by Moses and Aaron in Egypt, and to the other plagues, which subsequent prophets were, from time to time, commissioned to announce. In all these cases, the men employed were mere instruments in the hands of God. Their prayers, which he answered, and the words which he gave them commission to speak, were the true witnesses of God—the one, as shewing that his ear is ever open to the cry of the righteous, the other, as proving that the warnings and denunciations of his Word are not in vain, but that what he threatens he certainly performs.

It is by an obvious figure of speech, that these two witnesses are represented as the active agents in the effects they produce, and as causing them at their pleasure. The Word of God to man, and the reciprocal word of man to God, having been personified as two witnesses, they are spoken of throughout as if they were two real personages; and actions and sufferings are attributed to them as if they were individual men. But we have no more reason to suppose that individual men, or even classes of men, are meant, than we have to suppose that actual olive trees or candlesticks are meant; the whole language throughout being allegorical.

By a similar figure of speech, we find that the consequences which followed the denunciations of the ancient prophets were described as the acts of the prophets themselves. Thus, in Hosea (chap. vi. 25) it is said, "Therefore, I have hewed them by the prophets, I have slain them by the words of my mouth." To Jeremiah the Lord says, "See, I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant" (Jer. i. 10). And Ezekiel speaks of himself as having come to destroy a city, when he was commissioned merely to foretell its destruction (Ezek. xliii. 3).

A due consideration of these passages, in connexion with the other instances before referred to, will remove from our minds all suspicion that, in any of these instances, the prophets were actuated by vindictive feelings, or were, in any shape, the causes of the calamities which followed their words. The primary cause of those visitations was the wickedness of the parties on whom they fell; and the Deity, as the universal judge, decreed the punishment; while the prophets had no other connexion with the results than their being made the mouth-piece of the judge, to announce the sentence, and by their prediction to give the clearest possible testimony that the events which followed were not mere accidents, or mere natural events arising from the operation of fixed laws, but direct judicial acts on the part of the Deity, called forth by the wickedness of the transgressors.

While there is, in the description here given of the two witnesses, an obvious allusion to the effects of prayer and the divine Word under the Mosaic dispensation, the description itself may be taken in a somewhat more spiritual sense, as applicable to the effects produced by these two witnesses under the Christian dispensation; for, though it still be true that those who oppose themselves to prayer and the written Word bring down calamities upon themselves, yet the fire coming out of the mouth of the witnesses may refer to their power of subduing their enemies by the force of their words—subduing them in the sense of overcoming their opposition to the truth, and converting them from enemies into friends. Thus it is not the individuals who oppose themselves to these two witnesses, that are killed by the fire proceeding out of their mouth; but it is the enmity that reigns in the bosom of each. The old or natural man must be killed, in order that the new or spiritual man may live—so that, “if any man will hurt these witnesses, he must in this manner be killed; his enmity must be subdued by the fire of their eloquence.” The prayer of the Christian continually ascends for the enemies of his faith; and by its reflex action he feels himself excited to use his utmost endeavours to bring to their knowledge the true testimony of the written Word, so that they may be alarmed by its threats, warned by its admonitions, allured by its invitations, and won by its persuasions. Nay more, the earnest prayer of the Christian for the conversion of the ignorant or the erring, and his efforts to spread among them the knowledge of the divine Word, are often aided by events overruled for the purpose by divine Providence—by visitations tending to withdraw the minds of men from their worldly pursuits, and leading them to recognize and seek after that mysterious power which they find it vain to resist. The latter part of this descrip-

tion of the witnesses, therefore, is probably to be understood as referring to this co-operation of the divine dispensations with the testimony which they are commissioned to utter.

After having thus indicated to the apostle what is meant by the two witnesses, the angel proceeds to say, "And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and shall kill them." Our translators err in using, in this verse, the phrase "bottomless pit," which they also employ in the first verse of the ninth chapter, for there, in the Greek, the phrase is "the pit of the abyss, whereas, in this passage, the phrase is simply "the abyss," or deep. Now, as this last appellation is sometimes applied to the sea, there is thus created a probability that this beast may be the same with that mentioned in the thirteenth chapter as rising out of the sea. Let it suffice in this place, however, to understand by this beast rising out of the abyss one of the several forms assumed by the spirit of opposition to pure Christianity.

According to the rendering of the Authorized Version, it is not during the period of their prophecy in sackcloth that the two witnesses encounter this open hostility from the antichristian spirit, but after their testimony, continued in sackcloth for 1260 days, shall have been quite finished. It is by no means certain, however, that this is the correct meaning; for the sense of the verb, in the original, is the simple future, "when they shall finish their testimony," thus leaving it doubtful whether the power symbolized by the beast is to begin his attack on the witnesses, after the expiry of the 1260 days, or whether the assault is to commence towards the end of that period, "when they are about to finish their testimony," so making the war against them, and the ensuing overthrow and death of the witnesses, the immediate causes of their testimony being brought to a close. If this latter be the correct meaning of the original, it would be better brought out by rendering the phrase, "And when they are to finish their testimony," etc. Which of the two meanings is the more correct, can be determined only by a careful examination of the order of events. The two witnesses being mere personifications, not actual persons, their being warred against, overcome, and slain; must be taken, not in a physical, but in a metaphysical or spiritual sense. The life of which they are thus to be deprived is not natural but spiritual life—that spirit of life from God which is afterwards mentioned as re-entering their inanimate bodies.

We are thus led to understand that one of the several forms in which the antichristian spirit is to be manifested shall exhibit

itself in hostility to spiritual prayer, and the pure written Word, seeking to reduce the former to a mere empty form, a vain repetition of words, unintelligible to the party using them, and to deprive the latter of all means of gaining admission to the hearts and minds of men, either by denying them access to it in a written form, or by preaching it in a false or fallacious manner, so as to rob it of its true character of a witness for God.

From the circumstance of this opponent of the two witnesses being called "a beast rising out of the abyas," it may be inferred that the warfare waged against them will be of an unreasoning and impulsive character, like the assault of an enraged wild beast. It appears to be implied that this antichristian spirit shall arise out of the depths of man's corrupt nature. The light of the divine words, and the fervid love which distinguishes spiritual prayer, shall be opposed by the darkness of ignorance, and the slavish fears of superstition. These opposites cannot live in harmony together; and the latter, roused to fury by the instinct of self-preservation, like a savage beast, shall strive to extinguish the former, and to destroy their sway over the human mind.

In this wicked attempt, we are informed, the antichristian spirit shall be only too successful—prayer and the written Word shall be reduced to lifeless forms. But what are we to understand by the next averment of the angel, "and their dead bodies shall lie in the streets of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified?" It will be remembered that the holy city had, a little before, been used as a metaphor for the true Israel of God. This circumstance raises a probability that the other city here mentioned is also a metaphor; a probability strengthened by the peculiar description given of it, and by its being said, in the ninth verse, to embrace various peoples, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations. This city may, therefore, be intended to designate a portion of human society distinguished by some striking characteristics. From its being named in contradistinction to "the holy city," it may be inferred that this portion of mankind is not of the true Israel of God; while from its being described as a "great city," it may be held to embrace a large portion of the human race, larger than the spiritual Israel. The next characteristic of this city is that it is "spiritually called Sodom and Egypt." The phrase "spiritually called," here employed, is a clear indication that the whole of the language of this allegory is to be understood, not in a natural, but in a spiritual, or metaphorical sense. What is meant by the name "Sodom," being applied, in a spiritual sense, to any class of men, may be understood by referring to Isaiah i. 10—17, where, in reproving the

Jews for their empty forms, their hypocrisy, and their neglect of moral duties, the prophet addresses them as “rulers of Sodom and people of Gomorrah!” Hence we learn that by that portion of human society which is “spiritually called Sodom,” is meant those who are mere hypocrites and formalists in religion—who try to cover or compensate their violation, or neglect of moral duty, by a strict observance of religious ceremonial, and an outward show of sanctity.

The peculiar sin of Egypt, again, was an extreme propensity to idolatry,—to the worship of departed spirits represented by visible forms, or emblems, and a slavish superstition, accompanied by an addiction to sorcery and similar practices. Those, therefore, may be spiritually designated “Egypt,” who are distinguished by similar characteristics. Thus, while Sodom may mean formalists and hypocrites, Egypt may mean superstitious idolaters.

What then are we to understand by the concluding statement in this description of the great city?—“Where also our Lord was crucified.” Taken literally, this would mean Jerusalem; but as we are warned to take the whole language of the description in a *spiritual* sense, we must try to ascertain what the spiritual sense of these words may be. If the interpretation given of the names “Sodom and Egypt” be correct, and if these designate certain varieties of human character, the most obvious meaning we could assign to the last clause of the description, would be, that it was by men distinguished by those characteristics that our Lord was crucified. We find, accordingly, that it was by a combination of the spirit of formalism and hypocrisy prevalent among the Jews, with that of idolatry and superstition prevalent among the Romans, that our Lord was crucified. His pure doctrines were to the former distasteful, and to the latter incomprehensible. But the concurrence of both was necessary. The hypocritical Jews could not, of themselves, have crucified our Lord, without the co-operation of the idolatrous Romans, so that it was by a concert between the spirit of hypocrisy on the one hand, and the spirit of superstition on the other, that the wicked deed was perpetrated.

But not only was the original act of our Lord’s crucifixion consummated by a combination of these two principles, but by their continued influence over the minds of men he is perpetually crucified afresh, and put to open shame, his doctrines being despised and trodden under foot, his followers persecuted and slain.

By the great city, then, which is “spiritually called Sodom and Egypt,” and where our Lord was crucified, is probably meant

that large portion of human society comprehending all those who are mere formalists and hypocrites, and all those who yield themselves up to be the slaves of superstition, and addict themselves to idolatrous practices ; for both of these classes perpetually crucify our Lord by opposing themselves to the progress of his pure and simple doctrines, and of his practical and holy religion.

That it is no *real* city that is here meant seems very evident ; for, although the name “Sodom” might be applied to a city, the name “Egypt,” being that of a large country, could not be so applied without a violation of propriety in the metaphor. Nor does the mention of the streets tend to alter the metaphysical view ; for the metaphor of a city once adopted, it is quite natural that the particular features of a city should be preserved in the development of the imagery. Understanding the city, then, to mean the great body of antichristian men, the street must be held to signify the *way* of those men—their ordinary course or walk of life. Where could prayer and the preaching of the divine Word, when reduced to mere lifeless forms, be more probably found than in the daily walk of debauchees, hypocrites, formalists, and superstitious idolaters ? Thus the circumstance of the dead bodies of the witnesses being found in the streets of this great city, and the character of its citizens, present a remarkable agreement.

It should here be noted that, in some of the best editions of the Greek, the noun here rendered “dead bodies,” is, both in this and the following verse, found in the *singular* number—a reading which agrees well with the metaphorical sense, in which the phrase “the two witnesses” is used.

The angel proceeds to say, “And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.” It should be observed, that it is not every nation and people that are thus to look on these lifeless forms, but only a portion. Our translation scarcely conveys this idea with sufficient accuracy, by saying “they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations,” but the form of the Greek phrase indicates such a restriction.

In some of the best Greek copies the verb “look” is in the present instead of the future tense ; the latter, however, agrees best with the context, and the difference is unimportant. It is of more consequence to note, that this verb denotes not mere casual seeing, but beholding with a steady gaze.

The period during which the dead bodies of the witnesses are to be thus contemplated is defined as “three days and a

half." What is the precise meaning of this phrase will be considered with more advantage when the general question of the periods mentioned in this vision comes to be discussed.

We are next informed that those who looked on the lifeless forms of the two witnesses "would not suffer them to be laid in graves." It may hence be inferred that there existed in some quarter a desire to entomb these lifeless forms—to put them out of sight, and let them be forgotten; that public prayer and the open preaching of the divine Word having been reduced to mere empty forms, some wished to have them entirely abolished, but that others desired to have the forms retained, and kept in view of the people, although they had been deprived of all spiritual life. The entombing here spoken of may also perhaps refer to the testimony of the witnesses being entombed in a dead language, unintelligible to the mass of the people.

The prophecy proceeds—verse 10, "And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth." By the dwellers on the earth, here mentioned, we are to understand the same earth-dwellers against whom the three woes were denounced in the thirteenth verse of the eighth chapter, viz., those who regard the present world as their home, and look not for an inheritance beyond the grave—worldly-minded men, whose whole thoughts and anxieties are devoted to the affairs of this life, and who never allow the future state to cross their minds. These rejoice to find public prayer and the open preaching of God's word reduced to lifeless and unmeaning forms; because while these retained any spark of spiritual vitality they were tormented by them. They were interrupted in their pursuit after worldly gain by the religious observances which these witnesses enjoined—curbed in their sinful indulgences by the restraints which they imposed, and occasionally alarmed, perhaps, by their indications of a judgment to come.

It is worthy of note, that the original idea involved in the word here rendered "tormented," is that of "testing by the touchstone,"—an idea which is not improbably here implied: for these two witnesses were like touchstones, by which the men of the world were tested. The faithful reading and preaching of the Word indicated what their conduct ought to be; while public prayer, faithfully offered up, shewed what desires they ought to entertain. By testing their conduct and desires by these two touchstones, then, the men of the world were continually reminded of their guilt, and thus harassed in their souls. But now that these faithful witnesses are reduced to

mere lifeless forms, and their testimony has been silenced, these worldly men rejoice over them, and make merry and send gifts one to another; because they think they may now abandon themselves to their worldly pursuits and sensual indulgences without interruption or restraint.

It ought to be noticed that the appellation previously given to the two witnesses is here changed into "prophets;" but this alteration appears simply to bear reference to the fact of their having been commissioned to prophesy, and does not affect the question of these prophets, or witnesses, being personifications of God's Word to man, and its reciprocal—man's word to God.

The angel continues, verse 11, "And after three days and a half the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them." Our translators have erred here in omitting the definite article from the first clause of this verse. The Greek text has "And after *the* three days and a half"—thus referring specially to those three and a half days, during which the lifeless forms of the witnesses were contemplated by the nations. The omission of the article gives the appearance of an indication that the three and a half days embraced the whole period, during which the witnesses remained in their state of deadness; whereas the original does not convey any such indication, but limits the period of three and a half days to the time during which their state of deadness attracted the attention of the nations. The form of expression here employed leaves little room to doubt that *spiritual* revival is meant—that the offering of public prayer, and the faithful reading and preaching of the Word, cease to be mere lifeless and unmeaning forms—that God infuses into them new vitality and power, and that they accordingly raise their heads, and stand once more erect in presence of their enemies. This reformation can of course be accomplished only through the medium of faithful and zealous men, who are to be raised up to offer earnest and intelligent prayer in the hearing of the people, and in a language and manner capable of being understood by them, and who are also openly and faithfully to read and preach the pure Word of God, so as to be rightly comprehended by their hearers. Hence we learn that great fear fell upon them that saw them; those in authority being afraid of the effects that might follow this revival, as tending to endanger their power, the people being roused out of their slumber of security, and alarmed by the nature of the renewed testimony which the witnesses give forth.

The sudden change in the tense of the verbs, which takes place at the eleventh verse, is very remarkable. Up to this



point, in all the announcements respecting the witnesses, the *future* tense has been used; but in the eleventh and two following verses the *past* is employed. It will be remembered that the first mention of the two witnesses is made by the angel impersonating the spirit of prophecy, who continues to stand with one foot on the sea and another on the land, and who, addressing the apostle, and speaking in the *first* person, says, "And *I* will give unto *my* two witnesses, that they may prophesy." The continuity of the style shews, that the quotation of the words spoken by this angel is prolonged to the end of the tenth verse: but the change of tense which occurs in the eleventh verse, seems to indicate that the apostle resumes his narrative, and speaks in his own person. It is not improbable, therefore, that the emblematical mode of communication was here resumed—that the two witnesses were now represented to John in the form of two allegorical personages, and that he saw, in vision, their lifeless forms reanimated.

This view is strengthened by the circumstance, that, in some of the Greek manuscripts, the twelfth verse begins, "and *I* heard a great voice from heaven," instead of "*they* heard." This reading, "I heard," is preferred by some of the best critics, as being more in harmony with the context; and, if it were correct, it would indicate more clearly the transition from the quotation of the words, previously spoken to John by the voice from heaven, to his own proper narration of his vision. But the mere transition from the future to the past tense is, of itself, a sufficient evidence that the quotation has ended, and the narrative been resumed.

The interpretation of the twelfth verse is attended with considerable difficulty. It runs thus: "And they heard (or I heard) a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither; and they ascended into heaven, in a cloud (or rather in *the* cloud); and their enemies beheld them." The chief difficulty is to determine in what sense the word "heaven" is here used. When we consider that the two witnesses who are here mentioned as ascending into heaven, are identified with the two olive trees, standing before the God of the whole earth, and have been shewn to be personifications of the two great means of grace, prayer, and the divine Word, it will be perceived that the term "heaven" must be here used in some metaphorical sense. The ascent of the witnesses into heaven cannot mean their being withdrawn from the earth; for it is said, that their enemies beheld them; and such a removal would not have tended to secure the end they were designed to subserve, namely, the promotion of the kingdom of Christ on the earth.

But we find, that the ascent of the witnesses was speedily followed by a great development of the dominion of Christ. This is evidenced by what immediately ensues, upon the blowing of the seventh trumpet, namely, the proclamation of great voices in heaven, saying, "The kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever." Now, this proclamation, when duly considered, renders evident what was the great mystery of God, whose termination was to coincide with the blast of the seventh trumpet, as foretold by the angel, personifying the spirit of prophecy, in the seventh verse of the tenth chapter.

To understand this matter, it must be remembered that it had been promised to the Messiah that he should inherit the kingdoms of this world—a promise contained in the second and repeated in the eighty-ninth Psalm, and other parts of Scripture. Now it appears, from the proclamation above quoted, contained in the fifteenth verse of this eleventh chapter, that up to the moment then indicated this prediction and promise had remained unfulfilled; that up to that time *none* of the kingdoms of this world had *truly* become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, notwithstanding they might have been so in *mere appearances*, and might have assumed to themselves the *name* of Christian kingdoms. But by the time of the blast of the seventh trumpet, this promise had begun to be fulfilled by some, at least, of the kingdoms of this world having truly, and in the proper sense of the term, become Christian kingdoms—that is, they had begun to be governed on Christian principles. The spirit and power of pure Christianity had penetrated the minds of the ruling classes of society; so that they conducted public affairs in a truly Christian spirit, with a single eye to the glory of God, and the welfare of the governed. For in no other sense can it be truly affirmed that any kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ.

Now, seeing the blast of the seventh trumpet is signalized by a beginning of the fulfilment of this divine prediction and promise, that all the kingdoms of this world shall ultimately come to be governed on Christian principles, it is evident, that the divine mystery which is thus brought to an end must be the prolonged delay in the fulfilment of this promise—the long interval of time that was to elapse between the first propagation of the gospel, and the first commencement of the kingdoms of this world being governed on truly Christian principles. This delay cannot be regarded otherwise than as a great mystery of God. It is not to be attributed to any *slackness* on the part of the Deity concerning his promise; for we are

assured by St. Peter, that none such exists in the divine mind ; but it is to be traced solely to the unwillingness of men to adopt the principles of Christianity in their purity, and to subject their wills and conduct to the influences of those principles. Now, the effects of this forwardness, on the part of mankind, in retarding the fulfilment of the promise, could not fail to be foreseen by the Deity ; yet this does not render it, on his part, a willing delay. It arises solely out of his long suffering and forbearance towards the erring children of men, “ for the creature was made subject to vanity—not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope ” (Rom. viii. 20), that is, the Deity, in suffering the creature to remain subject to vanity, acts not wilfully, but hopefully, and with forbearance, so as to allow the creatures every possible opportunity of willingly conforming themselves to the gracious designs of God, for the amelioration of the human race. Still, to the unaided reason of man, the delay in the fulfilment of the divine promise that all the kingdoms of this world should ultimately come to be governed on Christian principles, appears a great mystery ; and this mystery is not lessened, but heightened, by the circumstance, that, during a large portion of that long interval of expectation, the two witnesses of God are to prophesy in sackcloth ; that is, the two great means of grace, prayer and the divine Word, are to be employed by a succession of men, comparatively small in number, but sincere and earnest in spirit, who shall ply their labour of love in sorrow, almost approaching despondency, by reason of prevailing iniquity, and the long postponement of their expectation with respect to the Christianization of the kingdoms of this world. Indeed, the spirit of mourning, in which these two witnesses are to prophesy, and their persecution by the ungodly, are to a certain extent, connected with the apparent delay in the fulfilment of the divine promise, as reciprocal cause and effect. On the one hand, the postponement of the Christianization of the kingdoms of this world being depressing to the hopes of the truly Christian part of the community, who consequently find themselves in a vast minority, they use the means of grace, prayer, and the Word, in a sorrowful and desponding spirit. On the other hand, the ungodly acquire confidence, and manifest their hatred to the means of grace, by endeavouring to extinguish them altogether—or, at least, to reduce them to lifeless forms, and by persecuting those who would practise and apply them in sincerity and truth. Thus, while on the one hand the delay in the fulfilment of the promise tends to the depression of the witnesses ; on the other hand, the depression of the witnesses tends to prolong the de-

lay in the fulfilment of the promise ; and, accordingly, we observe that it is not until the spirit of life from God is again infused into the witnesses, that the kingdoms of this world begin to be governed on Christian principles, and the promise thus begins to be fulfilled. It is quite evident, from the context, that the elevation of the witnesses contributed to introduce that happier epoch in the moral and religious history of the world whose advent is celebrated immediately on the seventh trumpet being sounded. By the ascent of the witnesses to heaven, then, we ought to understand their triumph over their opponents, and their elevation to the sphere of influence and power—the moral and intellectual heaven, where they may exert a greater sway over the minds of men. Hitherto, they had prophesied in sackcloth ; but now they are elevated to prophesy triumphantly in the sight of their enemies. The voice which commanded the witnesses to ascend being called “ a *great* voice,” may import that it came from the sphere of authority and power.

To understand more fully the imagery here employed, it must be borne in mind, that, in the vision of the apostle, the angel clothed with a cloud and standing on the earth and the sea is still in the field of view, and has been the speaker in all that relates to the witnesses. When it is said, therefore, that the witnesses ascended to heaven “ in *the* cloud ” (so it stands in the original) it may be fairly inferred, that the cloud, enveloping the angel, was that in which they ascended. This cloud was shewn to be a type of mystery ; while the cloud-enveloped angel proclaimed the termination of a certain great mystery, when the seventh angel should be about to sound his trumpet. Now, as the seventh angel sounds immediately after the ascent of the witnesses, their appearance in the cloud may be regarded as an emblem of the approaching termination of the mystery which that cloud symbolized. While that mystery consisted mainly in the apparent delay in the fulfilment of God’s promise, with respect to the Christianization of the kingdoms of this world ; yet this episode of the witnesses forms so important a part of the mystery, that it appears here to be taken to represent the whole ; or, at least, we are led to understand, that the termination of the mystery connected with the witnesses was to lead almost immediately to the termination of the greater mystery, relating to the delay in the fulfilment of the divine promise.

It does appear, to the unaided reason of man, very mysterious that God should thus ordain his witnesses to prophesy,

for so long a period, in sackcloth—that He should permit the spirit of brutal ignorance, emanating from the abyss of human corruption, to make war upon the attestors of his truth—that He should suffer them to be for a season overcome, and reduced to mere lifeless forms; thus allowing their enemies to triumph over them. Nor have we any insight given to us in regard to the moral reasons of this procedure; though, doubtless, they must be good and wise. But this partial and temporary triumph of ignorance and error over truth and righteousness is evidently foretold, for the purpose of shewing that it is not a thing of chance, but that it was foreseen and permitted by God for some wise end; while the restoration of the witnesses to spiritual life, and their exaltation over their enemies, puts an end to the mystery, although it leaves the reasonable grounds of the divine procedure unexplained. There is, nevertheless, in the circumstance of the cloud having been made the vehicle of their ascension into heaven, an intimation that the mystery represented by the cloud in some manner contributed to the elevation of the witnesses. Perhaps it was needful, that men should be taught, by bitter experience, the evil consequences arising from the total suppression of the testimony of the witnesses, in order to their acquiring that ultimate ascendancy over the human mind symbolized by their ascension to heaven; so that the mystery of their previous humiliation and defeat was made instrumental in securing their final exaltation and triumph.

The elevation of the witnesses to the moral and intellectual heaven—the sphere of influence and power—may be expected to produce disastrous consequences to their enemies. These are thus described by the apostle—verse 13—“And the same hour was there a great earthquake; and the tenth part of the city fell; and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand; and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.” The great earthquake here mentioned ought obviously to be understood—not in a physical, but in a metaphorical sense, as denoting a great commotion and agitation in the popular mind.

In this great moral earthquake a tenth part of the city falls. The “city” here mentioned is evidently “the great city, spiritually called Sodom and Egypt”—that portion of human society which consists of licentious sensualists, hypocritical formalists, and superstitious idolaters. The fall of a tenth part of this city, then, consequent upon the agitation of the popular mind, typified by the earthquake, may signify a partial decline

in numbers and loss of influence sustained by this class of mankind. The phrase nearly approaches to our own common expression "decimated."

The next clause in the description is worthy of special notice. It stands in the Greek thus: "And there were, in the earthquake slain of names of men seven thousand." This phraseology is a plain indication of the metaphorical sense, in which the whole description ought to be taken. The moral earthquake does not destroy the men themselves, but their *names*, or reputations. During the humiliation of the witnesses and the suppression of their testimony, consequent on their being reduced to lifeless forms, many of the sensual and hypocritical formalists and superstitious idolaters would appear to have acquired a reputation for sanctity. They had the name of being alive while they were dead. As soon, therefore, as the witnesses regained their spiritual vitality, and resumed their testimony in the sphere of influence and power, these men lost their reputation; their names were slain. Being already spiritually dead, they themselves had no spiritual life to lose; but they had the name of being alive, and that name is now deprived of its vitality. The earthquake seems to have been the immediate cause of this destruction. The excitement and agitation in the popular mind, consequent on the triumph of the witnesses, led men to compare the lives and conversations of those who had the name of being alive while they were dead, with the true testimony now given forth by the witnesses from the moral and intellectual heaven; and as the false reputation of these men could not bear this severe test, their names perished. The number seven thousand, here assigned for these ruined names, is probably a definite number used in an indefinite sense, and ought to be understood as merely a great many.

We come now to the last clause of the description—"And the remnant were affrighted and gave glory to the God of heaven." By the remnant here mentioned we are probably to understand those who had not joined in the warfare waged against the witnesses; the parties who had been active in that wicked strife being separately distinguished as "their enemies." "The remnant" may, therefore, embrace not only those who disapproved of that persecution, but all who were mere passive spectators; perhaps also those who interfered to prevent the dead bodies of the witnesses from being entombed—who would not permit the total abolition of even the mere outward forms of public prayer, and the public reading and preaching of the divine Word, or their permanent entombment in a dead language which the people could not understand. The statement that

this remnant was affrighted, probably means rather that they were "struck with awe"—a sense that agrees better with the effect produced on their minds, namely, their giving glory to the God of heaven—an issue which shews that this remnant consisted of men still open to conviction, and who were ultimately brought to repentance. This view, however, gives perhaps too great an extension to the meaning of the word "remnant," which is very generally used in Scripture to distinguish the elect, or approved servants of God, from the mass of the ungodly; and perhaps the expression here ought to be similarly restricted to them. At the same time the language admits of our understanding that all those not embraced in the tenth part which fell away from their adherence to the community of the great city, and the seven thousand who lost their reputation for sanctity, might be embraced in the remnant who were struck with awe and gave glory to the God of heaven.

This larger view is strengthened by the circumstance that the same phrase "the rest," or "remnant," is, at the end of the ninth chapter, applied to that portion of the ungodly who survived the four calamities symbolized by the four angels loosed from the restraint under which they were held by the mystical Euphrates—of which remnant it is affirmed that they did not repent of their idolatries and immoralities.

It is curious to observe how different were the results of these two remarkable events—the hostile incursions represented by the four angels, and the revival and exaltation of the two witnesses after they had been slain. The former leaves the remnant impenitent, the latter fills them with awe, and leads them to give glory to God. This difference indicates that the epoch of the termination of the four calamities, and that of the revival of the witnesses, must be different; and as it is clear from the symbolization that the impenitence of the ungodly continued during the whole period of the endurance of the four calamities, and remained after they had ceased, we are led to conclude that the revival of the witnesses must have happened subsequently to the cessation of the plagues.

We are thus brought back to a consideration of the chronological position of the vision regarding the two witnesses, relatively to that respecting the four angels. If we have rightly interpreted the cloud-wrapt angel to be simply a personification of the spirit of prophecy, we ought not to regard his appearance on the field of the vision as symbolizing any particular historical event, but merely as accessory to the scenic representation. Neither is it necessary to consider his prophetic action of setting his right foot on the sea, and his left foot on the land,

lifting his hand to heaven, and swearing that there should be time no longer, as symbolizing any historical event. It is to be viewed simply as the solemn intimation of an approaching crisis in the moral history of the human race, when a certain great mystery of God was to be brought to an end, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets. There is, indeed, in this asseveration, an implied starting-point for what remained unfulfilled of the time that should have to elapse before the ending of the mystery ; but there is no clear indication of what this starting-point ought to be. The most natural, however, is the termination of the action of the four angels, in the previous part of the vision ; and, according to this view, the asseveration of the prophetic angel would simply mean, that from the completion of the action of the four angels there should be no prolonged delay in bringing to a close the mystery of God, consisting in his apparent tardiness in fulfilling his promise, that the kingdoms of this world should ultimately come to be governed on Christian principles, so that Christ might truly be said to exercise over them sovereign sway.

The first point in the scenic representation following the appearance of the prophetic angel which can be regarded as foreshadowing an historical event, is the command given to the apostle to measure the temple of God. This has been shewn to mean the separation of the true from the false worshippers—the genuine followers of Christ from those who merely assume to themselves the Christian name. Doubtless, during all periods in the history of Christianity, there have been false professors mingled with the true disciples—tares among the wheat ; but during the earlier stages of its history it was natural that the true should greatly predominate over the false ; because the profession of Christianity in the earlier stages of its growth was, in the majority of instances, attended with great worldly sacrifices. During all this time the false professors would live in harmony with the true disciples, because this was necessary to their successful wearing of the garb of hypocrisy. Hence, none but a man possessed of acute spiritual discernment would be able to distinguish the true from the false. But the spirit of prophecy intimates that a time should arrive when this state of matters should be reversed—when the nominal embracing of the Christian religion would no longer involve any worldly sacrifices, but, on the contrary, might be a stepping-stone to worldly advancement. It is easy to perceive that such a reversal of the conditions would seriously affect the composition of the nominally Christian body. The floodgates being opened, worldly-minded men would pour into the Christian ranks in vast numbers, assuming the name



while strangers to the spirit of Christ. The nominally Christian community would thus soon come to embrace two great parties of very opposite character, the one consisting of the true Israel, composing the *naos*, or dwelling-place of the Deity, and the worshippers therein, the other consisting of the unconverted in heart, here called the Gentiles, to whom the outer court was assigned, these together composing the merely visible church.

It is evidently this separation of the nominally Christian body into two great parties that is foreshadowed by the command given to the apostle to measure off the temple, and to leave out the court which was assigned to the Gentiles. This portion of the vision may, consequently, be regarded as coinciding in point of time with the historical period, when to adopt the Christian name ceased to be a hindrance, and became a stepping-stone to worldly advancement.

After the lapse of an interval not defined in the prophecy a time would arrive when, through the continuous operation of the same moral causes, the worldly-minded and merely nominal members of the visible Christian church would begin to outnumber the true disciples, until at length they would find themselves in a vast majority. This circumstance would naturally work a corresponding change in the conduct of the two parties toward each other. So long as the worldlings continued in a minority they would find it to be for their interest to keep on good terms with the genuine disciples, however intensely they might hate them in their hearts. For the false professors, having no genuine love of Christ, would hate not only the pure and holy principles of his religion, but all those whom they observed to be guided in their conduct by those principles, and whose life and conversation would thus present an invidious contrast to their own.

When the worldly-minded, however, found themselves in a decided majority, and that it was no longer necessary for them to keep on good terms with the true disciples, their natural animosity would show itself in open hostility, and they would begin to trample on and tyrannize over those who are not merely called by the name, but imbued with the spirit of Christ.

This foreseen and natural result is obviously what is predicted by the prophetic angel, when he says that the Gentiles should tread the holy city under foot forty-two months; thus, in a certain manner, defining the period of their triumphant oppression.

We have, accordingly, two historical points here indicated, the first when entrance into the Christian community was thrown open to worldly-minded men, and the second, when these came to out-

number and oppress the true disciples. The interval between these two epochs is not defined, but the latter is to be the beginning of a certain period designated as forty-two months.

We have next the announcement of the angel, that the two witnesses were to prophecy in sackcloth 1260 days. As this period is exactly forty-two times thirty days, and so equivalent to forty-two months; it is not improbable that these two periods may be coincident and identical. Indeed, the prophesying of the two witnesses, in that mournful spirit, typified by the sackcloth, seems to be the natural result of the oppression, exercised by the worldly-minded over the true disciples, constituting together the nominally Christian body.

We are next informed that, after the witnesses shall have finished their testimony—or, perhaps, when they are about to finish it—the beast, ascending from the abyss, shall make war upon them, overcome them and kill them. The duration of this warfare, ending in the death of the witnesses, is not indicated; so that the lapse of an undefined period is implied. This undefined period may, according to the interpretation to be given to the expression—“when they shall finish their testimony”—commence either at the expiry of the 1260 days, or before that epoch, so as to make the death of the witnesses coincide, in point of time, with the termination of the 1260 days. This the context leaves an open question, to be decided only by the actual order of events.

It is also left uncertain whether there be any interval between the death of the witnesses and the period when the attention of the nations begins to be directed towards the state of deadness into which they have fallen; for it is only the period during which the nations *contemplate* their dead bodies, that it is clearly defined as “three and a half days.” It is open to question, whether the dead bodies may not have lain in the streets of the great city for a longer period.

Lastly, we have another interval between the revival of the witnesses and the final termination of the mystery of God, by the fulfilment of his promise in the commencement of a new era, when some of the kingdoms of this world began to be governed on Christian principles, and so became those of our Lord and his Christ. But the duration of this last interval is not defined.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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\*.\* The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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## ON THE SUPPOSED ANTIQUITY OF THE ALLUVIUM OF THE NILE AND OF MAN'S EXISTENCE.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

DEAR SIR,—In your last January number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, in the notice which you gave of the Bishop of St. David's (the president's) address to the Royal Society of Literature at the anniversary meeting held on April 21, 1858, you made no mention of the experiments therein related, which Mr. Leonard Horner, F.R.S., had caused to be carried on in Egypt during the last four or five years on the annual depths of the *alluvium*, or sediment, deposited by the waters of the Nile. I beg to supply this deficiency, and to call the attention of your readers to some of his views, and his deductions from his researches as regard the vast antiquity of *man's existence*.

The question which Mr. Horner wished to determine was, by boring the alluvium in certain spots near the Nile to find out "the probable time" which has passed since the lowest bed of Nile sediment was deposited, and so "to connect geological and historical time."

Mr. Horner estimates, from his researches carried on at Heliopolis, the mean alluvial rise of the sediment to be at an "increase of 3·18 inches" in one hundred years; whilst, from those made at Memphis near the fallen statue of Rameses II., he found "a mean rate of increase within a small fraction of three-and-a-half inches" in the same number of years. The latter are thus more exactly detailed in Mr. Horner's words.<sup>a</sup> "In the excavations near the colossus of Rameses II. at Memphis, there were nine feet four inches of Nile sediment between eight inches below the present surface of the ground, and the lowest part of the platform on which the statue had stood, after making a due allowance for the foundation of the platform having been below the then surface. It is assumed that the platform was laid in the middle of the reign of that king, *i.e.*, in the year 1361 B.C., which added to A.D. 1854, when the observation was made, give 3215 years during which the above depth of sediment was accumulated; and supposing that no disturbing cause had interfered with the normal rate of deposition in this locality, and of which there is no evidence, we have thus a mean rate of increase within a small fraction of three-and-a-half inches in a century. Below the platform there were thirty-two feet of the total depth penetrated, but the lowest two feet con-

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<sup>a</sup> Mr. Horner's papers are published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1855 and 1858.

sisted of sand, below which it is possible there may be no true Nile sediment in this locality, thus leaving thirty feet of the latter. If that amount has been deposited at the same rate of three-and-a-half inches in a century, it gives for the lowest part deposited an age of 10,285 years before the middle of the reign of Rameses II., 11,646 years B.C., and 13,500 before A.D. 1854." Mr. Horner then "concludes with some remarks on the evidence which these researches seem to afford of a very early *existence of man* in Egypt. In a large majority of the excavations and borings the sediment was found to contain at various depths and frequently at the lowest, small fragments of *burnt* brick and pottery. In the lowest part of the boring of the sediment at the colossal statue in Memphis, at a depth of thirty-nine feet from the surface of the ground, consisting throughout of true Nile sediment, the instrument brought up a fragment of *pottery*. Having been found at a depth of thirty-nine feet, it would seem to be a *true* record of the *existence of man* 13,371 years before A.D. 1854, reckoning by the before-mentioned rate of increase of three-and-a-half inches in a century; 11,517 years before the Christian era, and 7625 years before the beginning assigned by Lepsius to the reign of Menes, the founder of Memphis; of *man*, moreover in a *state of civilization*, so far at least as to be able to fashion clay into vessels, and to know how to harden them by the action of a strong heat."

The president in his address then remarked (p. 53) concerning the *accuracy* of those computations, "that the *supposed existence* of man for a period much exceeding 13,000 years seems to be *beyond probability*, and to be entirely *negatived* by the usually received chronology—especially by that which is derived from *Biblical history*. We must, therefore, either hesitate to *admit* the perfect *accuracy* of Mr. Horner's excavations as carried on by his direction, or we must look to some *other* method whereby that piece of *pottery* may have found its way to the *stated depth* in the *alluvium* of the Nile, than that which suggests that it has actually *lain there* for above 130 *centuries*."

One of the "methods" by which the pieces of pottery *might* have arrived at the *depth* in the Nile deposit as before mentioned, and which occurred to me immediately on hearing this portion of the president's address, is,—that they might have at a former period of some ten or twelve centuries or so *fallen* through some *deep fissures*, which I conceived were likely to have been formed in the alluvial earth during the great heat and drought of an Egyptian summer. Full of this *method* as a satisfactory solution of the question, I asked, in the month of May, 1858, an old fellow-collegian, who had visited Egypt, whether he had ever *seen* any large *clefts* or *fissures* in the ground near the Nile, but he assured me that he *never* had, nor did he think, since the soil adjoining to the river is of a *light* alluvial character, that any *deep fissures* could naturally occur.

This, it must be remarked, took place very nearly a year *previous* to the appearance of number 210 of the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1859, in which under the title of "Bunsen's Egypt and the Chronology of the Bible," I read the following sensible observations (pp. 419—21):—

"Now, the first question which naturally arises is, can we depend upon the *accuracy* of the *facts* as thus stated? . . . If Mr. Horner had been personally present,

and had seen with his own eyes the boring instrument bring up from a depth of thirty-nine feet of Nile-deposit a *piece of pottery*, we should have *had the testimony* of a trustworthy and competent witness; but his mere *belief* of the alleged fact, without personal observation, is of *no value* whatever in a scientific point of view. Before accepting such a statement as an undoubted *fact* we should require information upon many points, as to which we are at present entirely in the dark. . . .

"But even if the pieces of pottery were *actually found in the places* indicated, there are several circumstances which render Mr. Horner's inference respecting their extreme antiquity extremely doubtful.

"Now, according to an ancient tradition (see Herod. ii. 99), Menes (that is, one of the earliest kings of Egypt), when he founded Memphis, is related to have diverted the course of the Nile eastwards by a dam about 100 stadia (about twelve miles) south of the city, and thus to have dried up the old bed. If so, many years must have elapsed before the old bed became filled up by the annual deposits of the inundation, and the piece of *pottery* may have been dropped into it long after the time of this early king, for we do not know the course of the old bed; and the statue may stand upon it; or the piece of *pottery* may have fallen into one of the *fissures*, into which the *dry land is rent in summer*, and which are so deep that many of them cannot be fathomed even by a palm branch. Or, at the spot where the statue stood, there may have been formerly one of the innumerable wells or pits from which water was raised by means of earthen pots. Again, we know from the testimony of Makrizi that less than 1000 years ago the Nile flowed close by the present western limits of Cairo, from which it is now separated by a plain extending to the width of more than a mile. In this plain, therefore, one might now dig to the depth of twenty feet or more, and then find plenty of *fragments of pottery* and other remains less than a thousand years old! Natural changes in the course of the Nile, similar to that which we have here mentioned, and some of them doubtless much greater, have taken place in almost every part of its passage through Egypt. . . .

"These considerations and many others which we might urge, tend to shew that Mr. Horner's *pottery* is no more likely than M. Bunsen's chronology to compel us to abandon our faith in the old *Hebrew records*. But one fact, mentioned by Mr. Horner himself, settles the question. He tells us that 'fragments of *burnt brick* and of *pottery* have been found at even greater depths than thirty-nine feet in localities near the banks of the river,' and that in the boring at Sigul 'fragments of *burnt brick* and *pottery* were found in the sediment brought up from between the fortieth and fiftieth foot from the surface.' Now, if a coin of Trajan or Diocletian had been discovered in these spots, even Mr. Horner would have been obliged to admit that he had made a fatal mistake in his conclusions; but a piece of *burnt brick* found beneath the soil tells the *same tale* that a *Roman coin* would tell under the same circumstances. Mr. Horner and M. Bunsen have, we believe, never been in Egypt; and we therefore take the liberty to inform them that there is *not* a single known structure of *burnt brick* from one end of Egypt to the other *earlier* than the *period of the Roman dominion*. These 'fragments of *burnt brick*,' therefore, have been deposited *after the Christian era*, and instead of establishing the *existence of man* in Egypt more than 13,000 years, supply a convincing proof of the *worthlessness* of Mr. Horner's 'theory.'"

I need not make any further remarks in addition to the passages I have cited from that able review, save that I felt gratified that the author had testified the *existence* in summer of very *deep fissures* in the soil in that country, and that he had so ably exposed the *supposed facts* respecting the *age* of the Nile *alluvium*, and the *antiquity* of *man's existence*. Lastly, it is perfectly clear that the review has been written by some traveller who is thoroughly acquainted with Egypt and its wonderful river.

Believe me to remain, dear Sir, yours very truly,

JOHN HOGG.

## SENTENCE OF DEATH ON JESUS CHRIST.

To the Editor of "*The Journal of Sacred Literature*."

IN the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, at p. 227, you have printed a transcript of the supposed "Sentence of Death" on Jesus Christ, taken from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and you have properly stated that you inserted it "as a curiosity, but with no faith at present in its genuineness." I perfectly agree with you in this observation, and as you are a member of the same society of which I have the honour of being its honorary foreign secretary, I have the pleasure to inform you that nearly ten years ago I read to that society, on December 13th, exactly the same account as that which you have published from the *Notes and Queries*, with the exception of one or two errors. The copy I presented to the society was translated from the same foreign newspaper, the *Cologne Gazette*, and purported to be "the sentence pronounced by Pilate on our Saviour." It was published a short time before in the *Durham County Advertiser*. You will see if you refer to the first volume of the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature*, No. 20, p. 296, a brief notice of my paper as I read it on Dec. 13, 1849.

It is there said that the document was engraven on a brass tablet, and was discovered in 1802 (not 1280, as printed in your copy), in the city of Aquila, the capital of Abruzzo Ultra, and that it was reported to be "at present preserved in the chapel of Caserta" near Naples. I will now give the following extract as published in the *Proceedings*, since my opinion of the subject seems to harmonize with yours:—

"Mr. J. Hogg strongly expressed his suspicions that this pretended relic is a *monkish forgery*, but thinks its origin and history worthy of investigation, and with this view brought it before the Society."

I will only add, that from the year 1849 to April, 1859, when the No. XVII. of your journal came to me, I have never heard anything more of the subject; nor have I read in any publication, either English or foreign, any explanation of the "forgery" (as I have hitherto considered it), either confirming that view or advocating its authenticity.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN HOGG.

8 *Sergeant's Inn*, London, June 2, 1859.

DEAR SIR,—In the April number of your Journal (p. 227) appears an extract from the *Kölnische Zeitung*, supposed by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* to be "A correct Transcript of the Sentence of Death pronounced against Jesus Christ."

Having received a copy of the same about twenty years ago, translated from the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, and having introduced it into my recently-published work on *The First and Second Advent* (reviewed in the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*), may I be per-

mitted to shew some reasons in support of the editorial note attached to your mention of this so-called "Death-Warrant of Christ?"—"We insert the above as a curiosity, but with no faith at present in its genuineness."

Passing over the immaterial differences which exist between the copies given by the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Courrier des États Unis*, such as "the 25" of March, in place of "the 26"; "Aquill" for "Aquila;" "Carthusians" for "Chartrem;" I would call attention to the important point that this document places the crucifixion "in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius."

If this meant the associated or *proconsular* government of Tiberius, it would answer to A.D. 28. Of his *sole* empire, it would refer to A.D. 31. On the *first* of these years, according to the astronomical tables, the 14th of Nisan, when "Christ our Passover was so crucified for us," fell on *Saturday*, March 27th; on the *second* it fell on *Sunday*, March 25th; which militates against the genuineness of the document. But I think there is internal evidence of its being a forgery; for, independent of its being very questionable whether there was sufficient time between the trial and the crucifixion to engrave on a copper plate the above sentence, and also whether the twelve tribes were sufficiently recognizable at that period of Jewish history, to have a copy of the above sentence sent to each of them, as is therein stated, no *Jew* (it is said to have been engraved in the *Hebrew* language, which by the way was not the vernacular of either the people or the foreign government which sentenced Christ to death), surely would have used such an expression as "the 25th or 26th of the month of March," but would have written "the 14th of Nisan," or Abib, or Xanthicus, the Syro-Macedonian name of the month, as Josephus did; or if it had been written by a Roman, he would have employed the proper term in use at that time, "the 7th of the kalends of April," *i.e.* the 26th day of March, as indeed some copies of the *Acta Pilati* record the date of that solemn event.

Therefore, we may safely conclude that the said pretended death-warrant of Christ is not a genuine document, especially as it contradicts the earliest and most decisive testimony of Tertullian regarding the true date of the crucifixion. His words are, "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, Christ suffered, Rubellius Geminus and Rufus Geminus being consuls, in the month of March, at the time of the Passover." (Tertl., *Adv. Jud.*, viii.) I have given other reasons in a former number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for concluding that the fifteenth year of the *reign* of Tiberius, *i.e.*, A.D. 29, is the true date of the crucifixion, and am glad to find this view supported by the most competent authorities of modern days, such as Lardner, Clinton, and Adam Clarke.

I am yours, etc.

B. W. SAVILE.

Newport, May, 1859.

## MATT. II. 23, "HE SHALL BE CALLED A NAZARENE."

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—Does not Matt. ii. 23 mean this:—It had been predicted that "the branch" should "grow up *out of its place*;" and when it was said that the Christ should be *called* the branch, it was meant that it should be said, amongst other impieties, that he lived *in the wrong place* for the Messiah, and *should be rejected on that account*? And what else do the Jews mean when they call him "a Nazarene" but that he was not of Bethlehem, and did not live during his manhood at Jerusalem as the Christ, they think, should; and that they refuse to acknowledge his claims chiefly on this account?

If this be so, the reason is plain why St. Matthew adduced this prophecy at the commencement of a gospel intended chiefly for Jews.

The difficulty as to "the prophets" (plural) may perhaps be removed thus:—At least eight prophets speak of Christ as "a branch." This implied the words written by Zechariah, "Whose name *is* (not, observe, 'shall be') the branch;" or, "Who is *called* the branch;" so that their prophecies were fulfilled as well as Zechariah's when he was called a Nazarene.

It may be further observed that of this branch it was said; 1. That it should grow out of David's roots, *i.e.* be the Son of God; 2. Should be raised unto David, (*a*) as son of David, and (*b*) by being raised to the throne of David in heaven (Acts ii. 30); 3. That the Spirit of the Lord should rest on him—that he should be a "righteous man;" 4. That he should die (Ps. lxxx. 15), and (as he was to be subsequently raised to heaven) rise again from the dead (Acts ii. 31); 5. That he should be God's "servant," also "a stone," words which annex many other prophecies; 6. That those that were far off (the Gentiles) should come and build under him in the temple of the Lord. In short, this prophecy of the branch seems the centre from which we may proceed and discover and understand all the predictions respecting Christ's nature and office; and on *this* account also was suitably placed at the beginning of this gospel.

It was necessary, however, to answer the objection that Christ *at the first* dwelt in *Egypt*, and was not then called a Nazarene; and this was done by quoting the prophecy that "when he was a *child*" he was to live there.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

H. A.

## THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

SIR,—The supercilious manner in which Dr. Tregelles has noticed my paper on the Vatican MS., reprinted in your January number from the *Eclectic Review*, would preclude my replying to his sweeping charge of incorrectness, but for a gross misstatement of *fact* of which he has been guilty in the eight lines only which his remarks contain.



He says: "It may be well to state that in the account of the Vatican MS. there is not a little which requires correction; what, for instance, can the writer mean by saying that Cod. Vat. does not contain John i. 1? If a person *invents* his premises, he may draw what conclusions he will."

Will it be believed that this is an "*invention*" of Dr. Tregelles himself? I have nowhere said anything of the sort. I certainly do refer to that passage as containing an omission; but so far from asserting that the Vatican MS. omits the whole verse, I actually specify the two words (*των ανθρωπων*), which are left out in the Codex. (See p. 453, Note). What are we to think of a writer who thus "*invents*" facts for the purpose of damaging an opponent?

I should add that, by an error of the press, the reference is not correctly given. Instead of John i. 1, it should be John i. 4. Still, the note on p. 453 enabled any careful reader to correct the misprint, since, as already mentioned, I there specify the two words omitted.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

THE AUTHOR OF THE REVIEW.

#### EXTRAORDINARY DISCOVERY OF A BIBLICAL MS.

BY DR. TISCHENDORF.

*To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."*

DEAR SIR,—A letter from Dr. Tischendorf, addressed to the Saxon Minister von Falkenstein, gives the details of the discovery by him of a remarkable manuscript. The account is published in the supplement to the *Leipziger Zeitung*, of April 17, 1859; and is dated from Cairo, March 15th. It is in substance as follows:—

"The kindness shewn to me by your Excellency on my departure from my native land, makes it my agreeable duty to address to you the first account of a very important literary discovery which the Lord's good hand has vouchsafed to my new investigations in the East. You know what weight the learned world attaches to the famous Vatican MS. of the Bible, and how it has for centuries been esteemed one of the special treasures of the Papal library; you are aware how anxious men have been, and how difficult they have found it, to collate even single passages, how earnestly Mai's edition, undertaken by order of the Pope, had been looked for since 1828, and how gladly it was at last received, at Easter 1858, after thirty years' delay.

"If I should now say that Providence has preserved in the corner of the so-often ransacked cloisters of the East, a MS. which may rank with the Vatican in regard to its character, extent, and age, and which on some accounts claims the precedence of it, I shall not be surprised if some doubt my skill, and the questions be put—Is it indeed true? Is it even possible? And yet as I held in my hands for the first time the precious leaves, in a convent chamber at the foot of Moses' Mount (Ghebel Mousa), my own astonishment and wonder were as great as can be imagined.

"The MS. of whose discovery I inform you consists of 346 fine and fair parchment leaves of so large a size that two of them have required a whole gazelle skin. The writing, upon each leaf and arranged in four columns, is of the most ancient character, and is mostly (and especially on the outside of the skin) preserved with wonderful distinctness, but on the flesh side it is sometimes less legible, and much more difficult to decide respecting the numerous and certainly very ancient corrections to which the Codex has been subjected.

"Such MSS. confessedly never have a date. It is the problem of palæography, by careful attention to all the peculiarities of each separate MS., from the character of the letter forms employed, from the interpunction, from the use of initials, and subscriptions, and inscriptions; from the parchment, from the tints of the ink, the old corrections, etc., to ascertain more or less satisfactorily its antiquity. As to this MS., there scarcely was needed a date to fix its century, for that it was written in the fourth century can be confirmed by all the arguments which have any weight in palæographic science, almost beyond all question.

"The Vatican Codex goes back to the same century in my opinion and that of other able men. The only other Greek parchment MS. to which I had before given a chronological place prior to the Vatican, was the Leipsic Codex Friderico-Augustanus, but this, as I am already convinced, is a relic of the very MS. of which I am so happy as to find these important constituents.

"This MS. still contains, first, considerable portions of the Old Testament, namely, most of the greater and lesser prophets, the Psalms, Job, Jesus-Sirach, Wisdom, and several other Apocryphal books. These are followed by the entire New Testament. And herein lies the extraordinary significance of the discovery. Only three extensive Biblical MSS. of high Christian antiquity have come down to us from the fourth century to the ninth. The most comprehensive among them is the London Codex Alexandrinus, which wants almost the whole of Matthew's gospel as well as considerable part of 2 Corinthians, and two chapters of John's gospel. From the Vatican MS. still more is absent, namely, the Apocalypse and four Pauline epistles altogether, with a third part of the epistle to the Hebrews. But of the MS. of the New Testament now found, not a single leaflet is wanting! It is moreover the only one among the MSS. of the New Testament of a thousand years old and upwards, which is complete. The divine who knows the importance attached to the MSS. of that age, in the endeavour to fix the apostolic text, will accept this as a principal authority. It is a new pledge of the possibility of deciding and restoring the genuine apostolic text, to which this doubtless is a close approximation, as to the main features of it. I only add that my examination of the MS. convinces me of its perfectly coinciding in age with the Vatican Codex.

"I have yet to name two other component parts of the same MS., the discovery of which alone would have sufficed to make my new journey fortunate and successful. Next to the Bible, the most precious literature of the church is the writings of the apostolic fathers. We have but few remains of this class, and these few are for the most part often in doubtful

texts, imperfect, or only extant in translations. It is thus with the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, which, if not composed by a companion of Paul, must have been written very soon after the end of the first century. It is quoted both by Clement and Origen, in the second and third centuries, as even a part of Holy Scripture, and still later, such writers as Eusebius, refer to it as among the doubtful books of the Canon. This epistle is equal in extent to that to the Romans; several MSS. of it have been found before, but all are modern, and in all alike the first five chapters are wanting, of which the text can be gathered only through a very corrupt Latin version. How great then was my wonder when I found the whole of Barnabas in this MS., at the close of the Revelation! I could not lay the volume down till I had read and copied the whole text. Divines will no longer have to read from the uncertain Greek text of late MSS., and a faulty Latin version, the epistle which in the second Christian century was so reverently handled and highly prized.

"In the height of my joy at this discovery I was to have a last surprise. I found a separate portion of fifty-two columns, with the inscription 'The Pastor;' it was the first part of the Pastor of Hermas, also pertaining to the second century, and likewise claiming a kind of apostolic regard. Till recently, its Greek text was thought to be lost. This MS. proves that in the earliest times both Barnabas and Hermas were reckoned as constituent parts of Scripture by some, if their authority was also doubted. Of Hermas, Simonides confessedly brought a very perfect Greek text to Leipsic, part copied by him from a MS. at Mount Athos, and part upon three paper leaves of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. After this text was published in December 1855, and repeated soon after by me more accurately, considerable doubt arose about it, whether it was really ancient or a mediæval translation from the Latin. I especially opposed the last view, and my opinion is confirmed by these leaves, at least 1000 years older, shewing that the Leipsic text had been derived from the original, but is corrupt, and that in consequence of a mediæval use of the Latin.

"I am glad that the scientific mission committed to me by the Russian Government, and promoted by you, has at its outset so noble a literary discovery as its result. Relying upon the Imperial favour, I venture already to set before the learned world the hope of the publication of the MS. A carefully revised copy of its 132,000 columnar lines will be completed by the beginning of April, if God permit. The Vatican MS. was known 300 years before many cherished wishes were gratified in its publication. It may perhaps need only so many years instead of so many centuries to enrich the Christian literature with that most precious document now discovered.

"CONSTANTINE TISCHENDORF."

The previous communication is slightly abridged by the omission of a few expressions not at all necessary to its genuine sense, and by some condensation, but it seemed best to retain the original epistolary form.

Yours faithfully,  
B. H. COWPER.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*The Limits of Religious Thought. Examined in Eight Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1858, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury.* By HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B.D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College; Tutor and late Fellow of St. John's College. Third Edition, with a new Preface. London: Murray. Oxford: Parker.

A THIRD edition of a course of Bampton Lectures, and in so short a time, is, we believe, quite unprecedented. Considering also that Mr. Mansel's subject is not a popular one, and that he has not attempted to adapt it to popular taste by a superficial way of treating it, the call for repeated editions of this work is a high testimony to the ability with which he has accomplished this difficult undertaking, and is a gratifying proof of the interest he has excited on a subject which demanded to be effectively discussed.

In the preface to this third edition Mr. Mansel has obviated the misconceptions of some of his reviewers, and has successfully replied to the arguments of others.

The fact is that of late years we have had more than enough of a kind of writing, of high pretension, which has "darkened counsel by words without knowledge." The transcendental philosophy of Germany—itsself, as Mr. Mansel shews, dealing with subjects beyond the sphere of things which "can be distinctly apprehended or intelligibly communicated"—has attracted the regards of some in this country who have measured that philosophy by its aims and pretensions rather than by its achievements; who have had no clear and definite notions of what that philosophy might be in its protean forms, and have eclectically mingled in their speculations the *debris* of systems which had come into mutual collision.

There are some persons even of intellectual energy who are fond of that sort of obscurity which beclouds the mental atmosphere; probably because it is fancied to be the dwelling place of some conceptions which common minds cannot approach. Notwithstanding that it has been an unwholesome gale which

"Κατέχευεν ομίχλην  
Ποιμέσιν οὔτι φίλην, κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω;"

and obscurity is always the haunt of dishonest error; some good men have loved it better than light, not because their intentions were dishonest, but under the influence of a sort of poetic feeling. We have even heard discourses from the pulpit rendered obscure partly by want of precision in the use of words, and partly by other grammatical defects, which have been listened to with admiring wonder, and praised

as delightfully profound; and we are persuaded that very much of the popular writing which pretends to religious philosophy is chargeable with deriving its *prestige*, if not from grammatical inaccuracy, yet from being in some other way only vaguely intelligible.

We know very well that statements of this kind would be likely to redound to the discredit of those who make them in ordinary cases; it is therefore a matter of thankfulness when a writer of Mr. Mansel's acknowledged qualifications has the courage to declare, and the ability to prove, that much of the speculation which has introduced confusion into the region of religious thought is chargeable with something very much akin to nonsense. Such is virtually the conclusion to which these lectures conduct us; but they do so by shewing—not necessarily the want of high ability on the part of those whose speculations Mr. Mansel impugns, but the essential defectiveness of mere human elements for solving the problems proposed.

The inquiry pursued in these discourses amounts to this, "Does there exist in the human mind any direct faculty of religious knowledge by which, in its speculative exercise, we are enabled to decide, independently of all external revelation, what is the true nature of God, and the manner in which he must manifest himself to the world; and by which in its critical exercise we are enabled to decide for or against the claims of any professed revelation, as containing a true or false representation of the Divine nature and attributes?" Mr. Mansel declares his conviction that the moral and religious writings of Kant, in which that philosopher has gone counter to the method pursued by him in his metaphysics, are far from furnishing an answer to this question. He believes that the discussion of Sir W. Hamilton (whose lectures Mr. Mansel has edited) on the Unconditioned, contains the key to the appreciation of the whole body of German speculation. The great principle of Sir W. Hamilton, is that "the Unconditioned is *incognizable and inconceivable*, being only negative of the conditioned, which last alone can be positively known or conceived." But that which Sir W. Hamilton has thus done theoretically, has been practically and effectively done by Bishop Butler in his *Analogy*, "which furnishes an example of a profound and searching philosophical spirit, combined with a just perception of the bounds within which all human philosophy must be confined, to which in the whole range of similar investigations it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a parallel."

The first lecture is preparatory to the more direct discussion of the subject; containing illustrations of the errors in different directions which have resulted from a want of attention to the nature and faculties of the human mind itself. On the interest and importance of the study of the human mind among the subjects which manifest the providence of God, and on the propriety of making this the subject of his discourse from that pulpit, Mr. Mansel remarks,—

"If it be thought no unworthy occupation for the Christian preacher, to point out the evidences of God's providence in the constitution of the sensible world and the mechanism of the human body; or to dwell on the analogies which may be traced between the scheme of revelation and the course of nature;

it is but a part of the same argument to pursue the inquiry with regard to the structure and laws of the human mind. The path may be one which, of late years at least, has been less frequently trodden: the language indispensable to such an investigation may sound at times unwonted and uncouth; but the end is one with that of those plainer and more familiar illustrations which have taken their places among the acknowledged evidences of religion; and the lesson of the whole, if read aright, will be but to teach us that in mind, no less than in body, we are 'fearfully and wonderfully made' by him whose praise both declare."

But it is not, he remarks, so much the utility as the necessity of the study which constitutes its claim to present attention. Rightly or wrongly the human mind will employ itself on divine subjects; and a knowledge of the laws under which men think is the only security for thinking soundly. A right estimate of these laws, while it shews that there are limits to the human faculties, is far from shewing that these limits are so narrow as that all divine subjects are beyond them. But the point from which all religious systems must start, and to which all must finally return, is this, "the primary and proper object of criticism is not religion, natural or revealed, but the human mind in its relation to religion." A direct criticism of religion in relation to God would require a philosophy of the Infinite, and in order to know whether this is possible we must begin with examining the laws of of human thought.

All we can do in the space we can occupy is to attempt to exhibit the main points of Mr. Mansel's argument. A clear analysis of his course of thought throughout the lectures would not be easy; inasmuch as that course appears to us less *continuous* than it probably would have been if he had written a treatise instead of delivering lectures from the pulpit. But the reiteration of his statements in different forms had the advantage, no doubt, to the hearer, as it partly has to the reader, of deepening the ultimate impression intended.

For the sake of ordinary readers, *i. e.* for those who are not much accustomed to mental analysis, or who are not familiar with the technical language of Mr. Mansel's system of metaphysics, it might have appeared desirable that his reasoning should have been expressed in terms somewhat more familiar; but he has given good reasons why he has dealt with the ideas common to theology and metaphysics in terms of the latter. "There is a line of argument in which the vague generalities of the absolute and the infinite may be more reverently and appropriately employed than the sacred names and titles of God. . . . We feel that, though God is indeed, in his incomprehensible essence, absolute and infinite, it is not as the Absolute and Infinite that he appeals to the love and the fear and the reverence of his creatures." We may talk about the absolute and the infinite as those terms are employed in metaphysical theology, and connected with revolting speculations, without feeling that we are violating the sanctity of the most holy Name.

What warrant does philosophy exhibit that its results alone should command our faith? A philosophy which professes to find in its own

conceptions all which is to be believed, is bound to shew that those conceptions are above suspicion,—that the conviction which declares itself to be superior to all outward evidence has inherently the marks of its truth and value. Such a conviction may be supposed possible in one of two ways. As the result of a direct intuition of the divine nature, in a manner similar to the evidence of the senses, which is the method of mysticism; or by inferring that certain properties of human nature represent in their degree corresponding attributes of deity. Respecting the latter, Mr. Mansel remarks, “If the human mind has passed through successive stages of religious cultivation, from the grovelling superstition of the savage to the intellectual elevation of the critic of all possible revelations; who shall assure the critic that the level on which he now stands is the last and highest that can be attained?” We might further ask what proof have we that this critic, whoever he may be, *has been* rising in proportion to his supposed elevation; and when he appeals to the human consciousness as an infallible authority in matters of faith, whose human consciousness does he mean?

But in considering the pretensions of human reason to such a knowledge of the divine nature as can constitute the foundation of a rational theology, Mr. Mansel examines the notions which essentially enter into a metaphysical conception of the Deity. In such a philosophy the Deity must be conceived as *First Cause*; as *Absolute*; as *Infinite*, producing all things, and produced by none. Existing in and by itself, and having no necessary relation. Free from all possible limitation. The metaphysical conception of the Deity as absolute and infinite must necessarily amount to the sum of all reality; it is the conception of a being containing within himself the sum, not only of all actual, but of all possible modes of being.

But these three conceptions imply mutual contradictions as attributed to the same being. A cause, as such, exists only in relation to its effect which contradicts the idea of the absolute; for this implies existence without relation. And to say that the absolute exists first by itself and then as a cause, is to contradict the conception of the infinite. If causation is a possible mode of existence, that which exists without causing is not infinite; creation at any particular instant is inconceivable, and the philosopher is reduced to the alternative of Pantheism which denies all real causation.

Again; supposing the absolute to become a cause, it must operate by means of free will and consciousness. A *necessary* cause cannot be absolute and infinite; if necessitated by something external it is subject to a superior power; if necessitated by its own nature it is thus related to its effect. An absolute cause must thus be voluntary and therefore conscious. But consciousness implies an object of consciousness as well as a conscious subject, and neither subject nor object can exist by itself as the absolute. And if it be said that the absolute may be conscious only of itself, the difficulty is still the same. The object of consciousness on that supposition is either created in

and by the act of consciousness, and then the object depends upon the subject which alone is the absolute; or has an existence independent of it, and the subject depends upon the object, and thus alone is the absolute.

We give this fragmentary portion of Mr. Mansel's reasoning on this point only as a specimen of his *argumentum ad hominem* in which he shews how the logic on which this metaphysical theology depends is everywhere at fault. He shews that if we believe in the possibility of a philosophy of the infinite, the only apparent logical conclusion is presented by Pantheism. But Pantheism "escapes from some of the minor incongruities of thought only by the annihilation of thought and thinker alike." According to it, one's being is no substance at all, but only a mode of the absolute substance. But if one's personal existence, the great primary fact of all consciousness, is a delusion, how can it be known that Pantheistic reasoning is not a part of the universal falsehood? Nay, according to this system it is impossible consistently to shew that there is any difference between truth and falsehood, or between right and wrong. God is the only thinker, and the only agent, and all thoughts and all acts are equally divine.

The metaphysical difficulties which have thus been exhibited almost suggest of themselves the manner in which they should be treated.

"We must begin with that which is within us, not with that which is above us; with the philosophy of man not with that of God. Instead of asking, what are the facts and laws in the constitution of the universe, or in the divine nature, by virtue of which certain conceptions present certain anomalies to the human mind, we should rather ask what are the facts and laws in the constitution of the human mind, by virtue of which it finds itself involved in contradictions, whenever it ventures on certain courses of speculation. Philosophy as well as Scripture, rightly employed, will teach a lesson of humility to its disciple; exhibiting, as it does, the spectacle of a creature of finite intuitions, surrounded by partial indications of the unlimited; of finite conceptions, in the midst of partial manifestations of the incomprehensible. Questioned in this spirit, the voice of philosophy will be but an echo of the inspired language of the Psalmist: 'Thou hast beset me behind and before and laid thine hand upon me. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me: it is high: I cannot attain unto it.'"

The relation of man to God can be given only as a mode of *consciousness*, subject to conditions under which alone consciousness is possible. An examination then of these conditions in general will lead to our knowledge of the nature of *religious* consciousness. *One of these conditions* is, that consciousness implies *distinction between one object and another*; and distinction implies *limitation*. Hence the infinite cannot as such be an object of consciousness. *Another condition* is, that consciousness is only possible under the form of a *relation*; and therefore the absolute, which as such exists out of all relation, cannot be an object of the human consciousness. Again, all human consciousness, as being a change in our mental state, is subject to the law of *time*, in its two manifestations of *succession* and *duration*. But whatever succeeds something else and is distinguished from it, is necessarily appre-



hended as finite, for distinction is a limitation; and whatever is conceived as having a continuous existence in time, is apprehended as existing in successive moments; and thus as having an existence incomplete and receiving at each instant a further completion. No object of human thought can thus be regarded as exhibiting or representing the true nature of an infinite being.

Another necessary condition of consciousness, when its object is a spiritual being, is, that of *personality*. We can conceive of no qualities of mind save as modes of a conscious self. "The various mental attributes which we ascribe to God, benevolence, holiness, justice, wisdom, for example, can be conceived by us only as existing in a benevolent and holy, and just and wise, being, who is not identical with any one of his attributes, but the common subject of them all: in one word, in a *person*." But all our notions of personality being derived from our own consciousness of it, and our own personality being presented to us as relative and limited, "to speak of an absolute and infinite person, is simply to use language to which, however true it may be in a superhuman sense, no mode of human thought can possibly attach itself."

It appears then that the contradictions which presented themselves on every hand, when the divine nature was considered *à priori* as absolute and infinite, are accounted for when the necessary conditions of our own consciousness are considered; from which it appears that the absolute and the infinite cannot as such be the object of the human consciousness. In truth, the real signification of these terms to us is the *negation* of what we are conscious of, viz., relation and limitation. The Deity as *unconditioned* and as *infinite* is not an object of human thought. But, in regard to the attribute of personality, Mr. Mansel asks—

"Are we therefore justified, even on philosophical grounds, in denying the personality of God? Or do we gain a higher or a truer representation of him, by asserting with the ancient or the modern Pantheist, that God, as absolute and infinite, can have neither intelligence nor will? Far from it. We dishonour God far more by identifying him with the feeble and negative impotence of thought, which we are pleased to style the infinite, than by remaining content within those limits which He for his own good purposes has imposed upon us, and confining ourselves to a manifestation, imperfect indeed and inadequate, but still the highest idea that we can form, the noblest tribute which we can offer. Personality, with all its limitations, though far from exhibiting the absolute nature of God as he is, is yet truer, grander, more elevating, more religious, than those barren, vague, meaningless abstractions in which men babble about nothing under the name of the infinite."

In short, the result of the examination of the facts of our consciousness is to shew that it manifests itself as subject to certain limits which we are unable, in any act of thought, to transgress.

"The *absolute* and the *infinite* are thus like the *inconceivable* and the *imperceptible*, names indicating not an object of thought or of consciousness at all, but the mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible. The attempt to construct in thought an object answering to such names, necessarily results in contradiction—a contradiction, however, which we have our

selves produced by the attempt to think—which exists in the act of thought, but not beyond it—which destroys the conception as such, but indicates nothing concerning the existence or non-existence of that which we try to conceive. It proves our own impotence, and it proves nothing more; or rather it indirectly leads us to believe in the existence of that infinite which we cannot conceive, for the denial of its existence involves a contradiction no less than the assertion of its conceivability. We thus learn that the provinces of reason and faith are not co-extensive—that it is a duty enjoined by reason itself to believe in that which we are unable to comprehend."

Mr. Mansel's investigation thus far has regarded only the negative side of man's consciousness, shewing how it *does not* represent God, and why it does not so represent him. The abstract language he has employed has been requisite on account of the parties with whom he has had to deal in controversy; and as the philosophical definitions as well as the terms he has employed are identical with those which are admitted and used by leading speculators—from whose writings he has given copious extracts in his notes—his conclusions are more effective than they would otherwise have been.

He now proceeds to inquire what our consciousness actually does tell us concerning the Divine existence and attributes; and how its testimony agrees with that furnished by revelation.

An examination of the actual state of the human mind, as regards religious ideas, will lead to a conclusion intermediate between the two extremes exhibited, in one direction by those who endeavour to raise the whole edifice of the Christian faith on a basis of metaphysical proof; in the other, by those who have maintained that the understanding has nothing to do with religious belief. It is not through reasoning that men obtain the first intimation of their relation to the Deity. Had they been guided by their intellect alone, it is possible that no such intimation would have taken place, or that it would have been but as one guess out of many equally plausible and equally natural. The argument of Kant, therefore, is accepted by Mr. Mansel, that, "the speculative reason is unable to prove the existence of the Supreme Being, but can only correct our conception of such a Being, supposing it to be already obtained." At the same time, Mr. Mansel protests against the extent to which the reaction has been carried against the use of reason in theology. "Arguments which would be insufficient to create the notion of a supreme being in a mind previously destitute of it, may have great force and value in enlarging or correcting a notion already existing, and in justifying to the reason the unreasoning convictions of the heart."

Two states of mind may be specified as elements out of which reflection builds up the edifice of religious consciousness; these are the *feeling of dependence* and the *conviction of moral obligation*.

"With the first development of consciousness there grows up, as a part of it, the innate feeling that our life, natural and spiritual, is not in our power to sustain or to prolong; that there is One above us on whom we are dependent, whose existence we learn, and whose presence we realize, by the sure instinct of prayer. We have thus, in the sense of dependence, the foundation of one great element of religion—the fear of God."

But the mere consciousness of dependence does not of itself exhibit the character of the Being on whom we depend. In this feeling we are conscious of the power of God, but not necessarily of his goodness. This deficiency, however, is supplied by the consciousness of moral obligation, carrying with it necessarily the conviction of sin. The theory of Kant, that an obligatory law exists in the human consciousness, which rests on no basis but that of its own imperative character, cannot be sustained. The only reason why one portion of the human consciousness has a right to call itself *duty*, and another mere *inclination*, is this: "The moral reason, or will, or conscience of man, call it by what name we please, can have no authority, save as implanted in him by some higher spiritual being, as a *law* emanating from a *law-giver*."

"We are thus compelled, by the consciousness of moral obligation, to assume the existence of a moral deity, and to regard the absolute standard of right and wrong as constituted by the nature of that deity. The conception of this standard in the human mind may indeed be faint and fluctuating, and must be imperfect: it may vary with the intellectual and moral culture of the nation or the individual; and in its highest human representation, it must fall far short of the reality. But it is present to all mankind, as a basis of moral obligation and inducement to moral progress: it is present in the universal consciousness of sin; in the conviction that we are offenders against God; in the expiatory rites by which, whether inspired by some natural instinct or inherited from some primeval tradition, divers nations have, in their various modes, striven to atone for their transgressions and to satisfy the wrath of their righteous judge."

Mr. Mansel here replies to a theory of Schleiermacher, which has been very prevalent in his own country and widely diffused in this; according to which the essence of religion is to be found in a feeling of absolute and entire dependence, in which the mutual action of subject and object upon each other, which constitutes the ordinary consciousness of mankind, gives way to a consciousness that our entire personal agency is *annihilated in the presence of the infinite energy of the God-head*. This theory is refuted on principles already laid down by Mr. Mansel respecting our conception of the absolute and the infinite. Neither the sense of dependence nor the sense of moral obligation can be a consciousness of the absolute and the infinite. The infinite, in the presence of which as an object the conscious subject is supposed in this theory to become as nothing, is merely the world magnified to infinity; and the feeling of absolute dependence is, in fact, that of the annihilation of our personal existence in the infinite Being of the universe. The intellectual exponent of this feeling is pure Pantheism. It contradicts in terms the notion of consciousness. It is inconsistent with the duty of prayer, which is essentially a state in which man is in active relation to God. But this theory makes our moral and religious consciousness subversive of each other. If man's relation to God is not really destructive of his personal freedom, the religious consciousness is false which denies that freedom. If man is absolutely passive, the consciousness of moral responsibility, which testifies to his free agency, is deceptive.

An element of both these modes of consciousness, viz., the sense of dependence and that of moral obligation, deserves special notice:—

“ In both we are compelled to regard ourselves as *persons related to a person*. In the feeling of dependence, however great it may be, the consciousness of myself, the dependent element, remains unextinguished; and, indeed, without that element there could be no consciousness of a relation at all. In the sense of moral obligation, I know *myself* as the agent on whom the law is binding. I am free to choose and to act, as a person whose principle of action is in himself. And it is important to observe that it is only through this consciousness of personality that we have any ground of belief in the existence of God. . . . If there is no person to pray, if there is no person to be obedient, what remains but to conclude that He to whom prayer and obedience are due—nay, even the mock-king who usurps his name in the realms of philosophy—is a shadow and a delusion likewise? ”

The result of Mr. Mansel's inquiries as to the nature of our religious knowledge has been to shew that such knowledge is not *speculative*, but *regulative*. A due attention to the limits of religious thought will lead us to abandon the speculative knowledge of the infinite, as only possible to the infinite intelligence itself, and be content with those *regulative ideas* of Deity which are sufficient to guide our practice, but not to satisfy all demands of our intellect, telling us not what God is in himself, but how he wills that we should think of him. With the confession of our ignorance of the absolute, all *à priori* schemes of God's providence must be abandoned, and true philosophy, without seeking to reconcile individual phenomena, whether in nature or revelation, with the absolute attributes of Deity, will confine itself to the actual course of that providence as manifested in the world.

“ Guided by this, the only true philosophy of religion, man is content to practise where he is unable to speculate. He acts as one who must give an account of his conduct; he prays, believing that his prayer will be answered. He does not seek to reconcile this belief with any theory of the infinite, for he does not even know how the infinite and the finite can exist together; but he feels that his several duties rest on the same basis; he knows that if human action is not incompatible with infinite power, neither is human worship with infinite wisdom and goodness; though it is not as the infinite that God reveals himself in his moral government; nor is it as the infinite that he promises to answer prayer.”

The illustration and applications of these views of the limits of religious thought are continued with increasing interest and effect in the concluding lectures; but in our remaining space we can do no sort of justice to the manner in which Mr. Mansel has met prevailing difficulties which a false philosophy has created. As to the theology of the Bible, which has been so great a stumbling-block to philosophy, Mr. Mansel shews that theology is in nothing more remarkable than in the manner in which it adapts itself to the self-limiting constitution of the human mind. To human reason, the personal and the infinite are apparently antagonistic. The personality of God disappears in the Pantheism of India; his infinity is lost in the Polytheism of Greece. But in the Hebrew Scriptures one method of divine teaching is constantly manifested, appealing alike to the intellect and the feelings of man. God is plainly and uncompromisingly proclaimed

as the one and the absolute. Yet this sublime conception is never so exhibited as to furnish food for that mystical contemplation to which the oriental mind is prone. The Almighty places himself on what may, humanly speaking, be called a lower level than that on which reason would exhibit him. His personality never sinks to a mere human representation, yet his infinity is never so manifested as to weaken the vivid reality of those human attributes under which he appears to the human sympathies of his creatures.

"But if this is the lesson taught us by that earlier manifestation in which God is represented under the likeness of human attributes, what may we learn from that later and fuller revelation which tells us of one who is himself both God and man? The Father has revealed himself to mankind under human types and images, that he may appeal more earnestly and effectually to man's consciousness of the human spirit within him. The Son has done more than this. He became for our sakes very man, made in all things like unto his brethren; the mediator between God and men, being both God and man."

The enunciation of the doctrine of a personal Christ, very God and very man, brings Mr. Mansel into collision with philosophy in its most violent perturbations; but we can only refer our readers to the masterly way in which he deals with what he calls the metaphysics of salvation.

We conclude with the following declaration of the importance of the principles which Mr. Mansel has developed in these lectures:—

"Of the nature and attributes of God in his infinite being, philosophy can tell us nothing. Of man's inability to apprehend that nature, and why he is thus unable, she tells us all that we can know, and all that we need to know. 'Know thyself,' was the precept inscribed in the Delphic Temple, as the best lesson of heathen wisdom. 'Know thyself,' was the exhortation of the Christian teacher to his disciples, adding, 'If any man know himself he will also know God.' He will at least be content to know so much of God's nature as God himself has been pleased to reveal; and where revelation is silent, to worship without seeking to know more. . . .

"Man is never so weak as when he seems to be strongest, standing alone in the confidence of an isolated and self-sufficing intellect: he is never so strong as when he seems to be weakest, with every thought and resolve, and passion and affection, from the highest to the lowest, bound together in one by the common tie of a frail and feeble humanity. He is never so weak as when he casts off his burden, and stands upright and unencumbered in the strength of his own will. He is never so strong as when, bowed down in his feebleness, and tottering under the whole load that God has laid upon him, he comes humbly before the throne of grace to rest his care upon the God who careth for him."

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*Inquiry into the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel, with relative Discussions on the Language of Palestine in the times of Christ, and on the Origin of the Gospels.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, M.A., Minister of the Presbyterian Church, St. John's. London: Bagster. 8vo. pp. vi., 159.

WE have seldom met with a work more vigorous, lucid, and, in one word, *telling* as to style, than this of Mr. Roberts, and we cannot but think that it will make a considerable impression in enforcing the

writer's view of the question he has discussed. In the opening of the preface we are told :—

“The object of the following treatise is to vindicate and uphold the Greek original of St. Matthew's Gospel. This has been attempted on other, and it is to be hoped, more satisfactory grounds than those which have sometimes been assigned by the advocates of that opinion; and in the partially new aspect which has thus been given to the argument, as well as in the belief that such a work is at present seasonable, is to be found the special reason for this publication.”

We quite agree with Mr. Roberts that this is a question of the greatest practical importance, which ought to be entered into by every student of the New Testament, and investigated on the part of those who are able, not only with earnestness, but with a solemn feeling of responsibility.

In the statement of the question the author gives an account of the three opinions current among Biblical scholars on this subject. 1. That St. Matthew wrote his gospel in *Hebrew, i.e., Aramaic only*, and that our present Greek gospel is only a version, to which different degrees of authority have been ascribed. 2. That St. Matthew wrote in *Greek only*, and thus the work we now possess is the true original. A third opinion is, that St. Matthew wrote his gospel *both* in the Hebrew and Greek; the third hypothesis being of recent origin.

The principle which Mr. Roberts lays down is one with which all will agree in terms, viz., that the question must be decided by *evidence only*. But he contends we must take into account the *whole evidence*, and of this a most important part is the *internal*. “To attach importance to our own subjective notions, when opposed to evidence, or when unsupported by it, is in fact to arrogate to ourselves a position to which we have no rightful claim.” These propositions appear like truisms, but Mr. Roberts believes that they have often been practically disregarded. He charges Dr. Tregelles, for instance, with a one-sided notion of what is included in the whole evidence, when he insists upon the *expressed opinion* of some ancient Christian writers as though it *constituted* the evidence required. He maintains that if no gospel of St. Matthew were extant, the opinions expressed by some early fathers on the subject would be open to criticism by comparing them with facts of which we are otherwise cognizant; but when we actually possess a gospel in Greek bearing the name of the apostle, and transmitted to us from the earliest times as an integral portion of the New Testament scriptures, the case becomes much stronger. With this in our hands it will not do to say that we have no evidence as to its character beyond the expressed opinions of some early fathers. To this it must itself be the best witness that we can have.

Mr. Roberts therefore lays it down as a principle that *the logical and natural course is to allow the internal to take precedence of the external evidence*. It appears that he had once been persuaded by the arguments of Drs. Davidson and Tregelles into the opinion which they advocate of a Hebrew original; but that the course which he

recommends had led to the full conviction that the view which it is the object of this work to establish is the true one.

It is of considerable moment in the settlement of this question, as well as important and interesting on other grounds, to ascertain in what degree the Greek language was prevalent in Palestine in the days of Christ and His apostles; and Mr. Roberts has devoted a chapter of some length to prove that "Greek was widely diffused, well understood, and commonly employed in Palestine" at that period. He has considerably added to the force of the evidence for the establishment of this point.

Mr. Roberts then enters upon the examination of the "internal evidence of the proper originality of the existing Greek gospel of St. Matthew," by remarking that—

"There is no question connected with the gospels which has been felt more difficult or perplexing than that which respects their *origin*. So striking are the coincidences, and at the same time so strange are the diversities between them, that criticism has been tasked to the uttermost to give any satisfactory or even probable account of the manner in which they may have arisen; and has by the manifold and mutually destructive theories which it has devised to solve the problem, virtually confessed itself baffled in dealing with this subject."

We believe with Mr. Roberts that while the extreme complication of the chief theories which have been proposed has rendered them incredible, "and the problem appears at this moment to remain as far from solution as ever;" the solution, whenever it is discovered, will be found to be characterized by that simplicity which has often triumphed over the elaborate speculations of genius and learning. Mr. Roberts, who advances his hypothesis with becoming diffidence, believes that simple and obvious as it appears, "it has never been heretofore suggested." It is, "that the Lord Jesus Christ *spoke in Greek*, and that the evangelists independently narrated his actions, and reported his discourses *in the same language* which he had himself employed." Mr. Roberts, however, has referred to the mention by Alford of "A chapter on the harmonizing gospels" by the late Duke of Manchester, in which *perhaps* a similar theory had been maintained; but he "had not been able to obtain a sight of the work in question." We think this was a pity. The paper in question is contained in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for April, 1857, and is one of the finest specimens of inductive demonstration to be met with anywhere. The theory proposed by that clear-thinking and learned nobleman is "simply this:" "In those parts where Greek was the more prevalent language, or when our Lord was addressing a mixed multitude, among whom the Greek was the most generally familiar language, *his discourses were in that language*; and the apostles being scrupulously faithful, and intending to write their histories in the language which had obtained throughout the world, preferred recording those events and relating those discoveries in which the very words of our Lord, and not mere translations, could be preserved." Of this hypothesis the Duke had a right to say, "I maintain that, as an hypothesis, it is superior to any one hitherto

proposed, inasmuch as it solves all the phenomena, and does so in a probable and simple manner, instead of only accounting for one particular feature by many improbable and gratuitous assumptions. He also says in the conclusion of his paper, "I think I may be permitted to add, that if the arguments on either side were at all equally balanced before, the powerful internal evidence against an Aramaic original, which this theory supplies, may be sufficient to establish the blessed fact, that not only is the present Greek text of Matthew the original of that apostle, but that in many of the discourses we have the identical words of our Lord himself."

This theory, it will be seen, coincides very nearly with that proposed by Mr. Roberts, and the method of proof is of the same kind; but though this circumstance may affect the originality of Mr. Robert's idea, it will not diminish that which we are sure Mr. Roberts has much more at heart, the important service which this work will render to the cause of Biblical literature and the establishment of sound views in relation to the evangelical records. Besides which Mr. Roberts has entered more at large into the discussion of opposite opinions which have been advanced by modern Biblical scholars, and his influence as a writer will bring his conclusions more widely before the public.

After internal evidence so nearly demonstrative of the originality of St. Matthew's Greek gospel, the external evidence ought to be of the strongest kind to outweigh it. Mr. Roberts goes on to examine that evidence; and first to shew that there is important external evidence in favour of the originality of the Greek gospel. We fear that this part of his argument will be much disputed, relying as it does mainly on assumptions which are not generally acknowledged. At the same time the fact that St. Matthew's Greek gospel and no other has always been tacitly received as his, *does constitute* an external witness which is more truly catholic than any patristic opinions which may be alleged against it.

With regard to the evidence on which the opinion of an original Hebrew gospel depends, Mr. Roberts considers that he has "shewn that the source of the whole confusion which pervades antiquity with respect to the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel is to be found in a statement of the weak and gossiping Papias." We think this language is too strong; the notion of a Hebrew original might have arisen from the fact of an early Aramaic production giving some sort of an account of our Saviour's life being in the hands of some of the Jews, and not immediately from the report of Papias; but it is no less true that no one testifies to having seen a Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew, and that there is no direct evidence of its ever having existed.

Mr. Roberts is an outspoken man, and has expressed himself in decided terms about what he considers the one-sidedness of Drs. Davidson and Tregelles; but in his remarks on Dr. Cureton's *Syriac Gospel* he uses the language of strong condemnation. He says:—

"Respect for the editor of these remains is all that can prevent them from



being made, as now put forth to the world, the object of unmeasured contempt. Never, probably, was there in the whole history of critical publications such a notable example of self-delusion as that under which Dr. Cureton has laboured in this undertaking. Were that all, however, little need be said upon the subject. The learned Canon has undoubtedly, by his former services to sacred study, earned the right to indulge without rebuke in any harmless though baseless speculations which may commend themselves to his attention. But . . . his recent speculations have been very far from harmless. They tend naturally and of necessity to imperil the most sacred and momentous interests. They have already, to some extent, effected mischief, and, if left unchallenged to produce their proper results, they must speedily accomplish more. But happily the claims put forth in behalf of the work in question are seen on the slightest inspection of it to be so utterly groundless, that any evil influence which it may exert will be but limited and transient: and the work itself will soon be prized simply for its typography—will be referred to merely as an example of that royal patronage which is in this country extended to sacred learning, and will exist only as a memorial of the follies into which even the learned may occasionally be betrayed.”

The third hypothesis which Mr. Roberts mentioned, to the effect that St. Matthew wrote *both* in Greek and Hebrew, is regarded by him as merely a compromise between two antagonist opinions, and as possessing no kind of direct evidence for its support, either internal or external.

Without pledging ourselves to all the views which Mr. Roberts has expressed in this treatise, and without vouching for the solidity of all his arguments, we fully agree in the main with his conclusions, and believe that right conclusions are as important as he maintains, when he remarks that “the question which has been discussed in this treatise is one of vast importance, not only in regard to the gospel of St. Matthew, but the whole of the New Testament Scriptures. It is in truth the very *Thermopylæ* of sacred criticism. On this ground the decisive battle must be fought: the fate of the whole inspired Scriptures is, to a great extent, involved in its issue.”

*Characteristics of the Gospel Miracles.* Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, with Notes. By BROOK FOSS WESTCOTT, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of *A History of the New Testament Canon*. Cambridge and London: Macmillan. 1859. pp. xvi., 122.

THE subject of these sermons was suggested by the services of the three Sundays after Epiphany, on which they were preached. Mr. Westcott remarks with regard to the point of view in which he has considered the miracles:—

“I do not remember to have seen any attempt to combine them into one whole as an epiphany of Christ. Yet it is in this aspect, unless I am mistaken, that very much of their permanent meaning is best brought out; and the same view which shews the importance of the minute details in each work, places also in the clearest light the symmetry and unity of the entire group. It is, however, of the utmost importance not to confound an *essential* unity with a *designed* unity. The narratives of the Gospel admit of the most manifold combinations, not because they are constructed artificially, but because they are true records of the truth. Everything tends to shew that the intricate relations which exist

between them were not the result of any conscious purpose, but of that inspiration which led the evangelists to preserve only such details as have a lasting and representative interest. This they did from different points of sight, and each special aspect of truth admits of a perfect combination with the others, both in its parts and as a whole."

We would just remark, however, that if the evangelists are proved to have made such a selection from the miracles performed in their presence as were adapted to a special purpose, the miracles in the combined view of them exhibit to us marks of such design, and it is difficult to suppose that the evangelists were not conscious of it, while such consciousness is by no means inconsistent with the belief in that Divine guidance which is implied in the idea of inspiration.

Mr. Westcott believes that there is at present less need to insist on the Divine authority of the Gospels than there has been. The interval of ten years has been fruitful in the results of Biblical labours; and the ever-increasing study which is bestowed upon the Scriptures is one of the most cheering signs of the times. We agree heartily with him in the belief that a close and accurate investigation of Scripture will lead to the only convincing answer to the objections against the essential doctrines of Christianity which are at present current. "The results of such a study cannot probably be produced in argument in their full integrity. They are the end and the reward of personal labour, and find their issue in the confirmation of personal faith." Such we are convinced has been found to be the result in the experience of all who have studied the Scriptures in a right spirit and with the requisite means of attaining to an exact acquaintance with its texts—such a student will rise above the literal meaning of Scripture texts. "The letter will not lose its truth and value, but it will be felt to be the receptacle of a higher spirit." The laws of spiritual interpretation have not, Mr. Westcott thinks, been defined, but he has given a few characteristic quotations from Ambrose and Hilary, "which may suggest some thoughts to those who have not paid much attention to the symbolism of the holy Scripture, and lead the way to a candid consideration of a method of interpretation which must not be hastily set aside because it has often been disfigured by unlicensed fancies."

The volume consists of four sermons, the subjects of which are, "the Miracles on Nature," "the Miracles on Man," "the Miracles on the Spirit-world," and "the Conversion of St. Paul." It will require some attention on the part of the reader to discover Mr. Westcott's plan in these discourses, or precisely what he is aiming at in many of his statements, but as far as we have been able to perceive either of them, we believe them to be an earnest exhibition of important and exalted truth.

*S. Cyrilli Alexandriae Archiepiscopi Commentarii in Lucæ Evangelium; quæ supersunt Syriace e Manuscriptis apud Museum Britannicum.* Edidit ROBERTUS PAYNE SMITH. pp. 447. 4to. Oxonii: e Typographeo Academico. 1858.

*A Commentary upon the Gospel according to St. Luke, by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria.* Now first translated into English from an ancient Syriac Version, by R. PAYNE SMITH, M.A., Sub-librarian of the Bodleian library. 1859. Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo.

CYRIL of Alexandria is one of those men who by the sheer force of their genius, and the native energy of their character, vindicate for themselves a conspicuous niche in the temple of fame. Of his early life, the following account is given by Renaudot. Cyril was the sister's son of Theophilus, the distinguished occupant of the Alexandrine see. Theophilus presided over the early education of his nephew, and afterwards sent him to the monastery of St. Macarius, in the Nitrian desert, where he continued five years in the study of the Scriptures. There, under the tuition of Serapion, he applied himself to the investigation of ecclesiastical doctrine with so much diligence that, in the course of a single night, he had read the four gospels, the Catholic epistles, and that to the Romans, while his memory was such that he learned by heart nearly the whole of the Scriptures. Afterwards Theophilus recalled him, and bade him read and expound the Scriptures in the church, which he did with great credit, not only because he had an agreeable voice but an excellent manner. His skill in theology was such as to win for him the admiration of all. He read with care and profit the writings of the orthodox fathers, Athanasius and Dionysius of Alexandria, Clement and Eusebius of Rome, Basil of Armenia, and Basil of Cappadocia. Of these orthodox fathers, says Severus, he followed the doctrine, but he neither touched the works of Origen himself nor recognized any who did. On the third day after the death of Theophilus Cyril was elected in his stead, and the bishops holding the Gospels over his head prayed that God who had chosen him would confirm him in the grace needed for the government of the Church, which he at once began to administer with the greatest prudence. He preached very often to the people, and with so much applause that his discourses were written down from his lips and afterwards collected into volumes. Finding that there were those at Alexandria who read the books of Julian the Apostate, he wrote to the emperor Theodosius, who at his request ordered them to be collected and burnt, while he himself refuted them. Next he wrote to Nestorius, and entered upon a controversy with him, in which the fiery zeal of his character was abundantly manifested. It is not our purpose to go into the details of this history, in which violence and indiscretion undoubtedly appear on both sides. But everywhere, and always, Cyril acted with so much energy and decision that while we cannot commend much that he both said and did, we are constrained to admire his earnestness and zeal in the propagation and defence of orthodox doctrine. He filled the see of Alexandria from A.D. 412 till his death in 444, a period of thirty-two years, leaving

behind him a name and writings which have made him famous in all subsequent ages of the Church.

Many of his works have been published, and it is easy to imagine that any others due to his pen must be received with attention and respect. We are, therefore, prepared to welcome the considerable additions to his known writings now published by Mr. Payne Smith, in an ancient Syriac version and in an English translation.

Turning to these volumes, we find in the preface to the Syriac text an account of the sources from which they have been derived. These we shall proceed briefly to indicate.

Among the precious documents brought to this country from the Nitrian desert, the scene of Cyril's early studies, were two volumes which contain a great part of his exegetical sermons or commentary upon St. Luke's Gospel. This work was very imperfectly known by the Greek fragments collected and arranged with more industry than judgment by the late Cardinal Mai. It was found that the Syriac contained much more than had been found in Greek, and that much of what was there extant did not belong to the work at all. Unhappily the Syriac text was itself defective, as the volumes containing it had been mutilated in the lapse of eleven centuries. Further examination of the Nitrian MSS. was therefore instituted, and various additions were derived towards completing the work. These, and such as still remained unknown in Syriac but were extant in Greek, were arranged in the English version; but the Syriac texts alone are printed in the quarto volume containing the text. We have, therefore, now placed before us almost all that can be said to be known of this valuable work, and that in a carefully made Syriac version of high antiquity. It is by no means unlikely that more may be recovered, either from the MSS. of the British museum or from those contained in other public libraries, especially those of Paris and of Rome.

The Syriac text is printed in a new and beautiful character, and one which represents with considerable fidelity that employed in ancient Syriac manuscripts. Sufficient praise cannot be awarded to the Delegates of the Oxford press for their generous and enlightened zeal in producing this type, so indescribably superior to that in common use.

Mr. Smith gives a number of details in his preface, which will be useful to the readers of his Syriac text, and which illustrate the care and attention with which he has accomplished his difficult task.

The English version claims a moment's attention. It has been executed with the same carefulness as the rest of the undertaking, and reflects great credit upon the editor, who has had many difficulties to contend with to which the translator from Greek and Latin is a stranger. If he has at times failed, and we think he has, to catch the precise shade of meaning, he has more often succeeded. If he has been occasionally too paraphrastic, it has evidently been that he might give a more readable and spirited version. When there is so much that is admirable, we shall not occupy ourselves upon minor criticisms, although we have noticed several points upon which the spirit of carping and

detraction might dilate. We consider the volumes as a fair and honest expression of the original, and as a valuable contribution to theological literature in our own language.

We would send those who deal in wholesale denunciations of Syriac literature, and call it a nest of heresy, to this work, where they will find enough to convince them that they are in error. Indeed, nothing but the crassest ignorance could believe such accusers, when the Nitrian manuscripts alone contain many volumes entirely filled with the writings of the greatest and purest fathers of the orthodox church. Those, too, who think all the fathers puerile and worthless, would do well to read this work, where they will discover as much sober earnestness, manly good sense, and christian wisdom, as they can desire. We rank this book of Cyril very high; it exhibits qualities of a very superior order, and may be read almost throughout with deep interest and real edification. Of course all is not alike, and sometimes Cyril is not equal to himself, but there is scarcely a paragraph which does not set him forth as an able preacher, a faithful expositor, a careful student, and a brave defender of the Word of God. His acquaintance with the Scriptures was immense, his readiness in quoting and applying them remarkable, and everywhere we are constrained to admire the wisdom, the piety, and the power, with which he wrote.

There are many other things which we had it in our heart to say, but we must be content with adding that, in our judgment, this book deserves to take its place by the side of the universally famous homilies of Chrysostom himself. They may not in all things be equal to them, but they are not inferior to them in many good qualities.

We shall conclude with a quotation or two, not selected because of their great superiority to the rest of the book, but as fair average specimens of the materials of which it is composed.

“Ye who thirst for the knowledge of the divine doctrines, open once again the treasure-house of your minds: satiate yourselves with the sacred words: or rather, give way to no feeling of satiety herein: for gluttony in things that tend to edification is a quality worth the gaining. Let us approach, then, the Saviour's words, not carelessly, and without due preparation, but with that attentiveness and vigilance which befits those who would learn. For so alone can those subjects for contemplation, which are difficult of comprehension, be rightly understood. Let us, therefore, ask of Christ that light which he sends down upon the mind and heart, that thus being enabled correctly to understand the force of what is said, we may again admire the beautiful skill of the management. For he had been asked by the disciples of John, whether he is he that cometh? When then he had answered them in a suitable manner, and commanded them to return to him that sent them, he began to say unto the multitudes concerning him, ‘What went ye out into the wilderness to see? a reed shaken by the wind?’ And what the instruction is which we gain from this, or what the end to which our Saviour's words have reference, how must it not be worth our while to inquire? Let us examine, therefore, the meaning of what is said: let us search it as a treasure: let us spy into its secrets: and fixing our mind upon the profundity of the mystery, let us be like careful moneychangers, proving every thing as Scripture says.

“There were then certain who prided themselves upon their performance of what was required by the law: the Scribes namely, and Pharisees, and others of their party; who were regarded according to their professions as exact observers

of the law, and claimed on this score, that their heads should be adorned with honours. This too is the reason why they neither accepted faith in Christ, nor paid due honour to that mode of life which truly is praiseworthy and blameless: even that which is regulated by the commands of the Gospel. The purpose, therefore, of Christ the Saviour of all, was to shew them that the honours both of the religious and moral service that are by the law, were of small account, and not worthy of being attained to, or even perhaps absolutely nothing, and unavailing for edification: while the grace that is by faith in him is the pledge of blessings worthy of admiration, and able to adorn with incomparable honour those that possess it. Many, then, as I said, were observers of the law, and greatly puffed up on this account: they even gave out that they had attained to the perfection of all that is praiseworthy, in the exact performance of the righteousness that consisted in shadows and types. In order, then, that, as I said, he might prove that those who believe in him are better and superior to them, and that the glories of the followers of the law are evidently but small in comparison with the evangelic mode of life, he takes him who was the best of their whole class, but nevertheless was born of woman, I mean the blessed Baptist: and having affirmed that he is a prophet, or rather above the measure of the prophets, and that among those born of women no one had arisen greater than he in righteousness, that namely, which is by the law, he declares, that he who is small, who falls short, that is, of his measure, and is inferior to him in the righteousness that is by the law, is greater than he:—not greater, in legal righteousness, but in the kingdom of God, even in faith, and the excellencies which result from faith. For faith crowns those that receive it with glories that surpass the law. And this thou learnest, and wilt thyself affirm to be the case, when thou meetest with the words of the blessed Paul: for having declared himself to be free from blame in the righteousness that is by the law, he added forthwith, ‘But those things that were gain unto me, those I have counted loss for Christ’s sake: and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ: not having my own righteousness which is by the law, but the righteousness that is of the faith of Jesus Christ.’ And the Israelites he even considers deserving of great blame, thus saying: ‘For being ignorant of God’s righteousness, that namely which is by Christ, and seeking to establish their own; even that which is by the law; they have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God. For Christ is the completion of the law for righteousness unto every one that believeth.’ And again, when speaking of these things: ‘We,’ he says, ‘who by nature are Jews, and not sinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, we also have believed in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified in Him.’ The being justified, therefore, by Christ, that is to say, by faith in Him, surpasses the glories of the righteousness that is by the law. For this reason the blessed Baptist is brought forward, as one who had attained the foremost place in legal righteousness, and to a praise so far incomparable. And yet even thus he is ranked as less than one who is least: ‘for the least,’ he says, ‘is greater than he in the kingdom of God.’ But the kingdom of God signifies, as we affirm, the grace that is by faith, by means of which we are accounted worthy of every blessing, and of the possession of the rich gifts which come from above from God. For it frees us from all blame; and makes us to be the sons of God, partakers of the Holy Ghost, and heirs of a heavenly inheritance.”—pp. 143—145.

“The Psalmist has somewhere said unto Christ, the Saviour of all; ‘Thy commandment is exceeding broad.’ And any one may see if he will from the very facts that this saying is true: for he establishes for us pathways in countless numbers, so to speak, to lead us unto salvation, and make us acquainted with every good work, that we winning for our heads the crown of piety, and imitating the noble conduct of the saints, may attain to that portion which is fitly prepared for them. For this reason he says, ‘Let your loins be girt, and your lamps burning.’” For he speaks to them as to spiritually-minded persons, and describes once again things intellectual by such as are apparent and visible. “For let no one say, that he wishes us to have our bodily loins girt, and burning lamps in our hands:—such an interpretation would suit only Jewish

dullness: but our loins being girt, signifies the readiness of the mind to labour industriously in everything praiseworthy; for such as apply themselves to bodily labours, and are engaged in strenuous toil, have their loins girt. And the lamp apparently represents the wakefulness of the mind, and intellectual cheerfulness.\* And we say that the human mind is awake when it repels any tendency to slumber off into that carelessness, which often is the means of bringing it into subjection to every kind of wickedness, when being sunk in stupor the heavenly light within it is liable to be endangered, or even already is in danger from a violent and impetuous blast, as it were of wind. Christ therefore commands us to be awake: and to this his disciple also arouses us by saying; 'Be awake: be watchful.' And further, the very wise Paul also says; 'Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead: and Christ shall give thee light.'

"It is the duty therefore of those who would be partakers of eternal life, and firmly believe that in due season Christ will descend from heaven as Judge, not to be lax, and dissolved in pleasures; nor, so to speak, poured out and melted in worldly dissipation: but rather let them have their will tightly girt, and distinguish themselves by their zeal in labouring in those duties with which God is well pleased. And they must further possess a vigilant and wakeful mind, distinguished by the knowledge of the truth, and richly endowed with the radiance of the vision of God; so as for them, rejoicing therein, to say, 'Thou, O Lord, wilt light my lamp: thou, my God, wilt lighten my darkness.'

"Quite unbecoming is an expression like this for heretics, whether they be the sectaries or the teachers. For as Christ himself said, 'Darkness' has blinded their eyes.' And this Paul explains to us, saying, that 'the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, that the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ may not shine upon them.' It is our duty therefore carefully to avoid their false speaking, and not to turn aside from the doctrines of the truth, and admit into our minds the darkness of the devil; but rather to draw near to the true light, even Christ, praising him in Psalms and saying, 'Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not for death.' For it is in very deed death, and that not of the body, but of the soul, to fall from the uprightness of true doctrines, and choose falsehood instead of the truth. Let therefore our loins be girt, and our lamps burning, according to what has here been spoken unto us." —pp. 424—426.

"Ignorance is constantly, so to speak, accompanied by rashness, and leads men on to attach great importance to their wretched fancies; and thus those who are the victims of this malady entertain a great idea of themselves, and imagine themselves possessed of such knowledge as no man can gainsay. For they forget, as it seems, Solomon, who says, 'Be not wise in thine own eyes,' that is, according to thine own single judgment: and again, that 'wisdom not put to the proof goeth astray.' For we do not necessarily possess true opinions upon every individual doctrine that we hold, but often perhaps abandoning the right path, we err, and fall into that which is not fitting. But I think it right, that exercising an impartial and unprejudiced judgment, and not rendered rash by passion, we should love the truth, and eagerly pursue it.

"But the foolish Sadducees had no great regard for such considerations. They were a sect of the Jews, and what was the nature of the opinion which they entertained concerning the resurrection of the dead, Luke has explained to us in the Acts of the Apostles, thus writing, "For the Sadducees say 'that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess all.' They draw near therefore to Christ our common Saviour, who is the Life and Resurrection, and endeavour to disprove the resurrection: and being men contemptuous and unbelieving, they invent a story replete with ignorance, and by a string of frigid suppositions wickedly endeavour violently to shake into no-

\* Mai has a short interpolation here, possibly from some other works of S. Cyril, as follows: "And that we must daily be prepared for our departure hence, and watch with unwinking eyes for our master's nod."

<sup>b</sup> In this quotation S. Cyril's memory has apparently confounded John xii. 40, with 1 John ii. 11.

thingness the hope of the whole world. For we affirm, that the hope of the whole world is the resurrection from the dead, of which Christ was the first-born and first-fruits: and therefore the wise Paul also, making our resurrection to depend upon his, says, 'If the dead rise not, neither did Christ rise:' and again adds thereto, as if urging the converse thought to its conclusion, 'But if Christ rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection from the dead?' And those who said this were the Sadducees, of whom we are now speaking.

"But let us examine, if you will, this senseless fiction of their framing. They say then that there were seven brethren, who successively became the husbands of one wife, according to the requirements of the law of Moses; and she died without children; at the resurrection therefore whose wife will she be? The enquiry however was but a senseless one, nor did the question at all accord with the inspired Scriptures: and the answer of our Saviour amply suffices to prove the folly of their narrative, and make us reject both their fiction, and the idea upon which it was founded."—pp. 635, 636.

It should be added that the text from which Cyril preaches is prefixed to each homily, and that Mr. Smith has compared this, for critical purposes, with some of the principal critical editions.

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*The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the Original Greek: with Notes.* By Chr. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. Part III. St. Paul's Epistles. London: Rivingtons. 1859. Small folio. pp. 484.

WE are thankful to receive so large a portion of this valuable commentary on the Greek text of the New Testament. We have before spoken of its general characteristics, and our opinion of the excellence of the work is not diminished by a more thorough acquaintance with it. Dr. Wordsworth lays the foundation for his arduous labours in a heartfelt love for his subject, and an entire confidence in the inspiration and full authority of the sacred writers. To illustrate and explain them, he has recourse to the stores of a correct and extensive scholarship, and also, fully as much, to the exegetical wealth of the early fathers of the Church. We are aware that patristic lore may be overrated; but so may that modern criticism which appeals so much, and often so exclusively, to individual subjectivity, and to the unfettered dictates of our reason. While therefore we take exception to many single applications of the opinions of the Fathers, we think the conservative tendency which deference to them confers on this commentary is highly valuable. In the presence of much that is destructive in modern exegesis, we are glad to take, with all its faults, that which is venerable by its high antiquity.

The order in which the Epistles of St. Paul are arranged is chronological; beginning with the first epistle to the Thessalonians and ending with the second to Timothy. In the preface many reasons are given in defence of this arrangement, but much stress is laid on the opinion that by using the writings in the order in which they were produced, they will be better understood. We must quote a portion of this part of the work, in order that a few critical remarks of our own may be better understood.



"All who believe the Gospel, regard the apostle St. Paul with religious reverence, as a chosen vessel of God to bear his name before the Gentiles, and acknowledge him to have been a wise master-builder of the church; and they are persuaded that the epistles written by his instrumentality were given *by inspiration of God*, and are no other than words *which the Holy Ghost teacheth*; and that though addressed in the first instance to particular cities and churches, they were designed for the perpetual edification of the Universal Church of Christ in every age and place. They also know that the Divine Being who inspired the apostle is 'a God of Order, and that he does everything by counsel, measure, number, and weight, especially in the building of his church; and they will therefore feel a strong persuasion that St. Paul's Epistles are not to be viewed as mere disjointed and fugitive essays, thrown out extemporaneously on the spur of the moment; but that they have a mutual connection and coherence, and that they were designed by the Holy Spirit of God to bear a reciprocal relation to one another, and lend to each other mutual help and support, like joints and members of a well-organized body; and to instruct the world in the religion of Jesus Christ by a well-ordered system of doctrine and discipline; and that therefore, if the Epistles of St. Paul were placed in chronological order, they would be found to form a consistent and harmonious whole."

We admit that such a mode of study will have its advantages; but at the same time we think the argument is overstated. We must recognize in the histories of the church a Divine Providence, so that we are compelled to believe that some things must be according to the mind and will of God, because they have happened so. For instance, an *à priori* argument might forcibly state that the autographs of the sacred writers were necessary in order to give the church the full benefit of their inspiration; but it would be a proper reply to this that they very early perished, and therefore could not be necessary for that end. So with regard to the order of St. Paul's letters. The order in which they were written is not that which has prevailed in their arrangement from his time to this day, as far as we know; we may therefore conclude that such an exact collation was *not important*, to say the least. Besides, can all doubts as to that natural order be so removed, as to ensure the consequences which are predicated by Dr. Wordsworth? We do not wish to be captious, but it does appear to us that the reasoning we have quoted above is not sound; that it is too much presumed that such and such things are right and proper and best; in opposition to the fact that the Great Master of the Church *has allowed them to be otherwise*. What follows is not open to the same objection, the part in italics excepted:—

"Let the reader commence the study of the writings of the divine apostle with that epistle which was first produced, and let him pursue that study in regular order of time, with the Acts of the Apostles at his side, till he reaches the limit of that apostolic history, and till he arrives in due time at the conclusion and consummation of all the epistles, and he will thankfully acknowledge that such an order of study is the most agreeable to reason, most gratifying to the intellect, most productive of spiritual benefit to his own soul, and will be most salutary to the souls of others also whom he may be called upon to teach, if he is ordained to the pastoral office. He will recognize the blessed truth, that in reading St. Paul's Epistles, he has not only been following the apostle in his heart, and labours, and sufferings for Christ, but that he has also been learning a lesson of Christian edification; that he has been there trained in *the best method of building up himself and others, by*

*God's grace, in the Christian faith*; that he has been permitted to behold the great apostolic architect in his spiritual workshop, and has seen him, as it were, with rule and compass in hand, *drawing the plan of his apostolic work*, and then laying its foundations strong and deep, and placing the first stone of the sacred edifice, and gradually rearing the fabric, which rises silently and securely, without noise of axe or hammer, like the temple of Solomon, till it stands in stately grandeur before the delighted eye a glorious building, complete in all its parts and proportions, and perfectly compacted, harmonized, and adorned, in solidity, symmetry, and beauty."

This *may* be true, but where is the proof of it? On the contrary, it might be asserted with much truth that the epistle to the Romans properly comes first, because it lays down so clearly a fundamental doctrine of the faith, which the first Epistle to the Thessalonians does not. However, these observations are not intended to detract from the intrinsic merits of this work. Something of the same kind of *a priori* reasoning we find in a note, 1 Col. i. 1, where St. Paul does not give himself the title of apostle.

"In neither of the epistles to the Thessalonians does St. Paul annex to his own name the title of apostle. But he does adopt this designation at the commencement of all his other epistles with these exceptions (for special reasons), the Epistles to Philemon, the Philippians, and Hebrews. The reason seems to be, that these two epistles to the Thessalonians are the earliest that St. Paul wrote; and that when he wrote them (viz., soon after his arrival at Corinth, A.D. 52) he had only just commenced his apostolic labours in Greece, and he would not put forward the apostolic title before he had amply made good his claim to it by apostolic acts."

In the first place, five exceptions out of fourteen cases would seem to shew that the addition or omission of the word *apostle* had no very deep meaning, but might be accidental. Secondly, the reason given for the omission in the Thessalonians is not a valid one; for the apostle never seems to have become more bold and dogmatic as he got older, but was as firm and undaunted in asserting the authority received from Christ when he began his ministry as when he ended it. Might it not be said, that an assertion of his office was even *more* necessary at first, before he was fully known? With all our respect and admiration for Dr. Wordsworth's labours, we are conscious that he frequently enters on debatable ground, and builds conclusions on doubtful premises.

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*History of the Old Covenant.* From the German of J. H. KURTZ, D.D., Professor of Theology at Dorpat. Vol. I. Translated, annotated and prefaced by a condensed abstract of KURTZ'S "Bible and Astronomy," by the Rev. ALFRED EDELSHEIM, Ph.D. Vol. II. Translated by JAMES MARTIN, B.A., Nottingham. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1859. 8vo. pp. 510, 438.

If justice is done to the merits of this work, it will have a large circulation; for a more important contribution to the "Foreign Theological Library" has not appeared. We could have wished

that different hands had not been employed in the translation, though that is, comparatively, a slight matter, since both the gentlemen engaged have done their work well. Dr. Edersheim, in the first volume, expresses a high opinion of his author. He says that "a repeated perusal has convinced him that it is one of the best contributions towards the explanation of the Old Testament with which Germany has enriched our literature. Comprehensive and trustworthy in its information, exhaustive in point of research and learning, fresh and vigorous in thought and style, marked throughout by sobriety and good sense; above all, thoroughly evangelical in its tone, it may be safely recommended as a text-book to the student." We think this is not too high an eulogium. A writer who approaches the Old Testament in order to explain it with deep learning, combined with a reverent and conservative temper, must confer great benefits on the theological world, and Dr. Kurtz does this in an eminent degree. A passage from the Introduction will shew our readers how far the latter qualification is possessed; and they must take our word and that of the translator for the other.

"The ultimate aim and the highest point of the divine covenant activity, in all its manifestations, is the incarnation of God in Christ. The purpose of all divine operation and co-operation in the old covenant is to typify it and prepare for it. The law, the word of prophecy, the general leadings of the chosen people, and the individual leadings of its more prominent members,—in fine, every miraculous interposition points towards this. The *law* is the mirror where the ideal of that divine perfection, which since the entrance of sin can only be realized in the God-man, is reflected; *prophecy* is the canvass on which the hand of the divinely-enlightened sees traces of the lineaments of the God-man. At first we discern only a few bold outlines, but every advancing stage in the historical development adds new features, and brings fresh colours for the completion of this picture. For while the descent of the whole fulness of God into human nature becomes fully manifest in the incarnation of God, this reality is also in part exhibited both in the typical representations, and in the preparatory dispensations of a history, directed by the hand of God and fructified by the Spirit of God. The whole course of this history implies a continual descending and con-descending to man on the part of the Divine Being. The general leading of Israel, as well as every individual miracle, was a prophetic representation, and, as such, an earnest and a guarantee of that abiding and highest miracle which was to take place in the fulness of time. As the root of the tree already contains what will develope into flower and fruit, so the commencement of the covenant-history comprises what tends to and will issue in the exhibition of the God-man; and this tendency appears throughout the course of that history until the goal is reached. Hence the whole of this history is a continuous miracle, although this very continuity conceals this characteristic. But when this tendency operates not merely as a power of life secretly active, but manifests itself in externally visible appearances, it produces events which are permanently designed as miracles."

The preliminary Dissertation on "the Bible and Astronomy" is a valuable contribution to geological speculation in relation to the Holy Scriptures. It occupies a hundred and thirty pages, and the conclusion is as follows:—

"We have, by many and weighty arguments, proved that the animal and vegetable world, which lies buried in the stratified formations, was not that which, according to the Bible, was created respectively on the third, fifth, and sixth

days, and that its origin must belong to an earlier period. Yet, according to Delitzsch, this is a mere delusion. 'It is pure delusion,' he says, 'to suppose that another creation of animals had preceded that which took place on the fifth day.' But in view of the arguments above adduced, we venture to apply to himself his own language, and to say, '*It is merely a delusion to attempt identifying the creation of the primeval fossil Flora and Fauna with those of the third, fifth, and sixth days, and at the same time to endeavour harmonizing geology and the Bible.*' Like this writer, we strenuously assert that an impartial comparison of the results of geology with the statements of Holy Writ, rightly understood, will prove that the two harmonize. But we cannot for that purpose adopt any method which could either do violence to the plain language of Scripture, or to the well-established conclusions of geology. But the common mode of harmonizing errs in both respects.

"(1). It is *evident* that Scripture describes the creation days as natural and ordinary ones (having evening and morning, light and darkness), while in order to identify the geological with the Biblical creation, it is necessary to represent them as periods of 'Divine duration,' each comprising thousands, nay, perhaps 'millions of terrestrial years.'

"(2). It is *evident* that we read only of *one* general inundation within the six creation days (Gen. i. 2—10), to which, on the third day, bounds were assigned which were not to be passed till the flood. But the above theory requires that we should suppose that a number of inundations had taken place in order to account for the numerous secondary and tertiary stratifications which are thought to have taken place on the fifth and sixth days.

"(3). Scripture *plainly* states that the mountains of the earth existed, *at any rate*, on the *third* day. But this theory requires us to believe that the secondary and tertiary (if not the primary) strata and rocks had been formed on the fifth and sixth days.

"(4). Scripture *plainly* states that plants *only*, and not animals of any kind, were created on the third day, and animals *only*, but not trees and plants, on the fifth and sixth days. But according to this theory, these Biblical are the same as the geological periods, of which each has *both* its plants and animals.

"(5). It is *evident* that the Hexaemeron only speaks of three periods of organic creation, while geology recounts as many as there are stratifications. Yet the above theory identifies the Biblical with the geological creation.

"(6). Lastly, it is *evident*, on the one hand, that the Flora and Fauna of the primeval world had perished *before* man appeared, and hence could not have been destined to continue along with man on the earth; and, on the other hand, that according to the clearest unequivocal statements of Scripture, the Flora and Fauna created during the six days was created *for* man, and destined to continue on earth along with him. Yet the above theory confounds these two kinds of Flora and Fauna."

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*Notes of a Clerical Furlough spent chiefly in the Holy Land. With a Sketch of the Voyage out in the Yacht "St. Ursula."* By ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D., author of the "Ten Years' Conflict." London: Blackie. 1859. Square 8vo. pp. 448.

THERE is more of real life and of discreet observation in this journal of a tour in the Holy Land than such productions often have; and although such books have recently been very numerous, this one cannot be said to be superfluous. Besides the general interest of the travels, the author has conferred much value on what he has recorded by carrying out the intention indicated in the preface:—"One object he has had especially in view—to gather around his course the manifold associations of Scripture, and by connecting as much as possible

each successive scene with the sacred history which it so vividly recalls, to make the reader participate in the delightful conviction which, at every step, was forced more irresistibly upon his own mind, that the Bible is, and must be both real and true. This conviction, though only confirming a belief that was solid and settled before, the author felt to be the best reward of a journey through the Holy Land." We shall select a few passages illustrative of Bible scenes, and merely add that the work is beautifully printed, and is by far the cheapest of the kind which has yet been published.

"A SABBATH AT SHECHEM.—The scriptural associations of this remarkable valley, however, carry us further back than to the days of Joshua. It was to this valley that Abraham came, on his first arrival from the distant East, into the land which God had promised to shew him. He 'passed through the land to the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh,' or rather unto the oaks or terebinths of Moreh. Here it was that to the 'father of the faithful' the Lord appeared and said—'To thy seed will I give this land;' and here Canaan's first altar was erected to the worship of Jehovah.

"To this same valley came afterwards Abraham's grandson, Jacob, as he journeyed from Padan-aram. 'He came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan;' and *there*, to this day, to aid us in identifying the spot, stands a village, not two miles distant from the eastern entrance of the valley, bearing the name of Sâlim. It lies at the foot of the hills on the farther side of the plain of El-Mukhna, and looks, therefore, right over to Shechem. In this neighbourhood, too, it was that Jacob bought the parcel of ground in which he digged a well, and where long, long afterwards, the bones of his son Joseph were buried, 'which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt.' We were now upon our way to this very well and tomb, talking, as we proceeded down the valley towards them, of those memorable scripture scenes and incidents to which reference has now been made. The tomb and the well are not more than three or four hundred yards apart; and they are both at that end of the valley by which Jacob approached it. The well is close in at the roots of Gerizim. The tomb is in the middle of the valley, or perhaps a little beyond it towards Ebal. It is a small inclosure of not more than twenty to thirty feet in diameter, surrounded by a very white wall ten or twelve feet high, which made it a conspicuous object in the midst of the cornfields. Within this inclosure, which has no roof over it, there is a little arched mound of stone and lime that covers the grave of Joseph. At either end of the mound is a small pillar—the one, according to the tradition of the place, marking the last resting-place of Joseph's son Ephraim; the other, that of his son Manasseh—the heads of the tribes whose inheritance this country of Samaria came afterwards to be. Save these simple memorials, there is nothing else whatever to be seen at the tomb. It is kept in repair by the Jews of Nablouse; but like all the other memorials of the Hebrew patriarchs, it is an object of reverence to the Moslems too, and to this cause its careful preservation may be partly ascribed.

"From the tomb we crossed the fields to Jacob's Well, rubbing occasionally between our hands as we went the ears of the growing corn, as on a Sabbath of old certain other disciples of Jesus did. The well is not easily found. There is no building over it or near it to mark it out, like the tomb, from a distance; and the path that formerly led to it has been purposely obliterated by the present churlish occupant of the fields around it. But for the local knowledge of our guide from Nablouse, we might very probably have searched for it in vain. The stonework that till within the last few years remained entire, and that shut in the mouth of the well, is now partly broken down; and the well itself has either been entirely filled up, or its mouth has been roofed over and covered with rubbish. Certain it is, that though we crept down into the cavity beneath the arch, we could discover no trace of an opening into the well. It were surely worth the while of some of our European consuls in Syria to make an effort to

have this piece of barbarism undone. . . . We could now see, what the darkness of the previous night concealed, that the well is little more than a hundred yards from the upper end of the path by which we entered the valley. Up that very path in all probability it was that Jesus came on that memorable day, when 'being weary with his journey, he sat thus on the well.' He had come, as we did, from Judea; and from the nature of the country, his road must have been substantially the same as ours. The well on which he sat, as the woman of Samaria testified, was 'deep;' and in perfect harmony with her statement, this well we had been visiting, according to the careful measurement made by Dr. Wilson, has a depth of seventy-five feet. The well on which Jesus sat was at the base of Gerizim; for the woman said, pointing evidently as she spoke to the height above, 'Our fathers worshipped in *this* mountain;' and not only is the well we saw at the foot of Gerizim, but on the summit of that hill to this day the ruins of the old Samaritan altar are found. There can be no possible doubt, therefore, as to its identity at once with the well of Jacob and the well of Jesus. Here, then, on this very spot, beyond all question, it was that the Son of God, 'in fashion as a man,' forgot his weariness and his thirst in teaching a poor profligate Samaritan woman what she must do to be saved!

"Alas! it is not the water of the well alone that has dried up. In this valley the water of life has long been dried up too. The words of Jesus have been fulfilled: 'Neither in Jerusalem nor in this mountain' do men worship the Father. The Samaritans, indeed, still annually climb to the summit of Gerizim to slay their paschal lamb; but they know not God as the Father of our Lord; and not knowing God as he is revealed in Christ, they are still ignorant of the great truth that was taught here eighteen hundred years ago, that the sacredness of places has altogether passed away. 'They worship they know not what.' And yet the very existence of such a remnant of the Samaritan people dwelling here in Shechem to this hour—the remnant of a people who are found nowhere else on the face of the earth,—is surely not the least striking of the many marvellous testimonies which this whole land bears of the authenticity and the inspiration of the Bible.

"THE WILDERNESS OF JUDAH.—It was plain our guide had lost his way, and was leading us altogether wrong. Although he still pointed forward with his spear, and shouted to us to follow him, and continued riding on, we refused to advance, and having recourse to our maps, struck out a course of our own. Keeping our eye upon the Dead Sea, we rode along among the mountain tops, in an easterly direction, for upwards of half an hour, and at length, to our great joy, as we came to the brow of a steep descent, we caught sight of our baggage horses far down beneath us, winding along the base of the hill.

"Set at ease by this discovery, we were now better able to enjoy the singular and striking prospect that lay stretched out before us. It was the wilderness of Judah—the very picture of sterility and desolation. The whole face of the country was of a whitish-yellow colour, the pervading hue of the calcareous rock of which it is composed. It is a great elevated table-land, swelling up here and there into naked and rugged heights, many of them of fantastic forms, and especially along the margin of the Dead Sea. That sea itself, seen at intervals through the openings in the chain of hills that overhangs its western shore, was sometimes broken, to our view, into three or four separate lakes—all gleaming bright in the glorious sunshine, and imparting that peculiar charm to the landscape which water never fails to supply. It was across the very same country, and a line not many miles south of where we stood, that Abraham looked towards the plain which that sea now fills, on the occasion to which the sacred narrative refers—'And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord: and he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace' (Gen. xix. 27, 28). The avenging fires, and the smoke that issued from them on that eventful day, have long been quenched, but only by the sullen waters of that mysterious sea, in whose depths the cities of the plain have been buried for ever.

"But we must hasten on to overtake the mukharis, on whom alone we are

now disposed to rely for guidance through this dreary wilderness. It was evident that our headstrong soldier had caught sight of them too, and had thereby been convinced of his mistake; for we at length discovered him about two miles off, and far up the mountain side, making the best of his way down to rejoin us. On descending from the lofty heights among which we had been wandering, we came out at length upon a sort of plain, of many miles in extent, burned up and bare, and in passing over which the heat was intolerable. There was not a tree, or shrub, or bush, or flower of any kind to be seen. In the distance yellow, rocky hill-sides glared in the sun, and beneath our feet we had the same material, disintegrated into burning dust. The scanty vegetation the soil had borne earlier in the spring, was already all but entirely gone. It was into such a wilderness as this, if not the same, that Jesus was 'led up of the spirit to be tempted of the devil.' Never, certainly, before did I so vividly realize the exhaustion by which our Lord's humanity must needs have been oppressed and all but overborne, when the great adversary came forth to assail him. Looking around on the utter barrenness of the scene—a scene that mocked the very idea of finding in it any means of human sustenance—one could not but feel as if there must have been at least as much of the scornful malignity as of the deceitful subtlety of the arch-fiend in these well-known words: 'If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.' If he was to find bread there, truly the stones must be his food.

"JERICHO.—The name Er-Riha is undoubtedly a corruption of Jericho; but whether this be the very site of that ancient city is not so certain. Josephus says that 'the old city which Joshua, the son of Nun, took,' was near the fountain of Elisha. That fountain, as already noticed, bursts forth at the foot of the hills, while Er-Riha is nearly two miles forward upon the plain. In this immediate neighbourhood, at any rate, Jericho stood. Our tents were placed on a little rising ground, at the foot of which ran one of the many streamlets that have their source in the copious fountain of Elisha. About a hundred yards east of us was the old square tower. Closer at hand were some noble fig-trees, and many fine specimens of the *palma christi* (the castor-oil plant), which here takes quite a tree-like size and form. The nubk, or dôm-tree, with its small yellow-coloured, acid-flavoured, olive-shaped fruit; and the zukkum, with its balsamic nuts and its formidable thorns, grew in thickets around us. Hard by, and fenced closely round with an all but impenetrable hedge of the thorny zukkum, was the little hamlet of Er-Riha—a cluster of low, flat-roofed, miserable huts, containing about fifty families. Their village is the only one in all the plain of Sodom; and both singular and shocking it is to be told that the foul sins of Sodom are there to this hour.

"The more distant view was very grand. Behind us rose the lofty and rugged wall of the mountains of Judah. The sun was going down behind them. The sky above the jagged outline of their bare and rocky summits was flooded with golden light, while the face of the hills beneath was buried in a deep, rich, purple shade. Before us, away eastwards across the broad plain, towered up the long range of the mountains of Ammon and Moab; their far-extending ridges, like a line of fire along the edge of the sky, glowing in the bright radiance of the setting sun. These encircling and unchanging hills remain, but Jericho, which gave life and animation to the scene—Jericho, the city of palm-trees—Jericho, that withstood the armies of Israel—the private residence at a later time of the splendour-loving Herod the Great—Jericho, with all its wealth and grandeur—has disappeared! The curse of the great warrior who first overthrew it seems to rest upon it still. When the night had closed in, and the noisy natives had withdrawn to their wretched village, we left our tents to walk abroad undisturbed beneath the silent, glorious, star-lit sky.

'How beautiful is night!  
A dewy freshness fills the silent air;  
No mist obscures, nor cloud, nor speck, nor stain  
Breaks the serene of heaven!'

The moon had gone down, but the glow-worms were sparkling like gems at

every step beneath our feet, and the fire-flies in myriads were dancing in the genial air. It was more easy now than before to get away back among the ages of the past, and to recall the history of other times, and to rebuild and repeople Jericho once more, and to place ourselves in the midst of those great events, the memory of which must ever linger like an enchantment around this scene. Gilgal, 'in the east border of Jericho,' where the tribes of Israel encamped the same night they came over Jordan, could not have been far from our tents. Here, where we now stood, it may have been that Joshua 'lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold there stood a man over against him with a drawn sword in his hand.' To this very spot the solemn words of that divine 'captain of the host of the Lord' may have pointed when he said unto Joshua—'Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy' (Josh. v. 15). These hills above us must have rung, again, to the blast of the rams' horns, which for seven successive days were blown beneath the walls of the beleaguered city. And where this deep silence now broods over the all but deserted plain, there must have been heard, rending the very heavens, the terrific voice of them that 'shouted for the mastery,' and the wild despairing shriek of those that 'cried for being overcome.'

"But other sights and sounds have been here, besides these 'battles of the warrior,' with their 'confused noise and garments rolled in blood.' The Prince of Peace, too, has been here, bringing salvation to the house of Zaccheus the publican, and giving sight to the blind beggars who sat by the city gates—acts of grace and goodness all the more touching that they were done when he was about to climb these hills, and to lay down at Jerusalem his own infinitely-precious life for the redemption of the world. There was enough in such recollections as these to encourage us to take home the words of the Psalm, and—even in the midst of so wild a region as the valley of the Jordan, and with no better a defence around us than the slender folds of a tent—with good King David, to say, 'I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep: for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety' (Psalm iv. 8)."

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*The Evangelists and the Mishna; or, Illustrations of the four Gospels, drawn from Jewish Tradition.* By the Rev. THOMAS ROBINSON. London: Nisbet. 1859. 8vo. pp. 336.

A SHORT preface to this work gives us the following information:—

"The Mishna is that collection of Jewish traditions made by Rabbi Judah, surnamed the Holy, in order to preserve them from perishing during the dispersion of his countrymen. 'He collected,' says Basnage, quoting from Ganz, 'all the decrees, the statutes, the words of the sages; all the ordinances of the Sanhedrim, which had been made under the ministry of the prophets or by the men of the great synagogue.' Various dates are assigned to the completion of this work, from A.D. 141 to A.D. 230. It is this which, with the Gemara, or commentaries forming the *completion* of the work, constitutes the Talmuds, that of Jerusalem having been composed about the year 300, and that of Babylon, usually spoken of as *the* Talmud, not earlier than the beginning of the sixth century. Although much has been already accomplished in the same field, especially by Lightfoot and Schoetgen, the author trusts that his attempts still further to illustrate the Word of God from the statements and phraseology of that ancient work, will prove, especially to the general reader, not altogether fruitless or uninteresting."

The selections have been made with great care, and will be found really illustrative of the New Testament. If this portion of his labours is successful Mr. Robinson intends to follow it with another containing similar illustrations of the Acts and the Epistles. The original of the passages quoted in Rabbinical Hebrew will be a



valuable aid to those who are studying that dialect. We cordially recommend the work, and will give a quotation as a sample of what may be expected from it. We omit the notes, which contain the Hebrew text and references:—

"MATT. V., ver. 9. *Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.*

"To 'make peace between man and man' is mentioned in the Mishna, as one of the things of which 'a man enjoys the fruit in this world, and for which he has the reward of the resurrection in the world to come.'

"Ver. 13. *Ye are the salt of the earth.*

"The allusion is probably to the salt employed in connexion with the sacrifices. No sacrifice was to be without it (Lev. ii. 13). Hence the Mishna speaks of one of the chambers in the temple court, as the *salt-chamber*. This salt, which appears to have been brought from the Dead Sea, and, as Schoetgen observes, to have been nothing else than the bitumen found there, might lose its savour, whether taste or smell, and then be sprinkled on the ascent to the altar, to be trodden under the feet of the priests. 'They may strew salt on the ascent to the altar [on the Sabbath], that they [the priests on duty] may not slip down.' How the disciples of Jesus were to be the salt of the earth, will appear from the words of the apostle,—'Because of the *grace* that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the *Gospel of God*, that the *offering up* (oblation or sacrifice, προσφορά) of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.' 'Let your speech be with grace, seasoned with salt.'

"Ver. 14. *Ye are the light of the world.*

"Ver. 15. *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.*

"'Formerly,' says the Mishna, 'fires were lighted on the tops of the mountains (to announce the appearance of the new moon, that the Jews might everywhere prepare for the solemnities of the occasion).' The disciples of Jesus were to be like those lights on the mountain-tops, shining far and wide, announcing to perishing men, both by their lips and by their lives, the appearance of 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.' With the Gospel in their hearts and in their hands, they were to be the world's true guides and benefactors, guiding their feet into the way of peace.

"Ver. 19. *Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.*

"The Jews were in the habit of making a distinction in the commandments, between such as they called *light*, and others which they characterized as *weighty*. Thus it is said in the Mishna:—'Be equally attentive to the light and to the weighty commandments.' Again:—'Run to the light as well as to the weighty commandment.' The Saviour, viewing the law given by Moses in its whole extent, recognized this distinction, though differing entirely from the Rabbis as to what constituted the lighter, and what the weightier commandments. 'Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin; and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone' (Matt. xxiii. 23). While the Jewish commonwealth stood, the appointed tithe was to be carefully paid; and 'he who was unfaithful in that which was least, would be unfaithful also in much.' Or by 'these least commandments' the Saviour may have intended those moral precepts to which the previous part of his discourse had reference, which the Jewish teachers regarded as of least account, but which were in reality the greatest.

"Ver. 20. *For I say unto you, That except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.*

"The term 'Scribe' (שופר *sopher*=γραμματεὺς) is employed in the Mishna to denote two different classes of persons. For the most part it is applied to the teachers and expounders of the law. For example:—'The words of the law are not to be judged from the words of the Scribes, nor the words of the Scribes from the words of the law; nor yet the words of the Scribes from other words of the Scribes.' The term is also applied to the clerks of the Sanhedrim. 'The Sanhedrim,' says the Mishna, 'was like the half of a circular thrashing-floor, in order that the members might see each other. There were also two Scribes who stood before them, one on the right hand and the other on the left, to record the votes Not guilty and Guilty, respectively. . . . If the judges erred in any matter, the two Scribes put them right.' The Scribes were therefore men well versed in the law, and especially in the traditions, as those whose office it was to expound the former to the people, and to explain the latter as occasion required."

*Essays Critical and Theological.* By the Rev. HENRY CONSTABLE, A.M. London: Longmans. 1859. 8vo. pp. 260.

THESE ESSAYS are, most of them, so much in harmony with the special subjects treated of in this Journal, that we should like to discuss them at far greater length than is now in our power. We will quote the titles of the principal of them:—Chronology of our Lord's Last Passover—The Earlier History of St. Paul, in connexion with his Visits to Jerusalem, and the Epistle to the Galatians—the epistle entitled to the Ephesians was written by St. Paul to the Church of Laodicea—the Inspiration of Scripture—the Miracles of Rome contrasted with those of Holy Scripture. The first paper is worthy very careful perusal, for if the theory of Mr. Constable can be established, it will remove what has always been a great difficulty in the accounts of the four evangelists, viz., that the three first give an account of our Lord's last passover not in accordance with that given by St. John. "The difficulty," says Mr. Constable, "arises hence: the three earlier evangelists relate in plain language our Lord's partaking the passover with the twelve apostles, and they relate it as though in every circumstance it was the true and proper passover which God ordained for his people in the Old Testament. St. John, on the other hand, calls this day on which our Lord and his disciples partook, *the preparation of the passover*, and tells us that when our Lord was on his trial before Pilate, and the day fast approaching to its close, the Pharisees and the multitude had not eaten their passover, but were only intending to do so." This difficulty is thought by many to be insuperable; for example, by Dean Alford. But Mr. Constable proposes to solve the problem in the following way:—

"After long and careful consideration of this question, I have adopted a view which appears to me clear, well supported, and removing all real difficulties. It is based upon the fact that a difference as to the proper time for killing the Paschal lamb existed among the Jews. Some of them, but these the smaller part by far, maintained that the time for killing the Passover, in Exod. xii. 6, was at the beginning of the fourteenth day of the first month at sunset, i.e., at about six o'clock p.m.; while others, and these the most numerous and influential, comprising the great party of the Pharisees, followed by the multi-

tude, held that the time ordained was *the close* of this same day, i.e., from three to five p.m. Both parties killed the lamb on the same day, viz., the fourteenth day of the month; but the first party also ate the Passover on this day, while the second did not eat it till the fifteenth. I hold that our Lord adopted the first view, and that the three earlier gospels relate *his Passover*; that John, omitting all allusion even to the Lord's Passover, speaks of that in use among the great bulk of the people, and, consequently, while three Gospels relate with perfect truth and accuracy the Lord's Passover, the fourth, as truly and as accurately, relates the Passover of the Jews in general as yet to take place. The varying accounts of the evangelists are, in fact, the accurate representatives of the actual state of things among the Jews—the indications of exact truth in their narratives and not of imperfection, far less of falsehood."

To the defence and illustration of this theory the author brings many cogent arguments. We shall not give an opinion, but refer our readers to the volume, which is, in every point of view, worthy of respectful attention. With much learning there is combined mental acuteness, and also a calmness in stating a subject and reasoning upon it.

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*The English Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version. Newly divided into Paragraphs and Sections: with concise Introductions to the several Books, and Notes illustrative of the Chronology, History, and Geography of the Sacred Scriptures; containing also the most remarkable variations of the Ancient MSS. and Versions, and the chief results of Modern Criticism. The New Testament.* London: William Allan. 1859. Sm. 4to. pp. 420.

In our last number we brought the last part of this edition of the New Testament under the notice of our readers, with some of the editor's remarks on his labours, and the prospects of the Old Testament now advancing towards completion. But we think it fair to a most meritorious and valuable undertaking to notice the volume as it appears with the above title, and to recommend it to the generous patronage of all who wish well to Biblical learning, in its more popular development. We cannot better enforce this appeal than by copying the preface, which so clearly sets forth what is accomplished by the work.

"This volume is an attempt to carry out, to a greater extent, the idea of which the *Chronological New Testament*, published in 1851, was an embodiment; namely, that by means of an improved arrangement and other appliances, something might be done to render our Authorized English Version more generally intelligible.

"It is hoped that this work will be considered an improvement on its predecessor.

"The same inscrutable Wisdom which determined that documents penned under Inspiration, and committed to the keeping of the Christian Church, should be liable to the same accidents as all other writings, has provided materials in abundance for the remedy of all such accidents; so that the saying of the Psalmist may be applied, not only to the works, but to the words of God, they are capable of being '*sought out by all those who have pleasure therein.*'

"In endeavouring to make use of a portion of these rich stores, to the end that it may be clearly ascertained '*What saith the Lord?*' the editor trusts

he has attempted nothing that is not fitting to be applied to the elucidation of the sacred books, nor for which the example of the venerated revisers of 1611 cannot be adduced.

"It cannot be expected that all the innovations ventured on in this edition, either in the arrangement of the several books, the endeavour at an approximation toward the genuine text, or the attempt to express the sense of the original, will be universally accepted: a first attempt must, almost necessarily, be crude, imperfect, or, among above five thousand notes, even more or less erroneous. But almost every note in the following pages rests on the authority of some manuscript or version, or the opinion of some critic; scarcely anything is to be found that is not already the common possession of Christendom: the editor claims the merit only of method, choice, and fidelity.

"The main idea is that of a Paragraph Bible of convenient size and legible type, with an increased number of marginal notes; those now added being distinguished from the notes of the revisers of 1611 by being bracketed."

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1. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language, translated from the German of Caspari, and edited, with numerous additions and corrections,* by WILLIAM WRIGHT, Professor of Arabic in the University of Dublin. Vol. I. London: Williams and Norgate. 1859. 8vo. pp. 274.
  2. *An Introduction to the Study of the Chaldee Language; comprising a Grammar (based upon Winer's), and an Analysis of the Text of the Chaldee portions of the Book of Daniel.* By the Rev. GEORGE LONGFIELD, A.M., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. London: Whittaker and Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 198.

THE Grammar of Professor Wright is beautifully printed at the press of Fr. Nies, of Leipzig: that of Mr. Longfield at the Dublin University press, and in an equally elegant manner. The former fills up a gap in the philological literature of our country, for hitherto there has been no Arabic grammar published here to which the student could be referred with confidence. On this subject Professor Wright remarks:—

"Such, however, is the general neglect of almost every branch of Oriental study in England at the present day, that this state of matters is not surprising. The natives of the Continent—even those whose connexion with the East is small or absolutely none—are better off. France can point to De Sacy (whose immortal work has been the basis of all subsequent grammars), and to Bresnier; Germany to Ewald, Schier, and Caspari; Holland to Roorda. It is inconvenient, however, for a teacher to use a book written in a foreign language, particularly if that language be German, which is, I regret to say, as yet but little cultivated in our universities; and it is this circumstance which has mainly induced me to undertake the present work."

This Grammar is not a mere translation of Caspari's, but an enlarged and improved edition of it. One peculiarity of the present one is thus referred to in the preface.

"A feature peculiar to this edition are the notes that touch upon the comparative grammar of the Shemitic languages, a subject little understood in this country, yet highly interesting to the student of Hebrew as well as of Arabic. Our deficiency in Hebrew scholarship is, in fact, to be traced in a great measure to our almost total neglect of the study of the cognate languages, Arabic,

Aramaic, and Æthiopic. Many of us take the Hebrew Bible in one hand and our Authorized Version in the other, read the former by the light of the latter, and call ourselves Hebraists. There is, however, no such royal road to a thorough knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures. Hebrew is in itself a difficult language, especially to those who commence it fresh from the study of Greek and Latin; while the Biblical texts are few in number, and in many passages very obscure, not to say corrupt. In short, we have need of every ray of light that we can concentrate upon them. Manuscripts must be collated, ancient versions compared, and, above all, the cognate languages studied, so that we may become familiarised with the modes of thought and forms of expression of the Shemitic nations. The so-called Shemitic languages—Arabic, Æthiopic, Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic (Chaldee and Syriac)—are as closely connected with one another as the Romance languages—Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, and French; they are all daughters of a deceased mother, standing to them in the relation of Latin to the other European languages just specified. The Hebrew, perhaps, resembles this parent tongue most in some points; but, on the whole, the Arabic (and next to it the Æthiopic) has preserved the greatest degree of likeness to the primitive Shemitic speech. The Hebrew, even of the Pentateuch, had already attained pretty nearly the same degree of grammatical development (or decay) as the spoken Arabic of the present day. Of that, the comparative notes interspersed throughout this grammar give ample proof."

Mr. Longfield's volume was prepared before he had any idea that Dr. Riggs, in America, was engaged on a similar publication. However, we have no doubt that English students will give their support to the arduous labours of their own countryman. The field which the subject occupies is thus described in the preface.

"The fact that the Chaldee is the original language of a portion of the Scriptures would alone justify an attempt like the present to furnish a simple introduction to the study of the language. The importance of it in a philological point of view, and as affording aid to the student in acquiring the other Shemitic dialects, and especially the Syriac, to which it is intimately related, will also be generally admitted. The value of the Targums, and particularly of those of Onkelos and Jonathan, as aids to the interpretation of the Old Testament, affords another strong motive for the study of the Chaldee. Finally, the extent to which the later Hebrew has been modified by the adoption of Chaldee forms and words, makes an acquaintance with the language necessary for those who would extend their studies to the Talmud and Rabbinical literature. The language of part, at least, of the Talmud may be considered as Chaldee, and that of the Rabbinical writers generally abounds with Chaldee forms and words."

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*Christian Oratory: an Inquiry into its History during the first Five Centuries.* By HORACE M. MOULE, of Queen's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 219.

THIS work, although not very large, is very comprehensive, and will furnish a guide for future explorers of the same interesting field. It contains thirteen chapters. The first is introductory, on the religion and artistic elements in preaching, and much that is here advanced is important in its bearing on the preaching movements of the present day. The two next chapters take a review of the period comprised in the essay. Chapter the fourth makes some remarks on the an-

tiquities of Christian preaching. The next seven discuss the several periods of time from the apostles to Cyril of Alexandria, etc. Chapter eleven remarks on the Christian preachers of the first five centuries in their relation to ancient models and to some preachers of modern Europe. Chapter twelve gives a conjectural estimate of what the Church fathers of the first five centuries would have been apart from Catholic Christianity, etc.

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*Christ and his Church in the Book of Psalms.* By the Rev. ANDREW A. BONAR. London: Nisbet. 1859. 8vo. pp. 470.

PERHAPS this is the most important work on the Psalms which has yet appeared in this country, when its adaptation to readers of all classes is considered. Unlike that of Dr. de Burgh, noticed in our last number, Mr. Bonar first lays a sound foundation by establishing the historical meaning. On this he builds up the prophetic and theological applications which have always been recognized by the Christian Church, giving particular attention to the Messianic references. We have been much pleased with the work as a whole.

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*Paul the Preacher; or, a Popular and Practical Exposition of his Discourses and Speeches, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.* By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. London and Glasgow: Griffin. 1859. 8vo. pp. 463.

DR. EADIE has popularized the plan pursued by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in their work on the Life and Epistles of St. Paul, yet without imitating that work. Indeed, there is great originality about the present publication. The object has been to explain and apply in a popular and practical manner the words of the apostle in his ministerial character, and to bring out his meaning briefly and clearly. We think this is likely to be a favourite production of Dr. Eadie, as it certainly will sustain the character for sound learning which his numerous publications have secured for him.

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*Leaders of the Reformation: Luther, Calvin, Latimer, and Knox.* By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's. London and Edinburgh: Blackwoods. 1859. 12mo. pp. 328.

THE substance of these sketches was delivered in a series of Lectures at the Edinburgh Philosophical Society. They are characterized by much knowledge of the subject, much discrimination of principles, and a pleasing earnestness. We will extract two passages referring to the Churches of England and Scotland.

"The spirit of the Church of England is not, and never has been, definite and consistent. From the beginning it repudiated the distinct guidance of any theological principles, however exalted and apparently Scriptural. It held fast to its historical position as a great institute still living and powerful under all the cor-

ruptions which had overlaid it; and while submitting to the irresistible influence of reform which swept over it, as over other churches in the sixteenth century, it refused to be refashioned according to any new model. It broke away from the medieval bondage under which it had always been restless, and destroyed the gross abuses which had sprung out of it; it rose in an attitude of proud and successful resistance to Rome; but in doing all this, it did not go to Scripture, as if it had once more and entirely anew to find there the principles either of doctrinal truth or of practical government and discipline. Scripture, indeed, was eminently the condition of its revival, but Scripture was not made anew the foundation of its existence. There was too much of old historical life in it to seek any new foundation; the new must grow out of the old, and fit itself into the old. The Church of England was to be reformed, but not reconstituted. Its life was too vast, its influence too varied, its relations too complicated,—touching the national existence in all its multiplied expressions at too many points,—to be capable of being reduced to any new and definite form in more supposed uniformity with the model of Scripture, or the simplicity of the primitive Church. Its extension and manifold organization was to be reanimated by a new life, but not remoulded according to any arbitrary or novel theory.

"This spirit, at once progressive and conservative, comprehensive rather than intrusive, historical and not dogmatical, is one eminently characteristic of the English mind, and, as it appears to us, in the highest degree characteristic of the English Reformation."

"A Calvinistic creed and a Presbyterian ritual were the shapes into which the Scottish Reformation, not at once, but very soon, and from the growing necessities of its position, hardened itself. At first, we have seen, it did not bear any strong impress of Calvinism; the affinity was apparent, but the likeness was far from rigorous; and had it been left to its own free national development, undisturbed by royal despotism, and its tool, ecclesiastical arbitrariness, it might have matured, both doctrinally and ritually, into a form comparatively expansive and catholic. It might have gradually penetrated the old historical families of the kingdom, which had hitherto stood aloof from it, and moulded the nation—people, barons, and nobles—into a great religious unity. This, however, was not to be its fate. It was not destined to a quiet career of diffusion and growth, but to a career of tragic storm and struggle, in the course of which, while it kept its own with a brave tenacity and a grand heroism, which shed an undying glory amid the stormy gloom of its eventful history, it yet never fused itself more deeply than at first into the outlying sections of the national life. The original oppositions, after the lapse of a hundred and twenty years, reappear, only more intensified and defined than ever, and to this day they remain uneffaced, and probably uneffaceable. Scotland presents in this respect, accordingly, a singular and original spectacle. While Presbyterianism, in its scarcely differing shades, keeps the same vigorous and immovable hold of the great heart of the nation, there are yet certain traces of sentiment in the country transmitted by clear lines of descent from the sixteenth century, that not merely lie outside of it, but apparently have no capacity of appreciating the meaning of the main current of the national religious feeling."

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*The Book of Revelation, translated from the ancient Greek Text: with an Historical Sketch of the Printed Text of the New Testament, etc.* A New Edition, with a Notice of a Palimpsest MS., hitherto unused. By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London: Bagster. 1859. 18mo. pp. 156.

APART from the light thrown on the Book of Revelation by this little volume, it is a *multum in parvo* on Biblical criticism generally, and we recommend it to the students of the Greek New Testament as a valuable production.

*Thoughts suggested by Bible Texts. Addressed to my Children.*  
London: Longmans. 1859. Square 24mo. pp. 216.

WE believe these "Thoughts" are by a lady of the Jewish persuasion; they are marked by a discretion and a soundness of judgment which confer on them great value. Let our readers judge for themselves from one of the passages, on the fifth Commandment.

"Honour thy father and thy mother."—This, the fifth commandment, is the one which, of all others, children ought to obey, which every dictate of affection and gratitude should lead them to consider as the holiest of God's commands.

"Those children who, from the moment of their birth, have had good and kind parents ever near them, have been surrounded by their care and their love, can perhaps hardly realise the greatness of such a blessing. They have never known the want of that care which seems to be given naturally and as a matter of course, nor the misery of being entrusted to strange hands; they have never missed a father and a mother's kind word and smile, and affectionate caress. Do they—do these fortunate children—ever pause to consider the inestimable value of such love, care, and devotion, or at what cost they may be lavished?"

"Think, my children, that from the moment of your birth you are the object of the anxious solicitude of both father and mother; day and night you are the subject of their thoughts, and constantly you are the point towards which tend their mutual exertions. A mother cares for and watches over her child with the tenderest anxiety, feeds it with her milk, sits by its bed during its sleep, spends many a wakeful night in sorrowful but patient watching when it is ill.

"When the first early years of infancy are passed, and childhood begins, other cares, but still more anxious ones, also commence. The culture of the mind and heart is to be undertaken; the difficult task of education is to be achieved. And here, who can tell the heart-throbbings of the mother?—her fears and doubts as to the result of her efforts, her fond hopes and expectations; whether her beloved child will become the God-fearing, the truth-loving being she so much wishes; whether he will realize the bright idea she had formed of him, when she saw him helpless and innocent lying in her arms? Who can tell the pain she feels at an unamiable word or look, at a selfish or ungenerous action, at a false or deceitful line of conduct? Who can know her joy when she finds this child kind, good, truthful, unselfish, and virtuous—such, in short, as her fond love and earnest wishes hoped and pictured him to be?"

"If to the mother is entrusted the more immediate superintendence of her children's bodily, mental, and intellectual welfare, the father has not the less his share of care for them. On him devolves the duty of acquiring the means for the accomplishment of all I have above mentioned; he must work for their maintenance and for their education. He is often obliged to be out early and late, in heat and cold, in snow and rain; often obliged to give up the ease and comfort of his home to bring to them that which is to procure food, clothing, books, and comforts of all kinds. For himself he wants little, but for his children he requires much, and unremittingly and cheerfully he works on for them as long as strength remains. Father and mother, each in a different sphere, work unremittingly for the welfare, mental and bodily, of their offspring; no trouble, no sacrifice is considered too irksome or too great when undertaken for their sakes; they are the end and object of their parents' efforts and exertions through life.

"And when old age comes on, as it surely will at last, often parents are left alone; sons and daughters are gone into the world to seek after fortune, fame, or happiness; father and mother are left alone, after a life of toil, of care, of anxiety, aged, weak, and infirm; they are left alone when the society of their children would be a help, a comfort, and a consolation to them. But still they murmur not; their love knows no selfishness; they think not of themselves; their happiness is complete if they can be assured of that of their children; they ask of the Almighty no other reward, no other return for all they have done, for all the sacrifices they may have made.



"But, children, is not your debt to your parents very large? Do you not think that what you owe them is almost more than a life of love, of gratitude, and of obedience can repay?"

"It is seldom that children are not fond of their parents; love for our father and mother is a natural sentiment which God has placed in our hearts, which to a certain extent we share with the animals, and which it would be monstrous not to feel. But this affection is not always shewn in the manner most agreeable to the feelings of parents; nor is it always proved in a way superior to that of animals, which, when they no longer require the help and aid of their parents, leave them and know them no more. A parent is not gratified by a momentary mark of affection, a light and passing caress, if it be followed by an act of disobedience; a parent is not satisfied with a *promise* of improvement and amelioration, if the *will* to do better be not sincere and persevered in. Our love for our parents must be shewn by implicit obedience, by a constant and unceasing endeavour to remember their words, their precepts, and their injunctions, by listening to and following their advice, in silence and patient submission; such advice is invariably given for the good of their children, for what other object can they have in view? And who, from their experience, and from their unselfish and disinterested affection, could give more fitting or wiser advice?"

"The child who in his infancy and childhood follows every precept and injunction of his parents with reverence and submission, and who in his youth looks up to his parents with trust and confidence as his best and truest friends, will surely become a good and virtuous man. And if in later years he remains the support, the stay, and consolation of their old age, and, thinking with love and gratitude of all they formerly did for him, bears with their weakness and infirmities, he will indeed receive God's best blessing, and have well obeyed His fifth commandment.

"PRAYER.—O Lord God, Thou hast showered down numerous blessings upon me, and among the most precious of them Thou hast given me kind and affectionate parents. I know that if I displease my earthly parents, I displease Thee also, my heavenly Father; may I therefore ever strive to behave towards them as I ought; may I ever shew them obedience, love, and gratitude; may I ever consider them as my best and dearest friends on earth; and may I by my conduct try to repay them for all their tender care of me. Help me, O my God, strengthen me, to do their will and Thine. Amen."

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*History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times; together with the Process of Historical Proof, or a Concise Account of the Means by which the Genuineness of Ancient Literature generally, and the Authenticity of Historical Works especially, are ascertained; including Incidental Remarks upon the Relative Strength of the Evidence usually adduced in behalf of the Holy Scriptures.* By ISAAC TAYLOR. A New Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Jackson and Walford. 1859. 12mo. pp. 420.

THE value of this work has long been known, and we are glad to see a new edition of it; not merely a reprint, but enriched with much new matter.

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*Ancient Jerusalem (from the Mount of Olives), as it appeared in the Days of our Saviour, with the addition of the Third Wall; also. Modern Jerusalem (from the Hill of Evil Council), as it appears in the Present Day.* By MULLER and WHITTOCK, from the Researches and Sketches made in Palestine, by the wealthy and eminent Antiquary, A. RAPHAEL, Esq. (a Converted Jew, and late M.P. for St. Alban's), and also the distinguished German Artist, HERR MULLER. Every Street, Building, and Object of Interest, in and near to the Holy City, is distinctly shewn in these Interesting Pictures. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: R. Turner. London: Messrs. J. and R. Jennings. Price 3d.

THIS is a small pamphlet describing the two pictures which it brings before us, and which are now to be seen at 62 Cheapside, London. Engravings are taken from them, size, forty inches by twenty-four inches. They are admirable productions, and promise to accomplish all that the publishers intimate in their prospectus: "We recommend all who come to study these pictures, to come taking the Bible as their guide-book, together with Josephus and the Rabbinical description in the Talmud. Then they will be found to possess an interest transcendently greater than any picture to which they may have been hitherto invited. But to visit them, or Palestine itself, with a cavilling spirit, only destroys the interest such a visit is calculated to afford. What should we say to the tourist, who, in travelling Greece and Italy, should only think of contradicting Homer and Virgil? Too many have carried this spirit to Palestine. We may here add that Mr. J. Story, and the Messrs. Hanhart, of London, through whose good taste and perseverance colour-printing has been brought to its present state of high perfection, have been engaged to reproduce fac-similes of these works, printed in colours, and at a price that almost places them within the reach of all. One great object in their publication is to illustrate and bring home Bible truths; and to afford all students of sacred history and antiquaries a source of pleasurable instruction, at their own homes, not hitherto given to them in any previously published pictorial illustrations of the Holy City.

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*The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser.* With Memoirs and Critical Dissertations. By the Rev. GEORGE GILFILLAN. In Five Volumes. Edinburgh: James Nichol. 1859.

THIS splendid edition of a great poet forms a part of the series of English Poets issued by Mr. Nichol. The progress of the work has hitherto been regular and most satisfactory, six octavo volumes being issued to subscribers annually for one guinea.

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## INTELLIGENCE,

## BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

*Estimate of Manetho and Eratosthenes.*—In endeavouring to ascertain the historical value of the Egyptian registers from which we may fairly conclude that Manetho and Eratosthenes derived their statements, there is an important circumstance which must not be overlooked. The Egyptians appear not to have possessed any generally received and well authenticated history. The temples contained separate registers, which differed materially from one another. Such differences in the original documents were apparently the occasion of the great discrepancies in the narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, the former of whom derived his information from the priests of Memphis, and the latter from those of Thebes.<sup>a</sup> The priests of other temples probably differed in like manner from their brethren at Memphis and Thebes; and hence arose the various chronological systems to which Diodorus Siculus more than once alludes.<sup>b</sup> If so many rival historical and chronological schemes existed among the priests themselves, have we any possible means of distinguishing the true from the false? Or can we feel such implicit confidence in Manetho's judgment as to rest satisfied with his selection?

In addition to the priestly registers there existed popular songs or ballads, containing an account of the exploits of the kings. In speaking of Sesostris, Diodorus Siculus says—"Not only is there a disagreement between Greek writers respecting him, but even in Egypt the priests, and those *who celebrate him in their songs*, vary in their statements." Even Manetho himself, as we learn from the extracts preserved by Josephus, derived an important portion of his history from such popular legends.<sup>c</sup>

From these two sources—temple registers and popular legends—Manetho compiled his history. He was a native of Sebennytus, and probably a priest in Heliopolis, a city celebrated for the learning of its sacerdotal class. Manetho himself enjoyed the highest reputation for wisdom, and he was the first Egyptian who gave in the Greek language an account of the history, chronology, and religion of his countrymen. No person could have had better means of becoming acquainted with the history of Egypt, nor have we any reason to question his honesty and integrity. There can be little doubt that he gave a faithful picture of Egyptian history, *according to the views of the priests*; but that these views represented the real course of events, or that it was possible, in the third century before Christ, to trace back the history of Egypt for thousands of years to the first beginnings of the monarchy, may not only be reasonably questioned, but may be pronounced exceedingly improbable and almost impossible. The case put by Mr. Grote in reference to the history of Greece, applies with still greater force to that of Egypt:—

"If we could imagine a modern critical scholar transported into Greece at the time of the Persian war—endued with his present habits of appreciating historical evidence, without sharing in the religious or patriotic feelings of the

<sup>a</sup> Hereen called attention to this fact (*Egyptians*, p. 209, Eng. transl.); and it has been noticed by most subsequent writers. See Kenrick (*Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii., p. 102).

<sup>b</sup> i. c. 23, seq.

<sup>c</sup> Καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ διὰ τῆς ψδῆς αὐτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντες, οὐχ ὁμολογούμενα λέγουσιν. Diod. Sic. i., c. 53.

<sup>d</sup> Ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ Μανέθων οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότης μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν. Joseph., c. *Apion*. i., 16. Διὰ τοῦ φάναι γράψειν τὰ μυθενόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. *Ibid.* i., 26.

country—and invited to prepare, out of the great body of Grecian epic which then existed, a history and chronology of Greece anterior to 776 B.C., assigning reasons as well for what he admitted as for what he rejected—I feel persuaded that he would have judged the undertaking to be little better than a process of guess-work.”\*

Such a critical scholar, transported to Thebes or Heliopolis in the third century before the Christian era, might probably have been able to prepare an authentic history for a few centuries before the Persian conquest; but, the higher he ascended, the more would his difficulties have increased at every step. He would probably have found numerous lists of kings, in which the chief events of their reigns were recorded; but he would have been unable to use them for historical purposes, because he could not have ascertained the authorities from which they were derived. His confidence in the compilers of these registers would have been shaken by the mixture of evident fables with apparent historical events;† and if he sought to test the value of one document by a comparison with others of a similar kind, he would have found such contradictions and discrepancies in the names and successions of the kings, that he must have come to the conclusion that the accounts could not have been derived from contemporary witnesses, both able and willing to declare the truth. He would have possessed no criteria of distinguishing fact from fiction; and unless he obtained some assistance from the monuments, of which we shall speak presently, he must have given up the attempt as altogether hopeless. The doubts and difficulties, which would have been felt by a modern historical inquirer, never occurred to Manetho, because he had different canons of historical credi-

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\* Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. ii., p. 51.

† This is not a conjecture, for we find in many papyri and even in inscriptions so complete a mixture of history and mythic narrative as to shake our faith in the critical sagacity or honesty of the scribes. One of the most striking of these instances is an inscription which, from its singular nature, has attracted the attention of all Egyptologists, and has been analyzed by both Mr. Birch and M. de Rougé. This inscription is a state-document, engraved on a tablet which was placed in a temple. The names of the king and queen, and the dates of the occurrences related, are all given. There can be no reasonable doubt that the record is contemporary with the events which it relates. After the usual exordium of titles, the inscription states that the king had been in Mesopotamia receiving tribute and fealty. Among the chiefs who offered tribute was the ruler of the land of Bakhten, who gave his daughter to the king in marriage. After this introductory matter we are told that in the king's fifteenth year an envoy came from the chief of Bakhten with many gifts for the queen. The envoy declares to the king the cause of his being sent. The younger daughter of the queen, Benteresh, was suffering from an evil, and the king is asked to send some one “learned in books to see her.” A learned man is sent and finds her possessed by a spirit. As this person apparently failed to cure her, a second embassy is despatched, requesting that a god may be sent. Thereupon the king goes before a Theban divinity, Chons-nefer-hotep, of whom he asks permission for Chons-pari-sekher to go to Bakhten. These two names apply to different forms of the same divinity, Chons. Accordingly the boat of Chons-pari-sekher is sent with a great cortège, and is a year and five months upon the road. Chons is addressed by the spirit that troubled Benteresh; and its departure and the cure are related. The chief of Bakhten is desirous to keep Chons in his country, but finding that the god wishes to return, he sends him back in the thirty-third year of the king's reign.

Apart from the curious light that this document throws upon the ideas of the Egyptians at this period, it is especially remarkable as an instance of the historical statement of what must be essentially unhistorical. A full account of it may be found in M. de Rougé's *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne*, Paris, 1858; and Mr. Birch's paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iv., N. S.

bility; but it is very strange that a modern critic, who would have abandoned in despair the attempt to reconstruct the history of Egypt, if he had lived in Manetho's time, should accept without hesitation Manetho's solution of the problem. The confidence reposed in Manetho is the more extraordinary, when we recollect the credulity of the Oriental writers, and their ignorance of the very first principles of historical criticism. The Egyptians were an Oriental people; and Manetho, notwithstanding his erudition, must have shared in the characteristics of his race. His work is lost; and one of the chief fragments of it preserved is confessedly drawn from popular tradition. To what extent, and in what manner, he interwove the popular legends with the accounts derived from the sacerdotal registers, we have no means of determining; but the fact that he has done so in the portion of his work that has come down to us, certainly shakes our confidence in the credibility of the whole work. We are always too apt to judge of Oriental writers by Western ideas. Manetho was well trained in Egyptian learning, had studied the Greek language and literature, and had acquired a great reputation for wisdom. This is admitted; but, notwithstanding his attainments, he might have readily repeated the most childish tales upon the most absurd authority. The Arabic historian Makrizi was the most learned man of his age, trained like Manetho in the learning of the Greeks as well as in that of his own countrymen; and yet his account of the ancient history of Egypt is full of such marvels and wonders, that no educated European could for a single moment accept it as a narrative of real events. But Makrizi himself regarded his own account as reasonable and probable, since he takes credit to himself for rejecting some stories "which the wise cannot believe."<sup>s</sup>

We now pass to Eratosthenes, to whose researches M. Bunsen attaches even more importance than to those of Manetho. This distinguished man was a native of Greece, and was placed over the Alexandrian library in the reign of the third Ptolemy. He was one of the greatest of the Grecian geometers and astronomers; he was the first who raised geography to the rank of a science; and he may be regarded as the founder of the generally received system of Grecian chronology. Among his many works, he drew up at the request of Ptolemy a list of thirty-eight Theban kings, occupying a period of 1076 years.

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<sup>s</sup> The following literal translation from Makrizi's great topographical work, printed in the original at Bulak (the port of Cairo), will convey a fair idea of his historical credibility:—"After him [Shahrlük] reigned his son Sürüd. He was an excellently wise man; and he was the first who levied taxes in Egypt, and the first who ordered an expenditure from his treasuries for the sick and the palsied, and the first who instituted the observation (?) of daybreak. He made wonderful things; among which was a mirror of mixed metal, in which he would observe the countries, and know in it the occurrences that happened, and what was abundant in them, and what was scarce. He placed this mirror in the midst of the city of Amsûs [the antediluvian capital of Egypt], and it was of copper. He made also in Amsûs the image of a sitting female nursing a child in her lap. . . . That image remained until the Flood destroyed it: but in the books of the Copts [it is said] that it was found after the Flood, and that the greater part of the people worshipped it. . . . This Sürüd was he who built the two greatest pyramids in Egypt, which are ascribed [also] to Sheddâd, the son of Ad; but the Copts deny that the Adites entered their country by reason of the power of their magic. When Sürüd died he was buried in the Pyramid, and with him his treasures. It is said that he was 300 years before the Flood, and that he reigned 190 years. After him reigned his son Harjûb; he was excellently wise, like his father, in the knowledge of magic and talismans. He made wonderful things, and extracted many metals, and promulgated the science of alchemy. He built the pyramids of Dahshûr, conveyed to them great wealth, and choice jewels, and spices, and perfumes, and placed on them magicians to guard them. When he died he was buried in the pyramid, and with him all his wealth and rarities."

He derived his information from the registers of Thebes,<sup>4</sup> and probably for this reason the name of Theban was given to the kings in his list. While fully admitting the learning and ability of Eratosthenes, we cannot accept his testimony with the unhesitating faith of M. Bunsen, who appears to place him even above modern critical scholars. Eratosthenes constructed a system of Grecian as well as of Egyptian chronology, and we may fairly presume that he proceeded upon the same principles in either case. But if all modern scholars, really deserving the name, have unhesitatingly rejected Eratosthenes' system of Grecian chronology, we are at a loss to understand why they should accept his system of Egyptian chronology, especially when they have no means in the latter case of testing either his premises or his conclusions. Eratosthenes was enabled to assign dates to the earliest events in Grecian story by assuming the authenticity and trustworthiness of the genealogies. All Grecian tribes, as well as royal and distinguished families, traced their origin through a long line of historical and legendary ancestors up to some god. There thus existed throughout Greece a very large number of genealogies; and the chronologists, by adopting those which were most in esteem, and by attributing to each generation a period of 33½ years, could easily reckon upwards from any event of which the date was known. Having thus affixed dates to the heroes of Grecian story, the tales of the poets were naturally interwoven into the series, and thus was formed a connected narrative, with specific dates, beginning with Phoroneus, nearly 600 years before the Trojan war, and coming down to the strictly historical period. It seems never to have occurred to Eratosthenes and his followers to question the credibility of the genealogies, upon which their whole system rested, and which are now rejected by all competent critics. When M. Bunsen urges that "we have in our hands a chronological series formed by a person like Eratosthenes, who enjoyed such advantages, esoteric and exoteric, in his search after truth, as no man before or after him ever possessed," it is sufficient to reply, in the language of Mr. Grote, "Eratosthenes delivered positive opinions upon a point on which no sufficient evidence was accessible, and therefore was not a guide to be followed." M. Bunsen is at least consistent in defending the early Grecian as well as the early Egyptian chronology; but we lose all faith in his judgment when we find him putting implicit trust in the historical authority of Castor the Rhodian, and especially in the "local written information (computations by generations)," from which Castor "derived his dates." It is difficult to believe that any author of reputation should thus completely disregard all the results of modern historical inquiry. A writer who assigns, as M. Bunsen does, specific dates to the death of Codrus (about 960 or 950 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> to the naval supremacy of the Pelasgians (1059 B.C.),<sup>2</sup> and even to the naval supremacy of the Mæonians or Lydians (1151 B.C.),<sup>3</sup>—who believes that he "has established the *proper date* for the Pelasgic Ionians before the Dorian migration,"<sup>4</sup> and that Castor placed the supremacy of the Carians "*with good reason* before the taking of Troy, namely, before Minos, who put an end to it,"<sup>5</sup>—passes the strongest condemnation upon himself, and has yet to learn the very first principles of historical criticism.

We have thus seen good reason to question the critical skill of both Manetho and Eratosthenes, and to hesitate before putting faith in their statements. Our perplexity is further increased by the loss of their works, and by the falsifications and corruptions to which Manetho's lists, at any rate, have been exposed. The Egyptian history of Manetho was in three books. The first comprised the reigns of the gods and heroes, and the first eleven dynasties of mortal kings, beginning with Menes (I.-XI.); the second contained the following eight dynasties (XII.-XIX.); and the third the last eleven (XX.-XXX.) terminating with Nectanebus II., who lost his throne on the invasion of Darius Ochus in B.C. 340. Though Manetho's history is lost, his lists of dynasties have been preserved by the chronographers. The dynasties are in a

<sup>4</sup> This is stated by Syncellus, p. 279, ed. Dindorf. See also p. 171.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii., p. 627.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii., p. 629.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii., p. 632.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iii., p. 631.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. iii., p. 634.

tabular form, containing the names of the kings and the lengths of their reigns, with a few very brief notices of important events; but whether such lists were appended by Manetho himself to his history, or have been drawn up in their present form by the chronographers, must be left uncertain. These writers were led at an early period to study the ancient history of the chief nations of antiquity, and especially of the Egyptians and Babylonians, in order to compare it with the scriptural narrative. One of the most learned of the chronographers was Julius Africanus, bishop of Emmaus-Nicopolis at the beginning of the third century, who incorporated the dynasties of Manetho in a chronological work in five books (*Περὶ ἑξαβλίου*). Africanus placed the creation in the year 5500 a.c.; but he did not tamper with the Egyptian chronology, in order to bring it into conformity with that of the Old Testament, and he ingeniously confesses that the former was irreconcilable with the latter. Whether he had before him the original history of Manetho, or copied the dynasties second-hand, cannot be determined. M. Bunsen decides in favour of the latter alternative; but seeing that the original work was read by Josephus not much more than a century before, it is improbable that it should have perished in so short a period; and if it was still in existence, it is natural to conclude that so learned a writer as the bishop of Emmaus would have consulted Manetho's own history. It is, however, of more importance to observe, that the lists of kings in Africanus differ from the corresponding names in Josephus. Even in the time of Josephus there existed various copies of the original history, containing important discrepancies;\* and Africanus himself appears to have published two editions of the dynasties.<sup>o</sup>

The work of Africanus has also perished, but his list of Manetho's dynasties has been preserved by George the Syncellus,<sup>p</sup> a Byzantine monk, who lived at the beginning of the ninth century, and who incorporated the list of Africanus in his "Chronography." We are also indebted to Syncellus for Eratosthenes' table of Egyptian kings.

Eusebius, the celebrated bishop of Cæsarea in the time of Constantine, likewise inserted the dynasties of Manetho in his "Chronicon," from which they have been copied by Syncellus, who therefore gives us Manetho's lists according to the editions of both Africanus and Eusebius. In the case of Eusebius, however, we are not left to depend upon the transcript of Syncellus, since an Armenian version of the whole work was discovered in the convent of St. Mark in Venice in 1820, and besides considerable portions were translated by Jerome. A comparison of these three authorities presents very few discrepancies; and we may therefore conclude that we possess a faithful copy of the dynasties according to the views of Eusebius. But his list of the dynasties differs greatly from that of Africanus. It is evident that Eusebius had Africanus before him, and frequently copied from him; but there is no sufficient reason for charging him with wilfully falsifying the text of his predecessor. It is clear that Eusebius made use of some other edition of Manetho's dynasties, differing in important points from the one consulted by Africanus. It is, however, agreed by all modern critics that the list of Eusebius is not so trustworthy as that of Africanus.

It has been necessary to enter into these particulars, in order that our readers may perceive in what manner Manetho's dynasties have come down to us. They are confessedly the copy of a copy, and are moreover in a very corrupt state. This is admitted on all hands, and is indeed obvious even to a casual observer. The 7th dynasty, according to Africanus, contains 70 kings,

\* This is expressly stated by Josephus: ἐν δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ (sc. εἶρον) οὐ βασιλεῖς σημáινεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. c. *Αἰριον*. i., 14.

<sup>o</sup> Ὁμοῦ πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας δυναστείας μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐτὶ φνέ (555) κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἔκδοσιν Ἀφρικάνου. Syncellus, p. 104, ed. Dindorf.

<sup>p</sup> *Syncellus* was the title given to the *cell-companion*, commonly the destined successor, of a patriarch.

reigning collectively only 70 days; and the 14th dynasty consists of 76 kings, reigning 184 years—or less, upon an average, than three years a-piece. In some cases the names of the kings are not inserted at all, but only the lengths of their reigns. There is an irreconcilable discrepancy in the numbers. The sum of the reigns of each dynasty, and the sums of the dynasties of each book are given; but these sums do not tally with the results obtained by adding up the years of the separate reigns and dynasties. If we adopt even the lower numbers in Africanus, the sum of all the dynasties amounts to upwards of 5200 years. Adding this number to the 340 years B.C., at which the 30th dynasty ceases, we must place the commencement of the reign of Menes about 5600 years B.C., or full one hundred years before the creation of the world, according to the longest of the scriptural schemes of chronology.

This immense period of time has been a stumbling-block to all chronologists, and accordingly numerous attempts have been made both in ancient and modern times to bring it within more reasonable bounds. The favourite resort has been the supposition that many of the earlier dynasties were contemporary, and had been so distinguished by Manetho, but were woven into a continuous series by the epitomists. The theory of contemporary dynasties was first started by Eusebius, and was adopted by most of the earlier modern chronologists. It has been revived by M. Bunsen, M. Lepsius, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Stuart Poole, and most modern Egyptologists, who have been led to adopt it chiefly through their excessive respect for the authority of Manetho. It is sufficient to reply that there is not the slightest historical testimony in favour of this theory. On the contrary, all ancient writers, both sacred and profane, invariably represent Egypt, with the exception of one or two periods of anarchy, as governed by a single king. If such contemporary dynasties had been of frequent occurrence, surely some notice of so remarkable a fact must have been preserved; and if they had occurred in Manetho's work, Africanus and the other Christian chronologists would have eagerly seized upon a circumstance which would have enabled them to bring the Egyptian chronology into accordance with that of scripture. That they knew nothing of the kind is evident, not only from their silence, but from the confession of Eusebius, who avowedly invented the hypothesis in order to reduce the excessive length of Manetho's chronology. Moreover, Manetho himself appears to exclude the idea of contemporary dynasties in all other cases, by his expressly naming two contemporary races of kings in the 17th dynasty, one of the shepherd invaders probably reigning at Memphis, and the other of native Egyptians at Thebes. Since Africanus records this instance, we may fairly conclude that he would have mentioned others of a similar kind if any such had existed in the original work.

In reducing the length of Manetho's dynasties, M. Bunsen depends entirely upon a passage in Syncellus, in which it is stated that the thirty dynasties of Manetho occupied 113 generations, and 3555 years. M. Bunsen assumes as an indisputable fact, that this was the length assigned by Manetho himself to the Egyptian monarchy.

"We may venture to assert that the numbers of Manetho have been transmitted to us quite as correctly as those of the Canon of Ptolemy. *It may therefore be held as established*, that Manetho assigned to the Egyptian empire, from Menes to the death of the younger Nectanebus, a period of 3555 years."

M. Bunsen conjectures that Syncellus may even have had before him a part or the whole of Manetho's original work, from which he copied the above statement. This appears to us a most improbable conjecture; and it is very strange that M. Bunsen should imagine that Manetho's original work was unknown to the learned Julius Africanus in the third century, and yet was read by the Byzantine Syncellus six hundred years afterwards. Indeed, the whole theory is a striking instance of the rash and uncritical method which characterizes M. Bunsen's speculations. He *assumes* that Manetho gave 3555 years as the length of the Egyptian monarchy, and he then makes a mere *conjecture* the key-stone of his arch. The conjecture, too, is very improbable; for if either Africanus or Eusebius had been aware of this lower sum, they surely would



not have failed to notice it, when they were so anxious to reduce Manetho's numbers. Moreover, there are very strong grounds for believing that this period of 3555 years was not derived from Manetho's genuine work. So much importance has been attributed to the passage of Syncellus, that it is necessary to subjoin the exact words, with a few remarks.

"Τῶν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τριῶν τόμοις πρῶτ' (113) γενεῶν ἐν δυναστείᾳ λ' ἀναγεγραμμένων αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος τὰ πάντα συνῆξεν ἕτη ἡνέε (3555) pp. 97, 98, ed. Dindorf."

Now it is evident, though M. Bunsen does not notice it, that the words αὐτῶν ὁ χρόνος are corrupt. Although old *Chronos* has wrought many wonders in this world, we cannot assign to his pen any written document. It has been pointed out by Böckh that instead of ἀναγεγραμμένων αὐτῶν, we should read ἀναγεγραμμένων αὐτῷ (that is, τῷ Μανεθῷ), and that instead of ὁ χρόνος the name of some writer must have originally stood. We know from Syncellus himself (p. 99, ed. Dindorf) that there was a certain Old Chronicle, which was long considered a work of authority, but which is now admitted by all modern scholars, including M. Bunsen himself, to have been the work of some Christian impostor. It was probably composed after the time of Eusebius and before that of Anianus and Panodorus, two Egyptian monks in the fifth century, who drew up synchronisms of Jewish and profane history. It is apparently from their writings that Syncellus was acquainted with the Old Chronicle, and it is probable that the name of Anianus should be substituted for ὁ χρόνος in the passage under discussion. If we suppose that the first half of δ [Ἀνια]νός was obliterated and the termination νος alone left, the copyist might have filled up the blank by writing δ [χρ]όνος. We have the express testimony of Syncellus (p. 95) that the Old Chronicle assigned 113 generations to the thirty dynasties, the very number specified in the other passage. We may therefore conclude that the 113 generations and the 3555 years come from the Old Chronicle, and not from the genuine Manetho, and are therefore utterly worthless.<sup>9</sup>

It is indeed strange in the present state of historical criticism, when the method has been so fully explained and so admirably illustrated by recent historians, to find M. Bunsen systematically disregarding the laws of evidence, and endeavouring to reconstruct the history, and even the chronology, of a distant age by a series of arbitrary conjectures. Even if they were more plausible and probable than they are, they cannot, from the nature of the case, admit of proof. M. Bunsen has yet to learn the important principle laid down by one of the greatest of our modern historians, "that conscious and confessed ignorance is a better state of mind, than the fancy without the reality of knowledge," and that it is the duty of the historian not "to screw up the possible and probable into certainty." Having first conjectured that the period of 3555 years came from Manetho's own hand, M. Bunsen next proceeds to reduce the lists in Africanus and Eusebius to this lower number. This is a long and intricate process, in which the kings and dynasties and numbers undergo such extraordinary transmutations and transformations that a cautious historical critic stands aghast at both the audacity and the credulity of the author. It is quite impossible for us, with the space at our command, to follow M. Bunsen through his various devices for the reduction of the numbers, and to state the objections which occur to us at almost every step. The extensive alterations which he makes in Manetho's dynasties are completely fatal to their historical value. The number and importance of these corrections, if admitted, prove such radical confusion and corruption in the present text, that it is quite impossible to believe that any process of conjectural criticism can restore it to its original condition. For our own part, we do not believe that Manetho's dynasties have come down to us in so corrupt a state as M. Bunsen supposes; but if we did, we should have to throw them aside as useless.—*Quarterly Review* for April, 1859.

<sup>9</sup> The reader who wishes to pursue this subject further may consult C. Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, vol. ii., pp. 536, 537, and Böckh, *Manetho und die Hundsternperiode*, p. 436, sq. p. 521.

*Notes on the Zoology of the Scriptures.*—By W. F. AINSWORTH.—Natural history in reference to the Scriptures is one of those branches of theological science which has been perhaps the least cultivated of all. This is, perhaps, owing to the simple fact that, like the various branches of Biblical geography and archæology, it required investigation on the spot. Biblical exegesis or interpretation, and Biblical criticism or grammatical exposition, can be pursued by the learned at home. It is not so with natural history. Hence, in this department, guessing and conjecture has been more resorted to than in any other. What learning also—deep, solid, extensive learning and judgment—could do has been done, as by Bochart, in his *Hierozoicon*. But it is not till within our own times that the progress of research in Biblical countries has tended to throw a new light upon the subject, and to shew at the same time how little advantage can be derived from mere philological discussions in matters of this kind. This, indeed, applies itself to all branches of natural history—more especially to scriptural botany—but it also applies itself to zoology, and we shall, on the present occasion, select a few instances from the first class of animals—mammalia—as illustrations of the subject. It must be premised, however, at the same time, that both naturalists and commentators, not deterred by the interminable list of errors which the practice has occasioned, are often unnecessarily anxious to assign the names of animals noticed in Scripture to species characterized by the moderns, although the original designations are to be taken in a familiar sense, and often extend even beyond a generic meeting. Striking examples of this kind occur in the terms behemoth, unicorn, and leviathan. Many learned men, with Bochart and Calmet at their head, have understood the word behemoth, in the singular number, as a specific name denoting the hippopotamus. But modern research and investigation has satisfied naturalists and scholars that the term, regarded in the plural behemah, may designate cattle in general, and be assumed to be a poetical personification of the great pachydermata, or even herbivora, wherever the idea of hippopotamus, or river horse, and of manatus, or river cow, are predominant. Considered in this light, the expression in Psalm i. 4, “For every beast in the forest is mine, and the cattle (behemah) upon a thousand hills,” acquires a grandeur and force far surpassing the mere idea of cattle of various kinds. Thus, again, in the term reem, or unicorn, we have the rhinoceros as the original type, with that of a species of oryx (generically bold and pugnacious animals) superadded. The poetical bearings of most of the Scriptural texts where the word reem is introduced, indicate when these texts point to a single-horned animal; when, by a poetical figure, human power and violence may be personified; and lastly, when the same word appears to denote huge horned animals, as is the case of the bulls of Bashan. Lastly, the term leviathan, which points to the crocodile unequivocally in Job xi., is in other texts applicable to any twisted animal, and especially to every great tenant of the waters, such as the great marine serpents and crocodiles, as also to the whale; then again to the colossal serpents and great monitors of the desert; and lastly there are passages in the Prophets and Psalms where Pharaoh is evidently apostrophized under the name of leviathan.

The discovery of large apes of the baboon form (*Macacus Arabicus*), dwelling on the banks of the Euphrates, powerful, fierce, and libidinous animals, herding in troops, not living in trees, but roving like wild men through the brushwood and jungle, not only throws light upon the koph of Scripture, but also peculiarly illustrates the sayrim, or hairy men, of Leviticus (xvii. 7). The Saadan (Arab.), or Sadim (Heb.), clearly indicating the satyrs of the desert: “And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there.” (Isaiah xiii. 21).

In the texts of Scripture where allusion is made to atalleph, or bats, in connexion with caverns and dark places, true vespertilionidæ, or insect-eating bats, are clearly designated; but when they are designated as unclean, and it is prohibited to eat them, the fact shews that there were men or tribes who at the time eat animals classed with bats, a practice still in vogue in the great Australasian islands, where the frugivorous pteropi, of the harpy or goblin family, are caught and eaten.

Some have denied the existence of the bear (deeb or dob) in Syria, but modern research has shewn it to exist in the more wooded and mountainous regions, and it is known to have abounded in the time of the Crusaders. A specimen of the *Ursus Syriacus* is now in the Zoological Gardens, and other species inhabit Kurdistan, Taurus, and probably the Amanus and Libanus.

The term badger has been considered by a distinguished writer on Scriptural zoology—Colonel Hamilton Smith—as unquestionably a wrong interpretation of the word tachash, since he says the badger is not found in Asia, and has not yet been noticed out of Europe. The word occurs, in the plural form, twelve times in Exodus, seven times in Numbers, and once in Ezekiel; and in connexion with oroth, skins, is used to denote the covering of the tabernacle. Skins of some animal, the same critic observes, are no doubt meant, though any confirmation in favour of the badger derived from the Chaldee version, with or without a prefix, is equally untenable, since the species is likewise unknown in Chaldaea. Modern research has, however, shewn that, so far as this view of the subject is deduced from the supposed absence of the badger from Asia, it is untenable. The animal has been met with in Taurus, Amanus, and Kurdistan. It most probably dwells in Lebanon. The writer had a live badger several months in his possession. It is not, however, meant to be argued from this that the skins of an unclean animal would have been used for a cover to the tabernacle, or that that of the badger was used for the purpose. The fact of the existence of the animal in most, if not all, the wooded and mountainous parts of Western Asia is simply adduced to disprove a negative.

Several species of viverridæ and mustelidæ, known to reside in and near Palestine, are supposed to be collectively designated by the term tzigim. They appear, both anciently and among ourselves, collected into a kind of group, under an impression that they belong to the feline family; hence we, like the ancients, still use the words civet-cat, tree-cat, pole-cat, etc., and, in reality, a considerable number of the species have partially retractile claws, the pupils of their eyes being contractile, like those of cats, and they even bear the same spotted and streaked liveries. The date forests of the East are the home of a peculiar species, known to naturalists as the *Paradoxurus typus*, or palm-martin, and a peculiar miniature fox (*Magalotis zerda*), the fennec of Bruce, inhabits the same localities. There is also a small animal of the same description which is peculiar to the East, this is the *Genetta Barbara*, in Syria called sephka, and which has not only arboreal and burrowing habits, but is also an excellent swimmer. This erratic weasel is variously coloured, and is spotted like a pard. It lives mainly by hunting shaphans, and is what a tiger is to the antelope and deer tribes, to the "wise and feeble folk" of Solomon.

The shaphan is incorrectly translated cony in most versions of the Scriptures. The cony, or rabbit, of Europe is represented in Syria and Palestine by an analogous and yet a very different animal. This is the *Hyrax Syriacus* of naturalists. It is of clumsier structure than the rabbit, without tail, having long, bristly hairs scattered through the general fur. It cannot dig, and is by nature intended to reside, not, like rabbits, in burrows, but in the clefts of rocks. This character is correctly applied to the shaphan by David. The *Hyrax* is, further, neither a rodent, like hares and rabbits, nor a ruminant, but it is anomalous, and most nearly allied to the great pachyderms of systematic zoology. Their timid, gregarious habits, the tenderness of their paws, their living in the crevices of stony places, their basking in the sun, never stirring far from their retreats, or hopping away at the mere shadow of a passing bird, make them truly quiet, gentle creatures, or, in the words of Holy Writ, the "wise and feeble folk."

The race of dogs presents great peculiarities in the East. There are still extant there one, perhaps more than one, species, that have never been the companions of man, and there are races of uncertain origin, that may have been formerly domesticated, but which are now feral, and as fierce as wolves, while, from the particular opinions of oriental nations, there are others exceedingly numerous, neither wild nor domesticated. All these bear upon the Scriptural references to the animal, in which we have but rare examples of dogs treated as

the companions of man—as shepherds' dogs (Deut. xxii. 18), and only once as house dogs attending on travellers (Tobit v. 16, xi. 4). Allusion is made in Exodus xxii. 31 to the undomesticated dogs that followed the camp of Israel, and hung on its skirts. The howling of the street dogs is noticed in Psalm lix. 6, 14, but dumb, or silent dogs, such as Isaiah alludes to (lvi. 10), are not unfrequent. With regard to the dogs that devoured Jezebel and licked up Ahab's blood (1 Kings xxi. 23), they may have been of the wild races, a species of which particularly infested the banks of the Kishon and the district of Jezreel.

The existence of a true wolf—zeeb—in Palestine and Syria, although frequently noticed in the Scriptures, has been admitted of ancient times, but doubted in modern, but the true wolf has been repeatedly seen by the writer and his companions in the countries in question. The Holy Land is also frequented by a smaller species (*Lupus Syriacus*), the same, it is supposed, which is found in a mummified state at Lycopolis, as also by a still smaller, the *Canis sacer*, or piscoch of the Copts. It has been supposed that the absence of the true wolf from Palestine is owing to the want of forests and cover; but the wolf in the East does not necessarily hold by such, but prowls about over the open stony country, mostly in pairs.

Shual and aye, or ije, are both somewhat arbitrarily interpreted by the word "fox," although that denomination is not uniformly employed in different texts (Judg. xv. 1; Neh. iv. 3, xi. 27; Psalm lxiii. 4; Cant. ii. 15, etc.). The word fox is thus applied to two or more species, though only strictly applicable to the taaleb, which is the Arabic name of the Syrian fox (*Vulpes Thaleb* of modern zoologists), and the only genuine species indigenous in Palestine. Fox is, again, the translation of *αλώπηξ* in Matt. viii. 20, and Luke ix. 5—8, xiii. 32; but where also the word in the original text may apply generically to several species rather than to one only. These other allied animals are more particularly the so-called Turkish fox (*Cynalopex Turcicus*), one of the osculent group, the *Lupus Syriacus*, before alluded to; and there are also the *Canis Syriacus* of Ehrenberg; the *Canis aureus*, or jackal of Palestine, the chryseus of Ælian; the *Sacaleus aureus*, or ammon jackal, and the abu hussain of the Arabs, and supposed to be the anubis of ancient Egypt.

Excepting in Ecclesiastics (xiii. 18), the word hyena (tzeboa) does not occur in the English Bible, although there are several passages in the Hebrew canonical books where tzeboa, "streaked," or "variegated," is assumed to designate the hyæna. There is, however, a passage in Jeremiah (xii. 9) which is rendered in the Septuagint by *σπηλαιον ναυης*, "the cave of the hyæna." Yet have modern commentators, up to a recent period, been at a loss for a meaning, and they have preferred to translate the Hebrew *oith* tzeboa, "a speckled bird," as it stands in our version. It is difficult to imagine a more absurd scriptural misinterpretation. Both Bochart and the continuator of Calmet vindicate the true reading, "*oith* tzeboa," "the striped rusher," i.e., the hyæna, turning round upon his lair, and introduced after an allusion in the previous verse to the lion calling to the beasts of the field (other hyænas and jackals) to come and devour.

The most powerful, daring, and impressive of all carnivorous animals, the most magnificent in aspect and awful in voice—the lion—ari, or arjeh—naturally supplied many forcible images to the poetical language of Scripture, and not a few historical incidents in its narratives. This is shewn by the great number of passages where this animal, in all the stages of existence—as the whelp, the young adult, the fully mature, the lioness—occurs under different names, thus exhibiting that multiplicity of denominations which always results when some great image is constantly present to the popular mind.

It is only, however, the most recent research that has shewn the difference between Ari (Nahum ii. 12; 2 Sam. xviii. 10; Numb. xxiii. 24) and Sachal, a black lion (Job iv. 10, x. 16; Psalm xci. 13; Prov. xxvi. 13), a difference which Colonel Hamilton Smith did not believe in, for he says neither black nor white lions are recorded, except in Oppian (*de Venatione*, iii. 43). There are, however, two distinct species of lion in Chaldæa and Mesopotamia, one that is maneless,

and the other which has a long black mane. The inhabitants of the country designate the former as Kaffirs, and the latter as Mussulmans. By a proper remonstrance, and at the same time pronouncing the profession of faith, a true believer may induce the one to spare his life, but the unbelieving lion is inexorable. (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 487.)

Though zoologists differ in opinion respecting the identity of the leopard and the panther, and dispute, supposing them to be distinct, how their names should be respectively applied, nevertheless there can be no doubt that the Nimr of the Bible (Cant. iv. 8; Isa. xi. 6; Jer. v. 6, etc.) is the spotted feline known to the Arabs as Nimr, or Namer, still dwelling in the ranges of Lebanon, and of which there is a much larger species in Amanus and Taurus.

It is curious that the cat, treated as a divinity by the ancient Egyptians, is nowhere mentioned in the canonical books as a domestic animal. Yet it cannot have been unknown to the Hebrews, who probably deemed it unclean.

The hare was prohibited by the Jewish lawgiver, who was not occupied with the doctrines of science, because it was supposed to chew the cud, although it has not the hoof divided. But the slightest research would have shewn that it is a rodent, or gnawing animal, and not a ruminant; has only one stomach and nibbling teeth, which are rubbed against one another to prevent overgrowth.

The word Ail-ajal, or Agalah, represents the hart and hind of our versions, and of the older comments, but this version has been corrected by modern investigators, who consider the term to be general for several species of deer taken together, as also to different species of antelope—a name which does not occur in our version of the Scriptures. Yet there can be no doubt that in the Hebrew text several ruminants to which it is applicable are indicated under different denominations. Such are the Jachmur, which has been identified with the *Oryx leucoryx*; the Tao, *Oryx tao*, or Nubian *Oryx*; the Dishon, or *Oryx addax*; the Tsebi, or Docas—the Anel, or *Gazella Arabica*; besides several other species, which occur in the Authorized Version under the names of hart, hind, and roe.

"Let the wife of thy bosom be as the beloved hind and favourite roe," (Prov. v. 19) seems to indicate that the words were also generalized, so as to include under roe more generous species of antelopes, whose affections and consortship are permanent and strong, for stags are polygamous.

It is to be observed that Bochart and Rosenmüller wrote when the zoology of Syria and Palestine was almost unknown; nor have the labours of Ehrenberg, Niebuhr, Forskel, or other modern naturalists entirely cleared up this difficult subject. Neither Cuvier nor Ehrenberg were acquainted with the *Cervus Barbarus*, which eats lizards and snakes, and which is intermediate between the stag and the fallowdeer, or with the gewasen of Armenia, a species of stag of the Rusa group, and which is not unlikely the Zamer, or Zemer, of Scripture. (Deut xiv. 5.)

The Zemer, however, rendered cameleopard in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, chamois in our version, and supposed by Luther to be the elk, or eland, has also been identified with the wild sheep.

The goat is represented by a variety of names in Scripture, and among these are two species of wild goats, Jaal, Jol, or Jolim (1 Sam. xxiv. 2); and Akko (Exod. xxiii. 19). The one has been supposed to be represented by the wild goat of Mount Sinai, *Capra Sinaitica* of Ehrenberg, and *Capra Jael* of Ham. Smith; the other by the Kesch, or wild sheep (*Ovis tragelaphus*).

It is to be remarked upon this conjectural point, that while we have many words, as Seh and Tzon, used as a collective term in the Scriptures to represent sheep and goats, Kebes for lamb, and Agil for a ram, as also for the males of deer, and Rachal for a female, or ewe, sheep, we have no term for the wild sheep, the progenitors of the domesticated breeds, unless we admit it to be represented by Zemer or Akko—one of which may, again, represent the chamois or Ibex, both of which are known to dwell in Taurus and Kurdistan.

Enough, however, has been said to shew what a rich and interesting field is presented in the zoology of Scripture for further investigation, carried on with

a view to the revision of the Authorised Version, and this applies itself with equal force to other branches of natural history.—*Transactions of the Anglo-Biblical Institute, June 3rd, 1859.*

*Present State of the Hebrew Text.*—By Dr. BENISCH.—Had the controversy bearing on the Hebrew text referred to any other save that of the Bible, satisfactory results universally acknowledged would have been arrived at long ago. It would have been shewn that a text several thousands years old could not have passed through the hands of numberless copyists, not always grammatically acquainted with the language of the work transcribed, not always conversant with its contents, not always endowed with the qualifications requisite in a trustworthy copyist, not always in possession of the appliances necessary for detecting errors, without falling into mistakes, from which no ancient composition has escaped. It would have been shewn that an exemption from this kind of errors would have pre-supposed a continuous exertion of a miraculous influence over countless ages, countries, and individuals, exceeding in stupendousness any of those signs and wonders recorded in the work itself, such as has nowhere been hinted at in the sacred volume, and such as the human race has no right to expect. It would have been shewn that, although in comparatively modern time, a standard text has been fixed upon easily accessible to all; and lynx-eyed criticism, in conjunction with the profound veneration for the Word of God, watched over its integrity with a care bestowed upon no other literary production—yet there must have been a time when no such safeguard was in existence, when its sacredness was not universally acknowledged, and when other volumes were placed on a par with it, which have since justly been eliminated from the sacred roll. It would have been shewn from ancient versions and irrefragable internal evidence that the Hebrew text of the Bible has not been altogether able to escape the deteriorating influence of time, the same as other ancient works. But, unfortunately for the result, a stiff and starched stereotyped theology mixed itself in the controversy; and just as at one time it presumed to check the progress of science, anathematized the Copernican system, and incarcerated Galileo, so it also pilloried every critic who dared honestly to announce to the world the result of his investigations. Religion, however, has as little to apprehend from the results of an honest criticism as it has from the inquiries of science. The free-trade principles, so beneficial in all social movements, are equally salutary in religion. Let trade alone, and, like a well-built vessel, it will always right itself. In the same way, I say, let religion alone, and all opinions will soon find their level. The very same criticism, which will prove that the Hebrew text of the Bible has in the course of centuries undergone some alterations, would also have clearly shewn that in all main points, in all those particulars essential to man, and making the Bible the book of the world, it is precisely the same as it was at the time when it was first ushered into existence. The foundation and structure of the building have remained the same, although here and there a crevice is found, or a stone might have been replaced by another of a similar shape.

You will, perhaps, be surprised at my not endeavouring to establish the position taken by an appeal to ancient Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible, as is the case with all other works of antiquity, when inquiries into the correctness of the text are made. But, alas! there are no very ancient manuscripts to be appealed to. Until very lately no manuscript older than the eleventh century was known. Some twelve or fifteen years ago, a Hebrew manuscript, containing the three larger and twelve minor prophets, dating from the year 916, was found in Russia, and is now kept, I believe, at Odessa. But this copy was already furnished with vowels and accents; subsequently, an incomplete copy of the Pentateuch, dating from the year 843, was discovered in the same country, containing the text without any vowels. But, if I am not mistaken, they differ little from our texts, and had evidently been written at a time when a standard text had already superseded all others. When it is considered that since Origen and Jerome, probably no Christian divine of Gentile origin studied Hebrew until the fifteenth century, when Reuchlin was the first to cultivate it again; that the manuscripts

of the Jews, unintelligible to the ignorant priests and monks, were during the middle ages snatched from the persecuted Hebrews, and but too often committed to the flames as books of heresy and sorcery; that by the degrees of popes, emperors, and kings, cartloads of Hebrew manuscripts, taken away from the Jews, were publicly burnt in various countries and at various times; and lastly, that the fugitive Jews, driven from place to place, could not always carry away with them the ponderous volumes which manuscripts generally formed—the scarcity of ancient Bible texts will be easily accounted for. It is, therefore, not modern time, but hoary antiquity, to which must be ascribed any alterations in the text which we may perceive. They crept in gradually, unintentionally, and even unconsciously to the scribes themselves; and when they were noticed, so great was the scrupulousness of the doctors of the Law, that, for fear of being mistaken in any correction, they only wrote on the margin, or separate scrolls, their observations, without re-touching the text; and it is these marginal or separate annotations, a considerable portion of which has come down to us, which, in conjunction with the ancient versions, and the internal evidence furnished by the standard text itself, prove beyond all doubt that alterations in the text were anciently made.

If we except mistakes in similar letters committed by copyists, and which gave rise to different readings, the undue contraction of two words into one, and, on the other hand, the occasional separation of one word into two, or the omission of a letter or word—all other alterations may be traced to the following causes. They arose from the substitution of another word, better answering its purpose, for obsolete or indelicate terms; from the introduction into the text of explanatory marginal glosses; from the transposition of whole sentences and even sections; from the ascription to older known authors what emanated from unknown or younger writers; from the change effected in the reading, and consequently also in the meaning of certain words, by being furnished with wrong vowels.

Were I asked to name the period when these alterations were made, I should say from the time of Ezra the scribe, about 460 B.C., until Rabbi Yehudah the prince, compiler of the Mishna, about 180 C.E. After that time the differences which arose in the text refer mostly to minutiae which may engage the attention of hair-splitting grammarians, but hardly affect the sense. At that time, and even much later, the copy of the Law which had been preserved in the second temple was still in existence in the treasury at Rome, and had been seen at least by one rabbi. After that time the standard text formed by those doctors of the law in whose schools, and even households, the knowledge of Hebrew as a living language had not altogether become extinct, and by whom the knowledge of the law had been traditionally preserved, gradually superseded every other text, until, in the seventh century, the doctors of the school of Tiberias finally fixed the sacred text by perfecting our present system of vocalization and accentuation, counting all divisions, verses, letters, and anomalies, and recording them all on the margins of the manuscripts, in separate scrolls, now known by the name of Massorah, i.e., tradition, but subdivided into various other branches, known by different titles. The present division into chapters is a modern arrangement, altogether unknown to the ancients, who quoted in quite a different manner. Unless, therefore, we could obtain a Hebrew Bible manuscript, at least as ancient as the Greek, known by the name of the Vatican text, and which was lately published, all collations such as undertaken by Kennicott or De Rossi will be useless, as they were all made with manuscripts fixed by the Massorah, and consequently differing but very slightly, and but rarely, if ever, in essential points. As a proof of this I refer to the dissertation "On the Various Readings," prefixed by the Rev. Cartaret Priaux Carey to his translation of Job, which appeared last year, and in which he states the result of the collations made by the two critics just named of 394 various texts of Job. Of the 397 different readings occurring in the first fifteen chapters, there is not one which in any way materially affects the sense.—*Transactions of the Anglo-Biblical Institute.*

*Curious Old Books.*—The following manuscripts relating to sacred literature have been offered for sale by Mr. Quaritch. They are from the Libraries of the late Lord Walpole and of Mr. G. Libri, just dispersed by auction :—

*Aristotelis de physico auditu*, Hebraice, folio, 88 pp. old bds. This Hebrew translation is very scarce. It is one of the few remains of the scientific labours of the Jews during the middle ages.

*Homiliæ et Sermones Sanctorum Patrum*, 3 vols. folio, on 576 leaves of vellum, in the original oak boards. Written on very stout vellum, in Roman characters, having the headings in rustic capitals. This splendid manuscript formerly belonged to the Monastery of the Umiliati at Brescia (Domus Sancti Luceæ Ordinis Fratrum Humiliatorum). At the end of the last volume is the following inscription or colophon : “ Ego Benedictus PRB hunc librum scriberi jussi,” etc. These Homilies (chiefly on portions of the Gospels) are extracted from Augustinus, the Venerable Bede, Ambrosius, Leo Papa, Hieronymus, Gregorius Papa, Gregorius Turonensis, Origenes, Johannes Osaureus (Chrysostomus), Odo Abbas Cluniacensis, Rabanus Maurus, Aimon, Sevrianus, etc. etc. Half of the second volume is occupied by Lives of Saints, containing, among others : *Passio beatissimi Martyris Nazarii* ; *Passio SS. Martyrum Felicis, Simplicii, Faustini et Beatricis*, *Passio S. Laurentii* ; *Passio SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* ; *Passio S. Jacobi Apostoli* ; *Passio B. Bartholomæi* ; *Passio B. Mathæi* ; *Passio Simonis* ; *Passio S. Andree* ; *Passio S. Thomæ Apostoli* ; *Passio S. Faustini et Jovitæ* ; *Passio S. Viti* ; *Passio S. Johannis et Pauli* (having at the end of this, the Canticles, “ *Incipit Cantica Canticorum* ”) ; *Vita Donati Episcopi* ; *Passio SS. Martyrum Domnini, Dionisii Rustici et Elutherii* ; *Passio S. Martini* ; *Passio Beatissimæ Virginis et Martyris Cecilie, Tiburtii et Valeriani*, etc. These venerable volumes would supply many curious and excellent readings for new Editions of the Fathers, or Lives of the Saints.

*Joannis Damasceni Dialectica et Expositio Fidei Orthodoxæ Græce*, 4to. 480 pp. upon vellum, original binding. This venerable and important manuscript formerly belonged to the Earl of Guildford. In the first book there are numerous diagrams, and prefixed to the second is a full-length portrait of the Saint, which is a very rare occurrence in ancient Greek manuscripts. The initials also are very singular in this manuscript, an O for instance being the likeness of Jesus Christ. But what is more interesting as a palæographic fact is, that in the numerals the Greek letters are mixed with some peculiar signs, as if the ancient Greek numerical system was here amalgamated with what is commonly called the Arabic system.

*Joannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Tractatus de Oculo morali et ejusdem tractatus de septem peccatis mortalibus*, 4to. 126 pp. on vellum, bds. John of Peckham was a disciple of St. Bonaventura, and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1278 to 1293. He was not only an excellent theologian, but also celebrated as a mathematician, having written treatises on the Sphere and on Prospective.

*Lectionarium et Orationale secundum Consuetudinem Romanæ Curie, cum Calendario*, folio, on 144 leaves of vellum, in the original oak binding. A very complete copy of a Service-Book, which very rarely occurs in a perfect state, written in large characters, with the rubrics in red ink. The numerous capital letters throughout are painted alternately in red and blue, several of them being elegantly flourished. The numerous chants are noted on four staves. The Calendar is valuable for the names of the Saints commemorated, amongst which will be found that of St. Thomas à Becket. From ancient additions therein it is probable that this fine manuscript formerly belonged to the Order of Umiliati, as there are entries respecting the days set aside for celebrating the festivals of their Saints.

*Loghat-al-Sa'idi-wa-al-'Arabi* : A Saidic (Coptic dialect) and Arabic Grammar and Dictionary, folio, 200 pp. on glazed paper, hf. bd. This important manuscript is finely written in red and black, on glazed paper, with an ornamental cross as frontispiece. To use the words of Mr. Neale (*A General Introduction to the History of the Eastern Church*, vol. ii., p. 1207, plate) Coptic manuscripts are of excessive rarity, but it is still more difficult to find ancient



dictionaries and grammars of the Coptic language, which has lately acquired so much importance from its connexion with the ancient Egyptian tongue. In order to appreciate the great intrinsic value of this manuscript it will only be necessary to peruse what the two learned French Orientalists, M. Re naud, and M. Dulaurier, published on the subject when describing a Coptic grammar and dictionary now existing at Montpellier. (See *Catalogue général des Manuscrits de Départemens*, p. 360, et 718.)

Maria (B. Virgo) cunctis pretiosis Lapidibus assimilata et aliis Symbolicis Laudibus decorata, 2 vols. 4to, 1488 pp. bds. A very curious, and, according to a note on the title, unpublished, manuscript, probably written by a member of the order Fratrū minorum, as a more ancient copy of it is stated to have existed in the Library "Fratrum Minorum Annuntiationis, Bononia."

Martini Poloni, "de Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum," *Chronica Summorum Pontificum atque Imperatorum Romanorum usque ad Nicolaum III., cum Continuatione usque ad Mortem Johannis XXII., A.D. MCCCXXXIV. die quarta Mensis Decembris*, 4to. 118 leaves, on vellum. A very complete copy of the famous "*Chronica Martiniana*," with all the suppressed passages, including the STORY OF POPE JOAN, "*Johannes Nacione Anglicus Moguntinus sedit annis ii. m. v. diebus VIII., etc. Hic ut asseritur femina fuit,*" etc. The author was "Pœnitentiarius et Capellanus," to Pope Nicholas III., who created him Archbishop of Gniessen. At the end, amongst several additional matters, there are some curious ancient French proverbs; for instance, "Sire Melline bien vous escoute. Un tien vault mieus que deux au doubte."

Mottetti. *Quadragesimale in Musica sive Hymnorum Liber* (Latine et Italico), small 4to. 124 leaves of vellum, bds. Very elegantly written in an Italian hand, with musical notes. Besides Latin Hymns, which are arranged for two, three, and four voices, this manuscript contains, in the Italian language, *Pescator pensa al tuo signor; Regina de o del cor mio; Benedetto ne sia lo zorno; Convertite o Signore; Piangete Christiani el dolore di Maria; Anima pe o peregrina; Amor, amor, Jesu; O Jesu dolce; Cum desiderio io vi vo cercando; Piangi dolente; Jesu facio lamento; Quando signor Jesu sero; Memento mei o sacra virgo pia, memento mei che non sia; Jesu dolce mio sposo; L'Oration e sempre bona; Questa aspra penitentia; Non tardate peccatori andative a confessar; A Maria fonte d'amor; Poi che ch' hebi nel cor; Patientia ognun me dice; Io sto male; Per quella croce, etc.* Early Italian musical manuscripts, written upon vellum, are exceedingly scarce. In this volume, consisting of 141 leaves of pure vellum, there is also (f. 80-81), a great curiosity, namely, a Mottetto, partly written in Latin and partly in Italian. From an inspection of this manuscript, it appears that at that time, for the sake of euphony, the singers used to change even the vowels; for instance, instead of singing *de e e l cor mio*, as they should do actually, they sang *de o o o l*, which is very singular.

*Passionale sive Vitæ et Martyria Sanctorum per Anni Circulum*, 2 vols. very large folio, on 336 leaves of vellum, double columns, most elegantly drawn floriated capitals, brass corners and bosses. A magnificent and very important manuscript, written on very thick vellum with numerous initials of elegant design, in various colours. The body of it is in Roman characters, and the headings in rustic capitals. This extremely valuable collection of the Lives of the Saints is arranged according to the months of the year, commencing with January and ending with December, a few leaves at the commencement (containing a portion of the Life of St. Julian) being deficient. At the end of the second volume, in a more recent handwriting, are the following additions:—"Qualiter basilica sœ Maie maioris de urbe ad signum nivis celitus ostense hedificata fuit; Passo B'ti Eustracii m'ris; Vita S. Eligii; et Passio beate Bonose virg. et mart'is."

*Psalterium, cum glossis*, folio, on 194 leaves of vellum, ancient binding of the fifteenth century, with engraved and lettered brasses. A venerable manuscript written in a fine large Carlovingian character in blue and red, the glosses being of the same kind, but, as usual, smaller. The volume is ornamented with very finely illuminated capitals in the style of the time. The first leaf containing

merely the word *Beatus* (probably an illumination), appears to be wanting. Prefixed is the "*Epistola De Hieronimi ad Paulam, etc., de psalterii emendatione,*" which was evidently written during the fifteenth century, after the erasure of some ancient characters still visible. On the first page there is the *Parvus eram* of David in Greek and Latin, written in a very ancient hand. At the end there is a *Laus Psalmorum*, written in the sixteenth century, and on the covers inside are the decalogue and some medical prescriptions.

*Psalterium Davidis Accedunt Cantica Biblica, Oratio Dominica Symbola Apostolorum et S. Athanasii, et Hymni varii, cum Notis Musicis et Calendario*, folio, on 198 leaves of vellum, in the original oak boards, with copper bosses and clasps. This beautiful manuscript is written in a large and bold hand, the capitals alternately painted in blue and red. Several initials are highly ornamented and coloured in the early style of miniatures; amongst which the letter B in *Beatus*, at the commencement, is an elegant specimen of early art. The *Calendarium* prefixed is very copious in the names of Saints, amongst which will be found that of St. Thomas à Becket. The fly-leaves are from a royal folio Latin Bible written in the tenth century.

*Sacramentarium Gregorianum, cum Appendice et Calendario*, square folio, 133 leaves of vellum, with very Early Music, in the original binding, with clasp. This very early Service-Book, slightly imperfect, is written in a fine bold hand, with the rubrics in red ink, and chiefly in uncial or capital rustic letters. The music, of that sort called neumes, is very important as furnishing us with the Chants used in the early Roman Church for the Mass and other Services. To any one writing on the gradual changes that have taken place in the Roman Catholic Liturgies, early manuscripts like the present are of the highest value. It is evident that a portion of this manuscript, the ink of which was perhaps fading, must have been reinked some centuries ago. This manuscript, consisting of 133 leaves, some of which are a little damaged, contains a long modern dissertation intended to prove that it is much older than we suppose.

*Sab' at Asrar-al-Ilalahiyah*, or "*Nuzhat-al-Nafis*. The Seven Revelations of God, or the Delight of the Soul. (An Arabic Christian work, containing seven chapters on the Birth of Christ, Moses, David, Solomon, the Soul, Death, and the Day of Judgment. By two Priests named Rahiyah and Kasis, written at Bawāna in Egypt, A.D. 1471), folio, 216 pp. hf. cloth.

*Symeonis Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Dialogi contra hæreses, de sola fide, de templo et Missa, etc.* Græce, 4to. on 404 leaves of Charta Bombycina, in the original Greek binding. A fine manuscript, written in the East in red and black, of a very important work for the history of the Greek Liturgy and of the Oriental Church in general. This learned Archbishop died in 1429, a few months only before Thessalonica was taken by Amurath. A large portion of the works of Symeon were published in 1683, at Jassy in Moldavia. This manuscript contains a great number of various readings, as will be easily ascertained by comparing only the title of the *Ermeneia* as given by Fabricius (*Bibl. Græca*, vol. xi., p. 380) with the title of the same work in this manuscript.

*Prince Alfred at Jerusalem.*—Jerusalem was thrown into a state of the most pleasant excitement by the news that advices had been received at the English Consulate the previous night announcing the arrival at Jaffa of her Majesty's ship "*Euryalus*," having on board his Royal Highness Prince Alfred, on his way to visit the Holy City. In the afternoon Mr. Finn, the English Consul, attended by his cawasses, left Jerusalem to escort the royal party from Jaffa. The people of Jerusalem were, however, destined to experience a temporary disappointment, for news arrived on Monday that the Prince had not landed as soon as had been expected, and could not reach Jerusalem until Wednesday. On Tuesday it was reported that the Prince would stay at the English Consulate, his suite at the now well-known Mrs. Rosenthal's hotel—intelligence which comforted the latter not a little, as her excellent house has been almost unvisited during the past year, a circumstance which cannot be attributed to accident.

On Wednesday morning, March 21st, all was astir. The weather was intensely hot, and an east wind blowing. It grew dark before the great guns from the fortifica-

tions announced that for the first time in the history of the world an English Prince was within the walls of Jerusalem ; and amid the din of the multitude and the pealing of the guns, his Royal Highness, accompanied by the Pacha, the English Consul, Captain Tarleton, R.N., Major Cowell, R.E., Dr. Carmichael, etc., rode up to the consular residence, the Turkish Infantry presenting arms as the Prince dismounted. The Pacha presently departed, but the next day dined privately with the Prince at the Consulate. His Royal Highness, it appears, declined any public reception of deputations, or consuls, or others.

On Thursday the royal party paid a visit to the Mosque of Omar, at the request of the Pacha, and although it was the last day of the pilgrimage to Neby Moosa, when all the fanatics of the country are assembled, and the mosque enclosure was full of men, women, and children, not an uncivil word was spoken to any one.

On Friday, the 28rd, the whole party set out for Hebron. First the cawasses, then the Prince, the English Consul and his lady, Major Cowell, etc., escorted by a body of infantry, mounted as body guard, and last of all, a party of irregular horse for honour. At Nar Elias, the Greeks of the convent had laid down carpets, and placed an arm-chair for the Prince, under the olive-trees where there is a view on the right hand of Bethlehem, and on the left of Jerusalem. The convent bell was rung famously, and a crowd of Greek and Russian pilgrims were gathered to see the Prince. But at Bethlehem his reception presented a most wonderful and interesting sight. The whole population, in their picturesque dresses, turned out to see and welcome his Royal Highness, and his numerous cavalcade rode through a crowd of eager people, men in their red and white turbans, with holiday robes of scarlet cloth, women and girls in dark blue and red, with gold coins on their heads, and bracelets of gold and silver on their arms, on every terrace and roof ; and many a prayer of " God preserve him to his mother," or " God lengthen his days," was heard in an audible voice by the bystanders in their vernacular Arabic. One man even ran forward and spread his garments in the way, but the Prince, with delightful tact, turned his horse aside so as to avoid treading on them.

As the party proceeded, the mass of people followed, so that when it reached the Church of the Nativity, the fine open space in front of it was thronged. Here the party were met by the Latin, Greek, and Armenian monks, bearing huge lighted wax tapers. All the places of interest, including the Grotto of the Nativity and the dwelling place of Jerome, were duly visited. After resting for a short time, and accepting the hospitality of the Latin Superior, the party proceeded to Urtas, supposed to be the site of Solomon's gardens, and now the industrial farm belonging to the Jerusalem Agricultural Association, and to Mr. Meshullam, who resides on the spot. On the hill-side the Sheik and people of Urtas met the party, and, with their long guns, fired a *feu de joie*, to the great amusement of the royal party.

Mr. Meshullam had the union-jack flying over his house, and had the honour of entertaining the party at breakfast. The visitors were so much pleased with the place and their reception, that they expressed their intention of returning thither on their way back next day. Hence they went towards Solomon's Pools, the goldfinches pouring forth their song from every branch and thicket. These pools are splendid pieces of water, the largest, as was observed by one of the party, capable of accommodating two first-rates. At Hebron the troops were drawn out : after the colonel had paid his respects, the party moved on—not to the town, but westwards to the great oak, called Abraham's oak, where tents were pitched in readiness. Next morning the party returned to Jerusalem by a different road, first visiting the unfinished building called Abraham's house, supposed to have been begun by David before removing to Zion. The doorways are 176 feet wide, and all of Jewish style of building. Shortly before reaching Urtas a hare was started, and a brisk but unsuccessful chase ensued. At Urtas, dinner had been prepared by Mr. Meshullam, and the butter, honey, and Bethlehem wine were much approved. After dinner the line of march was resumed, and Jerusalem re-entered after dark. Next day the whole party attended divine service at the English church at Mount Zion, where the bishop preached, and the

church was filled with pilgrims and strangers then sojourning in Jerusalem—even some of the Turkish guard ventured in. In crossing the square of the castle opposite the church gateway, the guard turned out to salute, and on leaving the church the Prince was received by a dense crowd, chiefly Armenian pilgrims, desirous to see the Queen of England's son, and on his way back honoured the bishop by returning his call. On Monday the 28th, his Royal Highness left Jerusalem for the Dead Sea. As soon as the sun was risen crowds assembled to see him depart, and the terraces and domes of the houses were covered with spectators. The troops lined the street, and when his Royal Highness left the Consulate the castle guns fired a salute of twenty-one guns, and another when he passed out of the St. Stephen's gate. At the Garden of Gethsemane the heads of the Armenian and Greek churches were waiting to take leave of the Prince, who proceeded then to the Dead Sea, and thence by Bethel to Damascus.

*March 17, 1859.*

*Temple of Jerusalem.*—The royal porch of Herod, with its double aisles and central nave, the noblest feature of the temple, now blazed from end to end. Hundreds of Jews perished in this storm of fire. Titus called his chiefs together and deliberated on the fate of the sanctuary. Destroy it utterly, exclaimed some; Retain it for ransom, suggested others: but Titus himself, so at least we are assured by his panegyrist, was anxious, at all events to save it. Perhaps he regarded it as a trophy of victory; possibly he had imbibed in his eastern service some reverence for the mysteries it enshrined; and even the fortunes of his family disposed him to superstition.

He ordered the flames to be quenched; but while his soldiers were employed in checking them, the Jews sallied from their strongholds; a last struggle ensued. Titus swept the foe from the court with a charge of cavalry, and as they shut the gates behind them, a Roman, climbing on his comrade's shoulders, flung a blazing brand through a latticed opening. The flames shot up: the Jews shrank, shrieking and yelling from their parapets.

Titus roused from sleep, to which he had for a moment betaken himself, commanded or implored his men to save their glorious conquest. But his voice was drowned in the tumult; his gestures were disregarded. The soldiers burst the gate or scaled the walls, and rushed in headlong, trampling in their frenzy upon one another, and hewing themselves away through the shattered masses of the enemy.

The stairs of the holy place ran with torrents of blood, over which rolled the bodies of the dead, but the women and children, the old and helpless, had collected around the altar above it, and there was consummated the sacrifice, the bloodiest and the last of the ancient covenant. Through the flame and smoke, over the dead and dying, Titus forced his way into the holy of holies, and gazed for a moment on the wonders, so vaunted by the Jews, so disparaged by the Gentiles, which neither Gentile nor Jew, the high priest alone excepted, was ever suffered to look upon.

Here the fire had not penetrated. He rushed forth to provide for its protection, urging his men with words and even with blows to stop the advancing surges. But their fury was deaf, their cupidity was insensible; they had caught sight of gates plated with silver, windows lined with gold; the sanctuary, they had heard, was filled with unimaginable riches, and they feared to be balked of their plunder. While their chief was parleying with them, a soldier, who had pushed within the veil beside him, and remained behind, applied a torch to the door, and enveloped the place in flames. Titus looked back with a sigh, but made no further attempt to save it. He withdrew desponding from the spot, and the Divine decree was accomplished.—*Charles Merivale's History of the Romans.*

*Ancient Divination.*—"Their staff declareth unto them."—Hos. iv. 12.—The terms "stock and staff" may possibly be terms of contempt and derision, applied to idols, which were often of wood. The allusion is, however, more usually applied to a species of divination by means of rods or staves, which was much

in use among the ancient heathen. There are notices of very various practices of this description, to more than one of which the prophet may possibly refer.

Theophylact illustrates this text by noticing a very common practice, to which he supposes it may allude. The diviners set up rods, and began to mutter verses and enchantments, and when the rods fell they drew their presages from the manner and direction of the fall.

The Hebrew writers, however, thus describe the custom which they suppose to be intended. When a person began a journey, or commenced any other undertaking, he desired to know whether the result would be prosperous or otherwise; and, to this end he took a branch of a tree, or rod, and stripped off the bark on one side, and left it on the other. He then threw up the rod twice, and if the side with the bark lay upwards the first time, and the peeled side the second time, the omen was good, and he proceeded in his undertaking; but if the reverse happened, the sign was bad, and the matter in hand was for the time discontinued. If either of the sides appeared uppermost at both throws, the man decided as he judged best. Another way was for a man to take a rod and measure its length by spans, or by the length of his finger, saying each time, "I will go," "I will not go," or, "I will do," "I will forbear," alternately; and he decided according to the alternative which was associated with the last span or finger's measure.

The method of divination by rods, as in use among the ancient Germans, was not much unlike one of the modes of divination by arrows, as noticed under Ezek. xxi. 21. They cut a twig of a fruit tree into several pieces, and having distinguished the pieces by marks threw them promiscuously into a white cloth. Then the priest of the community—if information was desired concerning a public event, or, if a private one, the father of a family—addressed a prayer to the gods, and looking towards heaven, took up each piece thrice, one after another, and from the order in which the marks presented themselves, he drew inferences for the solution of the difficulty, or for the prediction of the future.

Herodotus also describes the original and common divination of the Scythians as by rods; but the application of the details given by him are not very clear.

Things not very unlike some of these, and at least equally absurd, are done daily by ignorant people in our own country. The difference is, that with us such persons only are addicted to these practices, whereas anciently they were matters of solemnity and ceremony, by which not only the uninstructed people, but the educated, the learned, and the great, were guided, and by which important measures of public and private conduct were often determined. Yet all men think they act with reason; and they satisfied their understandings with such conclusions as these. "If the power of the gods proceeds in pre-manifestation so far as to things inanimate—such as pebble stones, rods, pieces of wood, stone, corn, or wheat,—this very thing is most admirable in the pre-signification of divine prophecy, because it imparts soul to things inanimate, motion to things immoveable, and makes all things to be clear and known, to partake of reason, and to be defined by the measures of intellection, though possessing no portion of reason for themselves." From this it seems that it was understood that the gods being appealed to used these things as instruments for making known their will. But for this belief no reason is given, and we know well that none existed.—*Christian Penny Magazine*.

*The Ancient Catholic Church on the Baptism of Jewish Children.*—The following article is found in the *The People's Almanack* for 1859 for the Catholics in Holland, published in Groeningen:—

"There was a time when the Catholic Christians often accused the Jews of the abduction of their children. These charges brought upon the Jews sanguinary persecutions from princes and nations. The Jews then complained to the pope, and found a happy protection in the holy see. At present, we have to point out a fact quite the reverse. It is the Jews who invoke the help of the

princes and the nations to obtain from the pope the restoration of a child to its parents who had been baptized by a Catholic servant, abducted from his paternal home, and carried to Rome in order to be educated in the Catholic religion. The ultramontane journals justify this act, and to believe them it is for every Catholic to agree with them. This confounds us, but it is another proof of the immense difference that exists between the ancient and modern Roman doctrine, and the immense distance of the majority from the spirit of the past centuries. Let one compare the proceedings of Pius IX. in this occurrence with that of his predecessors, Gregory I., Nicolas I., Innocent III., and with the regulations made by the fourth council of Toledo, and those of St. Thomas.

"Saint Gregory the Great (died in 687) wrote in his reply to the Bulgarians: No violence must be done to them (the Jews), for what is not done voluntarily cannot be good. Pope Innocent III. published 1199 an ordinance in which he takes the Jews under his protection against every injury. However blameable the unbelief of the Jews, he writes, they should nevertheless not be subject to grave persecutions from the faithful, considering that they serve as a confirmation to the Christian faith. No person should be coerced into baptism, but if anybody manifests of his own accord a desire of becoming a Christian, he must not be prevented from receiving baptism; for those who submit under violence cannot be true believers.

"The fourth council of Toledo in 633 says: As for the Jews, the holy synod orders not to offer violence to any person in order to bring him to the faith; for God enlightens with his grace him he chooses, and hardens him he chooses not. Saint Thomas (died in 1274) said—It has never been customary in the church to baptize the children of the Jews against the will of the parents.

"The Catholics say that they must respect the declarations of these popes and of this council. How can this be harmonized with the conduct of Pope Pius IX., and the regulations by which it is endeavoured to bind him? Is this acting in the spirit of a Catholic church, which glories in its ancient invariable doctrine? Does it not become more and more evident that there is a great difference between the doctrine of the ancient church and that which now holds absolute sway? A child is carried away from its parents! On which side is humanity and Christianity? Are they on the side of the ancient Roman pontiffs, Gregory I., Nicholas I., Innocent III., who governed the Catholic Church and propagated her doctrines by moderation and charity, or on that of the neo-Romans, who make the Catholic Church an object of horror to every civilized being endowed with feeling? Whoever is inspired with a sincere attachment for the holy church deplores and condemns the acts of our days. We further ask, Who is infallible—the ancient popes or he of our days? Who are the schismatics—those who follow the doctrines of the ancients or those who trample them under foot?—V. R. K., Pastor."

*Whitsun-day* versus *Whit-Sunday*.—An ecclesiastical barbarism is so rapidly creeping in among us as to threaten the obliteration of the true name of one of the great festivals. I allude to the terms of *Whit-Sunday*, *Whit-Monday*, *Whit-Tuesday*. Everybody knows, or ought to know, that the vulgar etymologies of *White-Sunday*, or *Huit-Sunday*, are utterly indefensible; and that *Whitsunday*, or rather *Whitsen-day*, is nothing more nor less than a corruption of *Pentecost-day*. This is easily shewn by a comparison with the Teutonic languages. In German it is *Pfingsten*; in Dansk it is *Pinsedag*; in Dutch, *Pinkster* or *Pinksteren*; in the Swabian patois, which comes nearer to our own, *Whingsten*; in the dialect of Alsace about Strasburg, it is *Whindsten*; in the Bavarian patois about Munich, it is *Whingster*: corruptions which shew how easily *pf* or *p* melt into *w* or *wh*. But, in truth, did we not know the true derivation, the popular one might be easily shewn to be a mistake. No one ever yet spoke of *Whit-eve*, or *Whit-tide*, or *Whit-week*, or *Whit-holidays*; yet, were *Whit-Sunday* the right orthography, it would have been exactly as impossible to have used *Whitsun-eve*, etc., as it would be now to talk of *Eastersun-eve*, or *Eastersun-week*, or *Eastersun-tide*. It is, moreover, to be observed that the analogy of *Easter* proves the same thing. It is *Easter Day*, not *Easter Sunday*; therefore it is *Whitsun*

Day, not Whit Sunday. Easter Eve, Easter Monday, Easter Tuesday have in like manner their parallels in Whitsun Eve, Whitsun Monday, Whitsun Tuesday. If we do not take care, the latter words will be positively swept away from us, the rather that Whit-Monday and Whit-Tuesday are paraded before the eyes of millions in notices of railway excursions. It is curious that Roman Catholics in their almanacks seem to delight in the debased forms of vernacular festivals; with them it is generally Easter Sunday and Whit-Monday. Even our modern Prayer-books have Whit-Sunday. This innovation ought to be forthwith rejected.—*Guardian*.

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### NEW WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST QUARTER.

*In addition to those noticed in the body of the Journal.*

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#### FOREIGN.

- Acta Sanctorum Ootobris ex latinis et græcis aliarumque gentium monumentis, servata primigenia veterum scriptorum phrasi, collecta, digesta, commentariisque et observationibus illustrata a J. Van Hecke, B. Boesue, V. de Buck et E. Carpentier. Tom IX. Fol. Brüssel.
- Auberlen (Dr. C. A.)—Die Theosophie Friedrich Christoph Detinger's nach ihren Grundzügen. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte u. zur Geschichte der Philosophie. Mit e. Vorw. v. R. Rotha. 2. 8vo. Basel.
- Baur (Dr. F. C.)—Die Tübinger Schule u. ihre Stellung zur Gegenwart. 8vo. Tübingen.
- Bibelwerk, theologisch-homiletisches. Die Heilige Schrift Alten u. Neuen Testaments m. Rücksicht auf das theologisch-homiletische Bedürfnis d. pastoralen Amtes hrsg. v. J. P. Lange. Des Neuen Testaments 8. Thl. Das Evangelium nach Lukas. v. Dr. J. J. van Dosterzee. 8vo. Bielefeld.
- Bunsen (C. C. J.)—Gott in der Geschichte od. der Fortschritt d. Glaubens an e. ständige Weltordnung. 8. Thl. 5. u. 6. Buch. 8vo. Leipzig.
- Damberger (J. F.)—Synchronistische Geschichte der Kirche u. Welt im Mittelalter. Kritisch aus den Quellen bearb. 8vo. Vol X. Regensburg.
- Ewald (H.)—Abhandlung üb. Entstehung, Inhalt u. Werth der Sibyllischen Bücher. 4to. Göttingen.
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- Harms (L.)—Predigten üb. die Evangelien d. Kirchenjahrs. Part 2. Vom Sonntage Septuagesimæ bis 2. Oostertag. 8vo. Hermannab.
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